

p. 5, 8
Starts p