

- J.F. Can I just start by asking you where you were born and when, so I can just locate you - what year were you born and when was that?
- A.N. I was born in - in the heart of Zululand in 1931, July 20th.
bd!
- J.F. And your parents - when you say the heart of Zululand, whereabouts was that?
- A.N. I'm saying the - in the - what is now known as the magisterial district of Umtomjaneni (?) or Malmouth, which also *Shaka* (?) was born in the same district.
bpl: SA, Natal, Zululand
- J.F. How do you spell the place?
- A.N. Umtomjaneni.
- J.F. Umtomjaneni or Malmouth - and....
curr ref: UK, London
- A.N. Have you been there yourself?
- J.F. I've been to parts of Zululand - what did your parents do - what work did your parents do?
- A.N. Well, they (didn't work for anybody) - (they worked for themselves) - (they were peasant farmers) and - and (they grew stock and they tilled the soil).
- J.F. And did they speak about politics when you were growing up - did they talk about any of the African political movements as you were growing up?
- A.N. Like which one?
- J.F. Any of them, the ANC or the African People's Organisation or any of those - did they talk about any movements?
- A.N. Yes, you see, (as far as my parents were concerned, they never talked politics but they talked an experience,) an experience (because) they were - they had been born just at the time of the - just after the English war in 1879, - (actually my father had been born round about 1884, '85) and just after the - after the return - after the (death of Cetwayo) - you know Cetwayo - after the death of Cetwayo, and the - the - (the land had been harassed by the - by the (British occupation) - they had seen, (as - as a boy, my father had to move from where he had been born, near Mthun-jini, which Dunn's forces were harassing them) around there, (wanting to owe allegiance to - to (John Dunn and - and (ultimately of course to the British occupation forces, so that is the experience they talked about.)
- J.F. When they were talking to you about it, was that an experience that they related as the Africans against the whites - do you think you grew up with a feeling of Africanism or a view that the whites were the enemies?
- A.N. (Laugh) I think you should have asked me these questions in 1958, '59 about the point (?) because no-one ever asked these questions this - now - the point it was clear of course - I'm saying the British occupation at that time - there were no black (British who were occupying the country - (it was the British forces) and (with collaborators around, you see.
- J.F. Black collaborators?

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① A.N. Yes, or some - some collaborators from - (from Natal,) and so forth and - but mainly (British forces) that were harassing - were harassing (the Usutho) (?) - that is the - the - the (royal king's - king's (people), you see, and so they grew up with that experience) - they grew up with the experience of the rinderpest, which they thought was not unconnected with the forces of occupation, and they grew up and so the Zululand ultimately being annexed to Natal, and they - as they were growing up and - (in 180 - (1906 they saw the Bambatha's rebellion) against) the - against (the imposition of) taxation, against (poll tax.)

I sometimes wonder, when I see Mrs. Thatcher wanting to introduce the poll tax, what the poll tax means and is, and since it was again a consolidation of occupation, being taxed without the representation, (then our people rose up in arms, and my father was in fact a part of that contingent.) *lands ①*

J.F. When you were growing up were you exposed to any other race groups or was it just Zulu people around you, or did you spend your youth in Zululand or were there any whites or Indians or Coloureds in the area or was it mainly Zulu people?

A.N. Oh, of - of course there were whites - there were what you call Coloureds but we - we - they couldn't have - they couldn't have discriminated us - if any, we would have, but they were merely the children of other of our contemporaries and so forth - do you get me - I'm saying the - the what you call Coloureds are the mixed race - that is the whites - miscegenation between the whites and the blacks, the blacks being either our sisters, cousins, friends and so forth, so there was no question of us discriminating or them discriminating against us at that point in time

J.F. Did you ever envision any political movement that would have united the Coloureds with the Africans, or when you saw them did you think it will just be African that will be involved in change?

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A.N. Actually when I grew up the question of colour it was merely a physical thing, that they were mix - (of mixed blood, but we grew up in the same countryside and they talked Zulu.) - (some of them didn't even talk English and so forth, so they - (there was no question of) - of (them being different, but when we came to the cities, we saw the divisions.) - (they were given different locations of settlement and from) - from (us - that's when we) - we realised this difference, otherwise we hadn't envisaged any differences between them and us, you see. *lands 7 back to p. 4*

J.F. Can you tell me how you got political - how did - as you were growing up, did you stay in Zululand, did you go to school there and then?

study here
② A.N. Well, I - I - I - (I went to school in Zululand,) - I went to school in (the southern part of Natal, because when we were born in a mission station, and having been born there, there were missionaries, and that's when we first - the - (the white man we met, it was the missionary, it was the local shopkeeper, it was the local) - (came from the department of agriculture) - he was (a dipping inspector) - (and of course, the magistrate - those are the four types) (?) (of whites we) get, and we experienced discrimination, of course, because we were with the missionaries) - the missionaries, (although they were around, they were) something apart - they were (an entity apart) - (you had, for instance, a pastor, (black pastor and a black - and a white pastor - they were poles apart.) - what they did, what - their own point of world view, they were poles apart, and the Swedes - I mean (these were the Swedish mission, and they were just like any other white, discriminating and so forth.)

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- A.N. (I know now that they) rather that - that didn't happen, but of course that's history - in other words, they (don't want us to speak about it - they prefer us not to say that we grew up under discrimination from the missionaries - *but that's history.*)
- J.F. (So you sensed that they) were - they (had prejudice) against black people, that they weren't really acting in your interest?)
- A.N. (God, what interest?) - (they wouldn't have gone there really for our (?) interest.) - what - what they were doing - (of course, they did build up the schools and the churches - after all, if they didn't do that, they would have been even worse) off (than) - than the - the - (the ordinary white farmer,) you know - if they didn't build schools or - or teach and so forth, they wouldn't have been different from any other - (I mean, they are missionaries, so they build schools, they had the church and so forth,) see, (so if that was any - any - or a service, that is the service they did, but what I'm saying, which is different, is that actually they were part and parcel of the white population of South Africa.)
- J.F. (And did you see that at the time?) or did you have any phase....
- A.N. (Of course I saw that at the time.) - I - I saw that at the time, and (my father) at the time (was the chairman of the local ANC branch and) - and (they didn't like that and - and ultimately that's why we) ultimately left the mission station and) - and (my father had to go and buy land from Swaziland,) and so forth.
- J.F. So your father went and bought land from Swaziland and settled in Swaziland?
- A.N. Mmm - mmm, because he - he couldn't - well, he was in - in the mission - yes, in fact there is - their land is still there - some of my relatives are on it now.
- J.F. So your father left South Africa?
- A.N. (He left South Africa.)
- J.F. You weren't mentioning before - I asked you if he was political and you told me about history - you didn't mention he was actually an ANC branch chairman - (from what years was ^{your father} he an ANC member?)
- A.N. (He had been an ANC member from 1913.)
- J.F. So from its inception he joined?
- A.N. He joined and - and (he was) actually (the branch chairman) in - (in Malmouth I think from '43 to '49,) and so forth.
- J.F. And the ANC as you were growing up - if he was branch chairman from '43, since you were about 12 years old, what picture did he give you - (what did the ANC represent to you as you were growing up?) - how did he see the ANC - (was it an organisation of African people against the whites?) - did it see any potential - how did he speak about the whites, that they would be ultimately no longer a factor or what was his view of the ANC that you grew up getting from him?
- A.N. Oh, yes, his view - of course he didn't discuss it with me - (he was discussing it in my presence and so forth - I mean (all what he wanted was the) alienation of (land, - he was the taking away of land) by the whites, (because they) had taken chunks and chunks of the land,) around where he was, (particularly in the area where he had been born,) around Mtunzini (subsequently became white farms, you see.) *my father*
- which*
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A.N. And even the question of the mission there was a question that he discussed daily, as to what title have these mission, and I'm still interested as to what title, because I never saw the title deed, but I know that they were in charge and in fact ultimately, when we left the place, we - we - we left it because - we left it because they said so, and therefore they were in charge, you see.

J.F. But you didn't tell me - what did the ANC mean as you were growing up - what was your perception....

A.N. It was the national movement as I grew up - in 1945 (there was definitely no other movement - it was run by black people for black people) - (Champion used to come to my house readily) - (Msimung used to come to my house most of the time) - (Msimung, who was the secretary, provincial secretary, you see.)

J.F. Msimung?

A.N. H.S. Msimung - people like - well, Dube was (.....) - I didn't see him at the time, but Charles Dube, the brother of Dr. Dube, Dr. J.L. Dube, (used to come to the house to discuss with my father about) the (politics) most of the time, you see.

J.F. But (you said it was an organisation of the black people - do you mean the African people or was it an organisation that you saw as embracing Coloureds and Indians and whites as well?) or did you see it as an African organisation?

A.N. (Look, the) - the (question), as I said, (of Coloureds was neither here nor there,) you see - (there were no Coloured groups where we grew up) - there were Coloured people there because of miscegenation - they were not a group.) -> back to p. 2

J.F. But theoretically you knew there were Indians in Natal, you knew there were whites in South Africa, you knew there were Coloureds in the Cape - did this ANC as you knew it, as your father was so involved with it, did it - was it an organisation of African people because you mainly saw so many African people in it, or did you know there were people of other race groups, or was that not part of - did anyone ever explain it?

A.N. (There were no people of other race groups in the ANC,) and it - it - and they - (it was merely the African people, and I include the so-called Coloureds because they're African people.) -> p. 6

J.F. And then you yourself left the mission school - you went to mission school in south of Natal - which one was that?

A.N. I - I went to a mission school in Natal, but also in the south of Natal. I went to (.....) mission.

J.F. And then after there where did you go?

A.N. I went to St. Faiths (?) - it's called St. Faiths (?)

J.F. How do you spell that?

A.N. St. Faiths - and so that's where I - I went, and those were mission schools - but your point is that no white person at that time even pretended to be part of the movement, so - so that the question didn't arise.

- J.F. So what year did you go - did you go then on to university?
- A.N. Yes, I went - I went to university.
- J.F. What year was that?
- A.N. In the '50s - I think actually should have been '54 to '56.
- J.F. So you went to University of Natal in '54 - and I'm just forgetting were blacks - were there many blacks - did you have to get special permission or how did it work for blacks to get to university - whoever....
- A.N. No, it was before that - before '59, so we went to a section - there was a section in Natal, and again it - it shows that they had this - they were part and parcel of apartheid - they had a non-European section and a white section, see.
- J.F. So you studied - what did you study?
- A.N. I studied government, yes, and later on I studied law.
- J.F. And when did you - did you get political at the university or had you been involved in politics (.....)
- A.N. (Laugh) The point is that you speak of one getting political - in fact what I'm trying to say is that I mean that will be your analysis as an academic to say I'm political, but what I'm trying to say is an experience - there's an experience - I mean for instance, I - I had been - before that I had been - before I went to university I'd been a trade unionist and I'd worked in a textile factory, and I am in fact a textile weaver myself, and I - I had formed - I had been part of the African Textile Union, and because a - a union that was not recognised - and formed it and we did try to get the recognised parallel union, parallel (?) union to negotiate - these were Indians and the whites - and of course they did sweet nothing about negotiating for Africans, see, and you found that the - the - the Africans in the factory who were doing the labouring jobs - I remember at the time they were getting say, something like two pounds and sixpence a week.
- I mean we were well paid by the - by the standard of the times - we were getting four pounds or five pounds a week, and with a bonus sometimes get six or seven pounds or something like that, but those - and no-one was ever negotiating at the time, and I was working at a factory - in fact at THE factory for - for textiles, which was owned by Frame, who later became the economic adviser to Vorster, see - this is one of the largest textile factories in the country, you see, and so we had that I mean, so that to me this is not politics - it's an experience that I - I went through, you see.
- J.F. And then you left the union and went to university?
- A.N. Yes, I left - well, I left working there, and therefore really I left the union because I wasn't paying subscription then, and also since it wasn't a registered union, it had a very, very difficult time for survival.
- J.F. During your time as a trade unionist, had you joined ANC or had you had any relation....
- A.N. Yes, I had - I had - I had - I had joined the - the ANC and I had even taken part in the first protest in the day of protest and prayer, June 26 - in 1950 I took part in - in the initial one, and I was sent to organise the northern Natal.

A.N. I went and in fact spoke at northern Natal and (?) Beggville (?) - Beggville, Ladysmith, Vryheid, Dundee, Glencoe, Dunhousal (?)

J.F. And did you join the youth league?

A.N. Well, you couldn't - you joined them simultaneously - you joined the youth league and therefore the ANC, so there was no - you couldn't join the youth league on its own without being a member of the ANC - it was a joint membership - you paid an additional fee for - for the youth league, and therefore it was tucked (?) into the ANC one, see.

J.F. But the youth league wasn't formed until you were 18 years old - it was formed in '49, right?

A.N. What?

J.F. The youth league.

A.N. No, it was formed....

J.F. '43....

A.N. '44, yes.

J.F. So you joined them both - and did you have an office in the youth league - were you an office bearer?

A.N. Oh, yes, I was an office bearer - I was the - I was the provincial secretary at the time, otherwise I was the chief administrator of the youth league at the time, having succeeded Masabalala (Xengwa.....) before me, you see.

J.F. So tell me what kind of issues you discussed in the youth league in the early '50s - you said you joined the 1950 protest - you were a solid ANC member - you came from an ANC family, but....

A.N. Look, (there wasn't a family that wasn't an ANC family), you see (- if you came from an African background, you ultimately - there was no other movement at the time) - there was no choices, you see - I - I - I know that you might say in the Transkei they had the Unity Movement and all that, but it was hardly in any other province and so forth, you see.

J.F. But I have interviewed people whose parents weren't in any organisation - your father was in the ANC - so all I'm saying is....

A.N. Well, (you might not have held office) - (you might not have paid subscription, but you) had (said that if you are part of the nation, you are ANC.)

J.F. (As you got involved yourself politically,) in the union and then later at university, (can you tell me what kind of debates were going on, what kind of political debates, what were your concerns? (in the ANC Youth League?))

A.N. Well, before then there had been the - the programme of action, the nation-building programme of action, which we envisaged in fact to - to have a day of protest, and that was part of the programme of action, the day of protest and because we felt that this must be brought to the fore, to the world - people must see what is happening there, you see, and because at UN this question of - of the - the system of government in South Africa was not mentioned - it came in as a - as - as part and parcel of what Nehru's sister used to raise - she was the ambassador then at UN - what's her name now?

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A.N. She used to raise it as the treatment of the Indian people, people of Indian origin in South Africa and - and so therefore, our issue came in really as part of that question - it wasn't - it was never raised - in fact when it was raised, it was raised because some of us had taken action and then the - for the first time it was raised on its merits, you see, in the 1960s - in fact in 1960 when we launched the positive action campaign, culminating in Sharpeville, then it was raised for the first time in UN, but what I'm saying is that the - the - the question of - it was - what we discussed was the question of first of all, how to bring about the whole question of national self-determination of the African people, and we wanted to (.....) the (ways and means of improving their economic output by encouraging co-operatives and encouraging the) - the trams (?) - the (development of) network of transport, because we were using the transport of all (the other people who were exploiting us - we wanted to use more of our transport, we wanted to use our own co-operatives,) and I mean that's the thing.

(So we started by launching the day of) - of - of (protest in) 19 - in (1950,) you see, (and unfortunately,) in a way, is that (all people in the bandwagon) (?) (came into this, and we think) that (with more) - (with ulterior motives,) than to - to - to - to (carry out - to carry out the programme - they didn't want to carry out the programme,) but at the time we felt that they wanted to carry out the programme of the - (of the youth league which ANC had accepted.)

J.F. (Which people are these?)...

A.N. (Well, they were the) - the (Communist Party of South Africa, the) - the white Communist Party of South Africa,) the....

J.F. (Why do you say the white Communist Party - they have lots of black members.)

A.N. (How many were there?)

J.F. They had a lot of black leadership - they had Kotane, they had J.B. Marks, they had - the membership roll's historical....

A.N. (Well, J.B. Marks and Kotane were) - were - were (in the ANC anyway, and they had not given any - (we knew that they were communists, but they were African people and they were doing no harm, but you see, the point (15) when it came in is (that in) 19 - in (January 1950 at their central committee meeting they passed a resolution whereby) - I think it was resolution 121, whereby (they wanted to get a national movement and infiltrate it and therefore use the national movement,) you see (- that's why I'm speaking of the ulterior motives, you see.)

(And when the) legislation, the (Suppression of Communism) Act - (Bill was still before parliament,) on the 21st. (June, 1950 they) scuttled themselves, in other words, without anybody doing so, see, and so when they came in on the - on June 26th. they had (just scuttled themselves and now they were a group of the Communist Party and) so forth, and (this is something that we didn't like.) - Tambo - (Tambo, for instance, didn't like the) - the - the - the - the (May Day because the communists, after hearing that we were going to have a day of prayer, they pre-empted it by having a May Day demonstration,) whereby a number of people - two people were killed and so forth, (and of course that swayed the ANC to allow even the communists to come in +) that was (the national executive, but some of us were looking askance at that type of thing.)

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A.N. (Therefore) they (came) in - into the - in - in - (into the mainstream of) what is (our) activity and they put a stop onto the programme of action that we had.)
- J.F. Who came in and....
- A.N. The - the - the - (the white members of the Communist Party).
- J.F. How did they come into the ANC....
- A.N. (They came in as the Congress of Democrats and they pressurised to have that alliance) and so forth - (of course the alliance came in because) the they had - (they had the money and) we - (we didn't have - we have the numbers,) you see.
- J.F. (So you were very opposed to the Congress of Democrats?)
- A.N. (Well, I) - I - I didn't think of them as anything, they didn't - they were not interested in this, and I (knew they were not interested) - they were not interested in - (in solving the South African situation in the way we, as a majority, had in fact stated that we wanted) self-determination, (national self-determination through the programme of action of 1949.)
- J.F. So what do you say that the whites wanted?
- A.N. Oh, (they wanted control.) - (we felt that) now (the whites, now if they're on the right, they want to control you through overt apartheid - if they are on the left, they still want to have you in control.) - (and in fact this is) - this is - is (what ultimately happened.
- J.F. How do you explain the famous statement from Mandela in the dock when he said that he worked with communists and he saw them as people who wanted to work for the interests of the majority, - (that they were the only ones who came in and worked - you know the statement I'm referring to?
- A.N. (Yes, I know the statement you referred to,) and well, in that there are many things Mandela says in that statement, which although he has been - I've been very, very friendly with) him ^{Mandela} and so forth, you see - even in prison we are friendly, but for instance, when - when (he says he's) opposed to both black racism and white racism, what nonsense is that? - where had he seen - (what experience had he seen black racism in South Africa?) - I - (I'm merely saying there are a number of things in his statements I won't agree with) - there has been - you - (you have been in South Africa - you have never seen black racism there.)
- J.F. (Sure I have.)
- A.N. You have - who has got black racism there? (How?)
- J.F. Well, the people who - (perhaps the BC people who were opposed to white involvement.)
- A.N. Is that racism - (listen, are you going to accuse people who are fighting) so that - who are fighting (to exclude whites,) and (the whites who oppress them?) - I have seen - (where is the chairman of the Congress of Democrats today?) - (he joined the National Party after I have been with him in the treason trial) - (do you want me to put my) - my (fate in the hands of those people.) =>

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- A.N. (Ludy)(?) who was regarded as the most important member of the Congress of Democrats - he went to Moscow, was sent all over, and he gave the most damning - damning (evidence against Mandela himself.)
- (3)
- J.F. (But you know very well that you could name just as many of black people who testified against their comrades.)
- A.N. (Ah, but) it's not - (they don't do it because it is in their interest - they do it because it is the operation (?) (of the system,) and no, let me tell you, and you think people who - you think people must love whites in South Africa despite that they oppress them?
- J.F. What do you mean....
- A.N. That's what you - that's what you say - you are saying the black....
- J.F. the people - the black collaborators - (why are black collaborators different than white collaborators?) - they do it because what - why do black collaborators do it - because?
- A.N. (I'm saying that black collaborators are manipulated by the system itself.)
- J.F. If you take someone like Buthelezi he's doing....
- A.N. Is he a collaborator - I mean I don't know - is he a collaborator.
- J.F. I'm interviewing you - you don't think that the....
- A.N. No, no, no, no - no, no, no, don't - don't bring that, that you are interviewing me - that's why I told you at the beginning that I also put questions at you.
- J.F. My experience is that black people of South Africa see (.....) as collaborators - if you want to leave Buthelezi - you don't want to see Buthelezi as a collaborator?
- A.N. Are - are you saying he is?
- J.F. I've very rarely met black people who don't see him as a collaborator, unless they're Inkatha members themselves - what is your view?
- A.N. I'll come to that at the appropriate time, if you want me to, but the point is that I'm dealing with this issue now of collaborators - (I'm saying people join the police force, not because they like to be controlled by the police and so forth, but) they join the police force (because it's) the question of where they cannot - they can't get food and it's (a question of livelihood) - (they go to the mines) and (which support the system, because it's the ^{same} question of their own livelihood.)
- J.F. (You could say) that that's (the same for the whites - the railway worker goes for his livelihood,) but I think....
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- A.N. What - what does the white railway worker do?
- J.F. He's also choosing because it's in his interest to go to the mines and collaborate with the system and benefit as a white, but I think there's the issue of collaborators who benefit from the system, like the homeland leaders, like the so-called mayors of the townships, like the tri-cameral parliament MPs - those people are benefiting from the system - they're not - you're saying they're just manipulated by the system - they're benefiting - they have....

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A.N. (Listen,) I - I - I am saying this, you see, and the first time I met Matanzima I was with Mandela in fact - we had dinner together with Mandela, see, and (Matanzima himself,) he has taken very what you call (.....) institute, but what I'm saying he is merely - he thinks - (he may be naive, but he thinks that by these things) he in the - (in Transkei there will be no apartheid.) - he may be naive, but that's what he thinks, but he will be different - (Matanzima's different from) me than from (Vorster.)

J.F. I don't think there're very many people who think that....

A.N. Well, because....

J.F. Are they brothers (.....) helping their people?

A.N. I - I am - I've been talking to you about Matanzima....

J.F. (.....)

A.N. Ja, I'm talking to you about Matanzima, but I'm saying, you see, he might think that way - he might be lured by all those things - many people, white people - the - who - for instance, here, there're (?) no tax evaders here, who do it according to law and do those things, he might - those things might apply to him - are you - you - you are not getting me, I think - I would say the expressions are (.....)

J.F. I'm a bit confused.

A.N. What confuses you?

J.F. No, I'm just saying....

A.N. You see, I'm talking about, you see - (you are talking to an Africanist here and) an African Nationalist, and (to me, an African collaborator is) a different) what-you-call (species from a white oppressor.)

J.F. (Let's leave it at that and move on) - (when you were at the University of Natal, can you tell me why you were agitating) against a poor break (?) between the black students.... (for a breakaway by from NUSAS by the black students?)

A.N. (Because the) - the (liberalists in NUSAS were manipulators.)

J.F. Were what?

A.N. (They were manipulating us) and - and they were now, (to be) the mouthpiece of all the students.) - (they were the people who wanted to tell us how we are oppressed - I say no white person is going to tell me how I am oppressed.)

J.F. Did you succeed in making that break?

A.N. Break with what?

J.F. With NUSAS.

A.N. Oh, yes, it - it came in and of course black students were few at - at the Natal University - in other words, African students were few - it was - it was the Indians that were a majority, but through the medical school, African students came off and in fact Africans - that's why the University of Natal became the stronghold of Africanism and African nationalism, see.

J.F. The University of Natal?



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 A.N. Of Natal, yes, it is indeed - you might not have got it offered anywhere, because there has always been a slant (?) but what I'm saying is that you say you have seen black racism in South Africa - I'm saying because you don't even understand what black racism - what racism is - racism are those people who discriminate and also with the power and - or the power of the state, and we (you) have not seen any such thing in South Africa, and the BC are one of the greatest patriots you can find in that part of the world, because merely the trouble is that with - even with the whites - the whites, whether they belong to - to the extreme racist National Party or liberalists and so forth, they don't want to be liked (?) they want to be loved - even they oppress you and you say you don't want this oppression and you don't want them because they bring the oppression, then they say you are a racist - they want to turn the tables against us.

J.F. In 1969 Steve Biko led a walkout from NUSAS, is that correct - I just - I'm confused about why you're saying that your - when was the break between NUSAS that you're talking about - what year was it?

A.N. Well, I'm talking about the '50s.

J.F. Which year in the '50s?

A.N. It should have been '57, I think.

J.F. But why does history record that Steve Biko led the walkout from NUSAS in 1969?

A.N. Well, there was a re what you call, a rejoining, you see, and again the power (?) of the liberalists says : Look, you don't have to - you don't have to break off from this, you have got to have this paternalism and so forth and - and therefore I think Naidoo re what you call, rejoined NUSAS, see - M.J. Naidoo rejoined NUSAS - I had been with him when I'd been arrested for - for high treason, and went away - then I think he took over and tried to - to rejoin NUSAS, which he may have succeeded in our presence, but when the medical school was filled with African students the issue came up again, and therefore there was that final break, see.

J.F. So you were arrested in 1957 in the famous treason trial?

A.N. '56 actually, yes.

J.F. And then how long were you involved in the treason trial?

A.N. I was involved until 1958.

J.F. And then in '58 where did you - did you go back to university or what did you do?

A.N. Yes, I went back to university.

J.F. And just tell me a bit - maybe if you just in your own words tell me how you moved towards the situation (whereby there was the breakaway of the PAC *from the ANC*).....

③ (Can you tell me about how your politics evolved to the point)

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END OF SIDE ONE.



A.N. (3) The - the breakaway of the PAC - in fact that's a misnomer, because what we were following on was the traditional view of - or even of all the movements and of all the ideology, (that the Africans are going to be the creators of their own freedom, they're going to be their own liberators, and the youth league underlined that,) and in fact it was the - it was these distractions that put that (in fact, what we call the Charterists moved away from the) - the (mainstream of African thought) - the mainstream of African thought was (that the Africans are going to strive for national self-determination) and they are going to create, through their power in the trade - in the workforce, because we knew now that we could - even if we are not recognised we could stage strikes, because all that could happen after staging a strike is that we will be sent to jail, and in fact it means that is an endorsement of the strike - we wanted that thing because they had no more - we could withdraw our labour - they said: Don't withdraw our labour, we'll send you to prison.

Of course if you are sent to prison it means that in fact the labour is finally - is finally withdrawn successfully, you see, (so we wanted all those things to do (to create in the meantime) things because we are also being exploited economically and in the - in the system in South Africa wanted to create ways and means of creating things, as I have mentioned, co-operatives, agricultural co-operatives, marketing co-operatives and have the small time transport of) - of (taxis, small mini-buses) and so forth, in order to - because even when we went to work we had to pay the fares because we worked away from home through the migrant labour system - we paid the fares and therefore we were exploited all the time.

And we knew that this system, once we can create a gap in one of its many arteries, then it - it might very well bleed to death, and economically we knew that we could do that, you see.

J.F. So your goal was to create a separate black, independent black economy that was not related to the white system?

A.N. No, no, no, (I'm not saying that) not unrelated because you - you know with economics you can't do something like that within a state, can you, with - with common currency and common national what you call, (but the point is that) if, for instance - (if you don't go and buy from - if you buy from your own shops rather than buy from the white shops or the Asian shops, you will not create your own economy but you will (make sure that your buying power is put back into the African hands,) isn't it.

J.F. So you wanted to set up co-operatives and....

A.N. Co-operatives, yes, and (and things like that with transport,) see, (in order to - to (move up, and also set up educational institutions to educate our people,) see.

J.F. (But how would that be funded?) - (that seems like quite a network you're envisioning, transport, education.)

A.N. (Of course we would set up a fund - all this is in the programme of action,) see....

J.F. Of the?

A.N. Of the - (of the youth league,) which was adopted by the ANC, but) as I've said to you, (immediately after its adoption only one thing that was done what was the) - the - the (June 26th, protest,) you see, (but other things were abandoned,) and in 1953, (for instance,) after the defiance campaign in 1953, (we wanted an economic boycott, but the) - the - the (ANC vetoed that.) -> top.13

- A.N. It was one of the two main resolutions in 1953 - one was calling upon us to draw a - a (.....) statement of principles about what we wanted to achieve, what our goals were, you see, and it was that - it was that resolution of - of Queenstown in 1953 that was taken aboard and - and then the economic boycott one started in Port Elizabeth, but it was soon (.....) because (apparently the economic boycott one was going to hurt our friends), (- quote, unquote, in that (- the economic boycott would hurt Indians, economic boycott would hurt the - the - (the Jewish establishments.)
- ③
- J.F. Who said it would hurt our friends?
- A.N. I'm saying it would hurt our friends, quote, unquote....
- J.F. But who said that?
- A.N. Yes, because (that was the attitude adopted by the) - by the (ANC, that it would hurt our friends) and that's why the economic boycott resolution of 1953 was - was set upon and (nobody did anything) - (and then in 1954 they started the move towards the - the (Freedom Charter and) so forth, you see, and (it was the Freedom Charter that in fact spelt out the break in the ANC, because the Freedom Charter again (spelt out, as you know what it says, (that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white))
- J.F. Were you - did you go to Kliptown for the congress....
- A.N. No, I didn't.
- J.F. Why not?
- A.N. Because I had been in the - in the national council in Natal, and I didn't find anybody seriously asking me to draw up a contribution to the Charter so that somebody - (this Charter thing was never drawn by us) - I was in the field there, and I want to know who drew the Charter and when, and why was it discussed before it's presented at Kliptown.
- J.F. So you were upset - have you traced the origins of the break with the ANC - you would trace it to '55 or would you trace it - were you beginning to be disgruntled earlier than '55?
- A.N. Yes, of course.
- J.F. Earlier?
- A.N. Earlier.
- J.F. What - tell me some....
- A.N. The con - (and this alliance,) which had a joint plan in council of - (with equal members from each) organisation - would you like to have an equal member of - (of the four organisations - equal members from the blacks, from the whites, from the Asians and then from the Coloureds,) - I would you like to do that if you wanted unity? (we also opposed that.)
- J.F. Why were you opposed to that?
- A.N. Well, (because the point is that if the Africans,) if there was any joint thing, (if there was any need for any joint thing, should not have been a minority in that situation with all the numbers behind them) - I mean (it should have been pro rata to their numbers, and this was not so.
- J.F. (What did you see as the place of Coloureds and Indians and whites?) - how were they....

3) A.S. I've told you about) - about - about the - (the Coloureds, that the - the Coloureds are a manipulation of the system, which wants) manipulation of them, (cutting (away the Coloureds from the) - from the (Africans) - they want) to make them an entity apart.) - (the Coloureds are as indigenous there as anybody else, because they are born of miscegenation between the whites) and our sisters or our daughters, whichever way you want to look at it.)

J.F. Some of them are - some of them go back to Malay roots....

A.S. Oh, well, we - we are not racist - we look at the bulk of the thing that happens, and (we say the bulk of the Coloureds come) from the roots of - of African what you call - (from the loins of the Africans,) see.

J.F. So the Coloureds you see as should be part of a pan-Africanist....

A.S. (They are) - they are what you call - they are (part of) the - (the African nation,) you see, (I mean there's no doubt about that, but what I'm saying is that the whites and) - and - and what you call - (the Asians,) you see, were - were - were now, because (those are the people that were manipulating) the - the Coloureds were not manipulating anything, you see, and now (they were - they sort of manipulated a majority of the planning) (?) (council and the Africans were in the minority.)

J.F. The minority - I thought it was equal?

A.S. No, (if you have four entities and then you multiply them either by two, by three, you find that the three would be a minority of the total,) so they were at any given time.

J.F. So what was your view of where the Indians or of the Asians....

A.S. (All what I'm saying is that,) and I still say it - is that : Look, (the Africans would always do with allies),...

J.F. With what?

A.S. With - will always do with allies - in other words, (people who want to help - but they will not do with people who want to lead that struggle, other than themselves.) - they (the Africans) will have to lead that struggle - I mean (there's no way of - of - of (compromise there.) - (the Africans, that is their struggle in the first place, and they've got to) - to (lead that struggle.)

J.F. So where did that (And) put the Indians) - (where should they be in the struggle?)

A.S. (The Indians ^{should} not lead the struggle,) - (they've got to support on issues,) on which - (for instance, they didn't carry passes, and therefore they couldn't understand anything about the passes, and the) - the (whites didn't carry passes, and therefore they couldn't understand anything about passes,) and now that they had - they'd also succeeded in dividing the Coloureds because the Coloureds were made not to carry the passes and so forth, and therefore they can't do - do anything about that, you see.

There're issues, for instance, where (with the whites) we can say : How can you help - (we must say that if you are prepared to help,) well, (can you do so - and - so) and so and so, (but it's not for ~~them~~ to say the struggle must go this way or that way, as in fact has happened,) and it has been borne - borne by a - a history that it has - it has happened - I mean (within the ANC there has been a wave of dissatisfaction again with the whites in) - in (the movement,) you see.

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A.N. And just recently, (you know that Slovo has resigned the leadership of the ANC and) - and of course (if you tell me) that it's because (they were satisfied with his leadership) and that he resigned because he felt that now they could do that (?) (it will all be balderdash, of course,) won't it - won't it?

J.F. So why did he resign then - are you saying it's because he was - that the ANC was unhappy with him?

A.N. I - I - I'm saying - I'm not saying they were - I mean I'm saying - I'm saying that I wonder if he resigned to concentrate in politics, as he says (Laugh) - why has he not been concentrating in politics all this time.

J.F. So what are you insinuating - why are you saying he resigned?

A.N. I am saying that the - (the people who are in the MK) (?) (the people who are dying out there,) whether it is in Wankie or whether it is in - in Johannesburg or anywhere, (are black people) there - (there are no) whites, (liberalist whites,) - (have you ever seen them carrying a gun to South Africa or being caught there?)

J.F. (Ja) the (John Vorster Square was blown up by a white woman, wasn't it?)

A.N. What, John Vorster Square was blown up when - which - when?

J.F. (In March, 1986, Marion Sparg,) - (she got 25 years,) - (3) end

A.N. Yes, yes, but all I'm saying - I'm saying....

J.F. The answer is yes to your question, (there are whites who've been sentenced) to high sentences (and who have died, in fact, so I think the answer to your question is that there have been whites, isn't it?)

A.N. Who?

J.F. You asked....

A.N. Who have been propping the struggle being on the - on the frontline where they've been shot and so forth, which - which white has been shot by the South African police who was carrying an - an - an - what you call - a KA 47....

J.F. The question is have there been whites who've engaged in guerilla war, and the answer is yes - like how would you explain....

A.N. Which - which ones are those?

J.F. The one - let's just take the one example of Marion Sparg - she blew up John Vorster Square and that was - this isn't a war where you face the Caspirs and the Hippos across the battle lines - it's a war where bombs are going off, right, so just tell me your answer on Marion Sparg the woman - just tell me what you think about that because I'm a bit confused.

A.N. Ja, well, well, I'm - I'm not talking about Marion Sparg but what I'm..

J.F. (.....)

A.N. O.K., let me - what I'm saying is this, is that, you see, as far as - as far as her view (?) there is no white person....

J.F. Yes, there is....



- A.N. That has been shot by the police because he was either shooting back, carrying a - a MK 47, that's what I'm saying - I know that the - the - the bombs - even I was with Ben Turok in prison and others who had planted some bombs here and there and so forth as a way of - of - of avoiding the real confrontation with the whites - that's what I'm saying - I'm saying there are no - where - where are these - the ANC members who are white who - who are carrying the guns, because they are more used to them, you see.
- J.F. Can I ask you something - can you tell me about PAC members who are carrying guns and are shot by police?
- A.N. Oh, yes, there're a number of them.
- J.F. Are there - I've never read in the paper about them.
- A.N. Well, you see, the - the white reporters who come to South Africa seemingly don't see it, you see, and we have got cuttings of all these things around.
- J.F. I would like you to send me some cuttings because I've never seen those cuttings - do you have those cuttings here?
- A.N. Yes, I do - they may not be in the house but where I keep things all over the place, but the point is that there're so many cuttings, and you know, from - from 1960 - well, '63 - '60 people were shot there, African people were shot - '63 in the (.....) river in....
- J.F. What river?
- A.N. Bashi (?) River, Stellenbosch and in Krugersdorp, all those areas, you see.
- J.F. Why don't we just take some questions - I think we're getting too involved in the dialogue - can you tell me when you were talking about the ideas that the PAC or that the Africanists had for defeating the system rather through this mini buses and....
- A.N. That was not the Africanists as such, it was the whole congress.
- J.F. Is it - (.....) programme of action - but just tell me the PAC, what is its economic programme - what is its economic component - (what is the PAC's ideology and economic analysis of the South African situation?)
- A.N. What - what do you mean - do you mean the - the - the Marxist counterpart of that?
- J.F. Well, is it not Marxist or just define it from (.....)
- A.N. No.
- J.F. Does that mean that you're anti-Marxist or you (.....)
- A.N. If I'm not Marxist, I'm not anti-Marxist, please.
- J.F. What are you then?
- A.N. I say Africanist.
- J.F. And what is the - (I'm trying to understand what Africanism means - does it have any economic programme?) Africanism?

do p. 17

- A.N. Look, what is an economic programme - an economic programme is always there where there are human beings carrying out economic existence - it is not something that comes from heaven like manna by merely dropping scraps (?) of Marxism here and there, isn't it?
- J.F. So what would your view be of a future South Africa run by Africanists - what economic system would....
- A.N. ^{from p. 16} The economic system we inherited) for our - (from our fathers, where there was no starvation, where there was no exploitation, we wanted an economic system based on those principles, which are unchangeable, the principles that have made the African exist and survive - the co-operation between the people and so forth, no exploitation, and) the - (no economic injustice - we wanted that) - (the tilling of the land.)
- J.F. ⁶ But that system you're describing is quite a romantic one - it hasn't brought economic development... .
- A.N. Well, you'll always call this romantic - which one is not romantic - of course it's not romantic to be - to be in the - in the mines - my father has also worked in the mines, among other things.
- J.F. This thing of (tilling the land and not exploiting each other in the pre-industrial society, how does it work in a developed nation like South Africa - how does it bring economic development and productivity?) this system that you're describing - is it - (would you call it a socialist system, would you call it a capitalist system?) - what....
- A.N. Well, (the trouble with you) you - you think ^(is that) - (you think) of (either) one being a - a - a (socialist or capitalist) - you think there are two, because this - (you think in terms of a) - a white - (white person's viewpoint) when you think, (because capitalism comes from Europe and so does Marxism come from Europe,) you see, and ^{we} had economic system - unless you are saying that we didn't produce before the white people came, and in fact we are worse off ^{no} than in the pre-industrial society in which we are - we (had surplus) - we don't have surplus now - in other words, is to create national (?) surpluses in order to sustain our other economic what you call - our other economic development - the question of what we want (?) - the question you want to know whether the - the - the - the factories would be owned by individuals or not. ~~do p. 18~~
- J.F. Why don't we go back to just letting you just take me chronologically - in '58 you came out of the treason trial - just tell me in your own words how you moved from '58 to the present through the founding of the PAC?
- A.N. Now tell me, have you seen the - have you seen the - the - the Pan-Africanist manifesto?
- J.F. I've read everything that's in Karis & Carter's book, I've read all of the documents.
- A.N. Have you seen it - what do you think of it?
- J.F. Well, I'd like you to just tell me....
- A.N. Oh, no, no, no, you have read - what do you think of it, because you are saying things are either capitalist or - or - or what you call - or - or Marxist.
- J.F. No, I don't think - I accept that you're looking at a new brand, you're looking at an African communalism, that's fine - I think....
- A.N. What do you mean middle ground, middle - middle between capitalism and Marxism?
- J.F.

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⑤

J.F. I think that the best....

A.N. I'm not looking at the middle ground, (I'm looking at the life that the African had been carrying out before their invasion, and it was a full life, it was a productive life, and we had an economy where our people were not exploited,) and (we want to advance those principles) and so forth and - (and I'm not going to get into the) - into the (tangles of Marxism.) because Marxism itself, for instance, the - a - a - a - Kruschev (?) had a different viewpoint of Marxism, so did Mao, so is - is Brezhnev and - and now Gorbechev - they have got different viewpoints of Marxism, so there's nothing like an ideal Marxism, unless you bring the tax a bit (?) down.

J.F. Do you believe in socialism?

A.N. What do you mean believe?

J.F. Would you support it - does the PAC support socialism?

A.N. You see, you haven't read those - those books.

J.F. Why don't you tell me, because this is supposed to be oral history - I don't want to take it from the books - if I take it from the books you'll say....

A.N. No, those were written by us - I mean the manifesto was written by us....

J.F. (... ..) today - I'm trying to ask questions and I think you're being rather argumentative - I'm asking....

A.N. I'm not - I'm not argumentative....

J.F. just tell me if the PAC historically has supported socialism and if it supports it now - maybe I'm forgetting that those first - maybe I'll have to go back....

A.N. Yes, yes, I mean if you - if you say so I would agree because this is - we want to create a new social order, original in concept, out of Christian (?) (orientation, democratic in form, socialist in content, and that is our view,) but socialism as we - as we put it, is a question of carrying out economic and social justice within the concept of an economy - one other thing is that I've been talking in meetings in the US all over at campuses and so forth, repeating some of these things, and also being every person wanting to know the breakaway, the reason for the breakaway and so forth, and I've been doing that almost all the time - but I am saying that some of these views have filtered through - and have filtered through, and I thought perhaps we would look at - at the developments which are post-1960 really and go on from there, but for your benefit let me say again that we were - as soon as the - the - the - the Charter - even before the Charter there was a school of thought that felt that now we were (not going) into - (along the lines that) we had - (our fathers had) envis - (envisaged in 1912 when they formed the) - the - the (ANC, that the programme of action had envisaged, that Lembede, Mdo, Sobukwe, Pitje had envisaged.)

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②

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③

(That's when we saw that) now we - we saw that (now we've got to correct.) (?) we met a bit before the Charter, but (after the Charter we found that actually all our fears had been realised, that now we were denied the fact that South Africa belonged to the African people.) - we are now going to be subjected to the theories that we all came together at the same time, others coming through the south and we coming from the north - are you aware of those theories?

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J.F. (.....) the ANC, the congress alliance accepted that distorted view of history - everyone knows that the blacks were there first - I think you misunderstood me - I didn't ask you to recapitulate history for me - I just want to know you when - what did you do - you got released from the treason trial and then what happened - let me just start the questioning by saying during the treason trial did that further support your Africanism - there you were on trial with the top leaders of the ANC, with a lot of the people who then were going to become the PAC - during that period of being so close quarters with the ANC people, did that in any way make you closer to them or did that move you even further from them, because you call them the Charterists?

A.N. Well, I'm not calling them the Charterists, aren't they?

J.F. I don't know, you used that word.

A.N. Well, the - ja - as I said, I - I was there and well, in the treason trial and we met people from all over the show - it was the - one of the few things that we couldn't have actually have managed to meet so many people for so long, coming from all over the shows - that we came in into the treason trial - we may have been three or four of us who were so acclaimed (?) but when we left of the 155 we had, I think - we meeting about 30 - a meeting of 30 people, you see, and that was during the treason trial, you see, and - and that's what we - we met the people we couldn't normally meet from the Western Cape and so forth - we met emissaries, people coming in from all over the country to see friends, relatives in the treason trials - we met them and - and again we were - we were stronger, see, and in fact in the Transvaal there (they) were the - the - the Transvaal province was almost taken over by the - the Africanists at - at the time before the official breakaway, and even the 1958 annual conference of the ANC in the Transvaal, we had sent somebody there to go and - and watch how things were going on, you see, and - and to give them moral support on - that was in November, 1958, when the final breakaway was, but the point is that again it was there were no discussion of ideas at that - at that meeting - the - the - the Africans were merely shut out at the door, because I think Tambo was (.....) merely identified those that were Africanist and they couldn't go on.

So that was the breakaway and we - and the Transvaal stated the Transvaal - the chief (?) stated that at the time we felt that - we felt that there was no way of going on into the ANC debating this because this might degenerate into even physical conflict, you see, which we wanted to avoid - any physical conflict between African and African - and we stated that as much, you see, and therefore we said we are going to strike out on our own and to leave the - the - the organisation as the ANC was, although we felt that we were morally living (?) with the continuity of history, the mainstream of history from 1912 - it was on our side, you see.

J.F. So you were chosen PAC treasurer general, is that right?

A.N. I'm not - I've not come to that - to that position yet and - and then in December, 1958 the - the - the annual conference of congress came to Durban, you see, and I was the one to - who - who was able to - to - to make a declaration that we cannot take any more this thing - the people that....

J.F. You can't what? ③

A.N. *from p. 18*
By 1958 we decided
 We can't take any more the - the (policies that the ANC was carrying on, the policies like, as I say, (putting forward the) - the (Freedom Charter, and the policies contained therein, the - the alliance that was subjugating African inspiration), it (was not, in the true sense, working for African emancipation.)

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3
 A.N. And we mentioned that (African emancipation) of course (could only be realised by) - the only sign of African emancipation (?) would be (the return of the land that had been taken away, the land that had been alienated, the land that had been occupied - that would be - and the Charter (.....) was against that, said (our forebears, the kings that had fought African invasion all over, (they were fighting against this encroachment, the taking away of the land and so forth, and that our struggle was not different in principle from the struggle waged by the king - what might have been different was the question - of - of strategy and tactics, but (strictly speaking we're fighting the same thing, and the ANC had been established in 1912 in order to espouse that) and to have (?) the - (with the question of) - of (the land being paramount.) - it - it was that, for instance, the ANC was established 1912 just bef - when - just before the - the promulgation of the 1913 Land Act is a further emphasis of the fact that we the - the African people, what they considered most paramount is the retention of the land and) that (they're fighting to have economic, political, social hegemony in and over that land.) - that's what we're fighting for.

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J.F. What I'd like to know is then you attended the meeting - the breakaway happened - you were treasurer general in '59....

A.N. That's right.

J.F. Can you tell me that year of 1959, which was the year that the PAC was legal in South Africa - were you involved in any particular actions - you were jailed twice in '60 and '61 - if you can just tell me very briefly what happened from when you became PAC treasurer general through the time you left the country?

A.N. Oh - oh, well, we were organising all the time, and in fact that's how - although I was registered in the university, but ultimately I had to leave in September to - September of 1959 - went to a national executive meeting in Bloemfontein, which met on - on November 7th. - September 7th. to plan the strategy against the pass laws, and of course so that I want you to know all the balderdash that has been said, that we merely waited for the ANC to announce their pass campaign, which they didn't announce anyway, you see - that we might have overheard them and - and pounced upon it, which is all nonsense, you see, because there was no pass campaign by the ANC - I'm saying that because that's vital, because we went to Bloemfontein and then started in fact activating the country.

And then when we came to conference in 1959 that was endorsed, the question of - of the pass campaign was endorsed by the con - by the conference and we went out to organise for it, you see, and that's when Sobukwe was given extraordinary powers by the conference in order to act in any situation to safeguard the movement, you see, and he was in fact - there was an amendment of the constitution to that effect so that he could have to wield powers generally reserved for conference during the continuation of the campaign, because we envisaged that the campaign would be an unfolding one and it would go on until ultimately freedom would have been reached, see, so we went about organising all over.

I was arrested again even before the - the - the campaign - I was arrested at - at Ladysmith with colleagues and so forth, and we managed to - to - to come out before the - the campaign and - and we - we finally launched the campaign in Durban - we decided that the - first of all it would be the regional - the national members and the regional members would go in, and in fact that's what happened, you see, and we had activated the entire countryside.

- A.N. That's why on the - on the, I think, 31st. March, there was so much activity in Durban when people marched through Cato Manor to the central prison, where we were held, and waves after waves trying to have us released, you see, so that was the - that was the question and....
- J.F. And you were jailed - when were you jailed in 1960, right after Sharpeville?
- A.N. Yes, right after - in fact I was the first person to be imprisoned in the whole of South Africa, to be given a - a sentence on the 22nd. March 19 - 1960, you see.
- J.F. So did you plead?
- A.N. Yes - well, I - I refused to plead.
- J.F. What sentence were you given?
- A.N. Oh - because we were before a magistrate and they had this (?) so they merely gave us a sentence of failing to - of failing to produce a pass - we got in - in Durban the first sentence was three weeks and - and then of course when we were ready to be released to go and do some more work, I was detained - I was detained, and some of the members of the region went out - do you know how they went out - it would be very interesting to know - because of the callousness of not caring, the prison system - they don't care how they spell - how they spell your name and so forth, so many of the people had their names sometimes only written as the - misspelt the middle name and so forth and with no last name, so the people escaped and they found that we were the only people who were remaining in prison who were known nationally and so forth, but that was that.

And then I was given - oh, then I was detained until nearly the end of the state of emergency, but all of us in Durban were released I think around about July 8th., 1960, and we were confined to the magisterial district of Durban, and anyhow I - I was sub - subsequently charged - charged with breaking those regulations of the emergency, because on 7th. September, 1960 I was arrested near Sharpeville at - near between Sharpeville and Everton and - but I was arrested after the state of emergency had been lifted, and they said they didn't see me at home because police were literally surrounding my house there, but of course I said I wasn't confined to the house, I was confined to the magisterial district of Durban, and of course I was acquitted and I was defended by Didcott (?) who is now - I understand is the judge of the supreme court in Natal, see....

- J.F. Were you detained then again in 1960 or that was the last time, and then in '61?
- A.N. '61, well, I was charged for being a member of an unlawful organisation.
- J.F. When was that?
- A.N. I was - you see, I was acquitted at the same time I was acquitted of - because certain - they said there was evidence because of certain document they were found on me, that I was a member of an illegal organisation and I was an office bearer, you see, and that was March - February 1961.

J.F. Did you get sentenced for that?

A.N. I was sentenced for that about two years and - and I - I - I was in - in prison, and at some time somebody paid a fine pending an appeal - I was able to come out of - of - of - of the - of - of the what you call - prison and without any conditions, so I was able to go to Durban, to go to various parts of the country to continue organisation.

J.F. I thought the PAC stands for no fine and you wouldn't pay any of those fines.

A.N. No, I didn't pay any fine.

J.F. So it was O.K, for someone else to pay it?

A.N. No, I didn't - they didn't pay any fine - as I said, they put bail pending appeal.

J.F. I thought it was no plea, no bail, no fine.

A.N. Yes, but you see, if somebody else pays it - I can't - pays it in court - I'm in prison - I can't even say you don't (.....) say yes - and once - once somebody has paid it, pending appeal, and you are the - the prison officer drives you out.

J.F. So who pays it, do you know?

A.N. Oh, no, I - I haven't actually found out.

J.F. So when did you leave the country - under what circumstances did you leave the country?

A.N. Oh, well, I - I left the country soon after my release and - and it - I didn't - I didn't skip jail but I - when I was released I - I found that - I was released in Johannesburg, and when I contacted people in Durban by telephone, and police were at my home in Durban, and in fact they interviewed my father, who was still then alive, and my father was very, very annoyed - he said the police took me, arrested me at home, and even before I come there they go and ask him where I - where I was, and he thought they - I might have been killed by the police then because he saw no reason for them to do so.

END OF SIDE TWO.

A.N. and - no, no, no, you - yes, I'm making a point, and King Solomon refused, he said : No, we will not buy land because when the time comes for us to demand this land, if we buy it now people will ask : why did you buy it if it were yours, if it were yours at the very beginning - so those his dictum (?) influenced me a great deal and - and that (in fact, the land was an important - in fact, was the basis of all struggle) - (as Lembede also said) that (there's a mystic connection between the soil and the soul) and - and he said our soil and our soul.

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- J.F. Have you had any experience yourself of working politically with Coloureds, Indians or whites?
- A.N. What - what do you mean about that?
- J.F. I'm just asking if by any chance, in your past you've ever worked with - politically with Coloureds, Indians or whites or whether you've mainly had experience with Africans?
- A.N. I have - I have - I told you that I was the - I said I was one of the leaders - I was the shop steward in - of the African trade unions, and that we were negotiating with white trade unionists and Asian trade unionists in order to put their case in the industrial tribunal, because we couldn't get into the tribunal ourselves, and that was in a way working politically.
- J.F. But since that time you haven't had that much involvement working politically with them?
- A.N. With them in the South African situation now.
- J.F. What is your position in the PAC now?
- A.N. Oh, well, the people at home, and I am in touch with them - they said whatever the position is, they recognise that we are the - the PAC that left with their blessing and authority and so forth.
- J.F. I'm asking your - are you on the executive - do you hold a position, an office?
- A.N. If you understood this, in fact you wouldn't ask that question, you see I am here - I'm not - I am the treasurer - there's no other treasurer general in the PAC....
- J.F. So you're treasurer general?
- A.N. I'm the treasurer general, yes, but there are some people who are also pretenders who have - who are claiming this thing, you see.
- J.F. And do you work in London - what job do you have - are you....
- A.N. I work in London - I - I am between (?) the - the - the sweat of my brow - I'm in the education - I'm a teacher in London.
- J.F. Where do you teach?
- A.N. In London.
- J.F. And can you tell me why - would you say that you're anti-communist at this stage and would you explain why that is?
- A.N. Who says I was anti-communist?
- J.F. I'm asking you if you are opposed to....
- A.N. Why don't you ask me what is your attitude towards communism or towards or towards Marxism - you want communism or towards Marxism?
- J.F. I think communism I'd like - it's just that if I read historically about the PAC, so often in history it seems that there is opposition to communism - I just want to know if you can tell me now are you opposed to communism and why are you opposed to it?

(What is your attitude towards communism?)

- A.N. 5 It - (it's an irrelevant question.) - (the point is ^{that} what has been happening is that the white communist, the white South African communists are the ones that have distorted the history,) and in fact we have come to find out that even abroad they are bad disciples even of communism....
- J.F. I'm asking you what your feeling is about communism - I'd just like to know what your feeling is about communism, what your view is - I think...
- A.N. I - I've just answered you - I said it was to me - it's an irrelevant - I am - it has its own school of thought, which is communism - (I am an Africanist.)
- J.F. But it's relevant because every time I read about it historically, and there are statements that have been made historically by leaders of the PAC - I'm interested in knowing from you what your view is of communism - not Marxism but communism?
- A.N. Well, what is communism?
- J.F. I'm just....
- A.N. Oh, no, no, tell me what is communism - I must ask - I must know what you want me to answer....
- J.F. I suppose I'm asking not about the SACP but about the communist doctrine.
- A.N. Oh, (the communist doctrine,) we have always mentors (?) of the youth league, and (subsequently we have found that it is an irrelevance to our struggle.) - the point is that (we can pursue our struggle pursuing Africanist ideals, and therefore the question of being anti-communist or pro-communist doesn't arise.)
- J.F. (What is the place of whites and Indians in the struggle in South Africa and in the future South Africa?)
- A.N. (Well,) in the struggle (they can help a) lot, (great deal, as long as there is a certain and decided African leadership to promote the goals of self-determination and so forth, and I think they can only be admitted into this thing through the Africans because we are the people there who own the land, and we are the people in South Africa who are a majority, and we are the people in South Africa who are) even (workers, according to) - to (socialist) even (thought,) (so) that (on all fronts) we are on all fours in the leadership - (we want to lead the struggle, we want to determine) (?) (an Africanist state in South Africa which will be democratic) and so forth, and we will, I - I've no hesitation, (we will admit the (people) in South Africa) today who are here ^(come with) in their acceptance of and their allegiance to African nationhood.)
- (What is happening now is that people) are - don't want to - to - to know that - they (say that they've been born in South Africa,) and such, (but) as perhaps you might know, the - (the principles of) - of even Roman - (Roman law is that a thief cannot successfully transfer property) and so forth (because a thief has no title,) see, and (we are saying) if (?) thieves and robbers have no title, and (those that have taken over our land have no title,) (unless that we confer, and people have) even (no) what you call - right of entry or of remaining in the country until we confer that right by the sovereignty of the African state.)
- J.F. (And what would you say if an Indian person or a white person heard that and thought, my gosh, it doesn't look like I have much of a future if the PAC comes to power.)...

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A.N. Why - (why would he feel that?) - he doesn't feel - if - because - does he want them to control us - (of course he would feel very uncomfortable) if he - (if his ideas were to control us.)

J.F. But can Indian and whites exist in the new South Africa?

A.N. (Of course they will) like (?) this thing (because we will will them to exist there.)

J.F. (So at your will they can exist?)

A.N. Of course every - even United States you have in the US prevented a sovereign - a sovereign president of a country to - to - to go in there and how much more (?) you know - why (.....) can't go into the US - he is a president of a sovereign state, and now you want to say that we are different and therefore we cannot will people to - to remain and not to remain.

J.F. So it will really depend on what the PAC says whether Indians and whites can stay?

A.N. I beg your pardon?

J.F. Will it depend on what the PAC says and determines whether they can stay or not?

A.N. I - I don't think you are understanding yourself - (if we wield power, they will stay because we will say they will stay,) see, (but according to the Charter,) they are already - (they own the land, they own everything,) they are merely - there's a question of whether (?) the human rights are concerned - we are not merely having the question of human rights in South Africa - to us it's much more than that.

J.F. There's a ^(Do you support the) concept that's called ^{(of} non-racialism? - do you support that idea?

A.N. (We were the ones that first used that word,) - you go and read everything that's there - (we were the ones that we were not multiracialists, we are non-racialists),...

J.F. When - can you tell me the exact date and place that that was used by the PAC first?

A.N. You (look at the inaugural documents of the PAC.)

J.F. So would you say you support non-racialism?

A.N. I say (it's) the PAC - is the (PAC policy, which we formulated - I was one of the) formulated (formulators)

J.F. But I don't understand - I thought you said you're Africanist - (are you Africanist and non-racial?)

A.N. (Of course) - you don't think you can be Africanist and non-racial?

J.F. I'm asking you. ^{to p. 26}

A.N. No, you don't think so, apparently - (do you think being Africanist is being racial?)

J.F. (I don't think it's being non-racial) - I think it looks at the whites and the Indians and it says if you consider yourself an Africanist,...



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~~(K...)~~

- A.N. Of course we are saying so - (we are saying) so - (that is an African country) - you see, you don't consider it an African country, you see - you say it's a country that belongs to nobody or belongs to all - (there is no country that belongs to all) in the world, (not even the US) - (you can't go into the US without a visa -) it's one of the most rigorous what you call - visa countries, you see - (I have been there a number of times) - unless you cross over the whatever the river there in Mexico.
- J.F. (Can you tell me, lastly, is there support for Africanism in South Africa today?) - (when) I read in the papers that (the NUM is supporting the Freedom Charter, the metal) and allied (workers are supporting the Freedom Charter) - how (can you say there's a lot of support for Africanism?)
- A.N. Well, well, you see, that - I'm not going to go into that because you write the articles and you want to - to - I mean journalists write the articles and you want to come and tell me that now I must defend it (?) - (I'm saying I know the) - the (aspirations of the African people in South Africa, and I know that the African people feel aggrieved about the alienation of their land) entirely, and African people are oppr - well....
- J.F. Why do they support....
- A.N. They know - who - how many people support the Freedom Charter - who know what it is?
- J.F. 100,000 mineworkers....
- A.N. They support the Freedom....
- J.F. they have just endorsed - you can see the documents - the NUM, the metal and allied workers....
- A.N. Look, take all those numbers, I don't care where you put them - I'm saying the African people today are for the right of their land to return.
- J.F. (Why do) ^(these unions) they (vote for the Freedom Charter?)
- A.N. Well, do you - do they have - do they have what you call - freedom to vote in South Africa?
- J.F. They're voting at their union - they are supporting it at their union.
- A.N. (Because the whites are selling it) - those who (?) are selling the Freedom Charter - (it's a white document) and as....
- J.F. (There ^{are} no whites in the NUM - Cyril Ramaphosa and Elijah (Barayi.....) are black) - there's no whites in that union.
(Are you saying that whites are manipulating them behind the scenes?)
- A.N. Listen....
- J.F. Are they so stupid that there're some whites that they can't see that are manipulating them, is that what you're saying - that even though no-one can see whites at the congress of the NUM, you're saying that behind them there's a white - I'm confused about that?
- A.N. You - you - I know you are confused.
- J.F. I'm just trying to have you tell me why is there such support for the Freedom Charter in these unions - where do you see the support for the Africanism, and how do you deny the support for the Freedom Charter?

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A.N. (Let me tell you,) because you are very - you are young enough, and I'm happy about that - you will remember what I've been telling you now on the 14th. June, a month before Bastille, if you want to remember, the anniversary of Bastille, that as far as we are concerned, the African people will always support the right of self-determination in - in - in South Africa - the African people will always support the right of their - of having hegemony in and on their land and of being having South Africa a country ruled by majority rule - they'll support that - and I don't know, you - you - you - if they - if you say the - the majority of African people support the Freedom Charter, you are taking the census, I'm not, but (I know what the African people think,) and....

J.F. How do you know that - how do you get the message?

A.N. I - (I am an African and I know what I've gone through,) and I know also that people interpret them and so forth - we know that - well, what does - who else supports - supports the Freedom Charter - I'm interested in that - I doubt (?) - or everybody supports the Freedom Charter in South Africa, every black?

J.F. I'm not saying everyone - I'm just citing specific....

A.N. You are saying the majority - you said the majority.

J.F. I'm just giving you very many instances of reported indisputable evidence, like the NUM, the metal and allied workers, like COSATU etc. - that's all I'm saying.

A.N. Yes, and you said therefore everybody supports - I don't know.

J.F. Not everyone - I'm just saying where do you get your scientific knowledge - how can you tell me that you know about all this support when I just don't see it - I just want to know where I can look to say Aha, Ncgobo is correct, this is where Africanism is seen, this is where we support for it - that's all I'm interested in because....

A.N. Really if it's not the - why are you - don't worry then if it - if there's no support for Africanism, don't worry.

J.F. What do you mean by that?

A.N. (If Africanism) I'm saying don't worry about it - I wonder why you are worried - if it's something that is non-existent, something with no potential, something that you can ignore - you can ignore it. - (you can ignore the forces of Africanism,) you can do anything, (but I am saying the Africanism and BC, which you call racism....

J.F. (.....)

A.N. Yes, yes, you did....

J.F. What (.....)

A.N. Are the - (are those) the (forces) that will have to be - (will determine) - whoever does what will (?) determine those forces because they are the true reflections of the aspirations of the African people.

J.F. You didn't finish the sentence properly - you're saying will determine what?

A.N. Will determine what happens,) whoever is in power, whoever - Botha might be in power, we don't care, but we will see to it that the - the - (the destiny of the African people is assured.)

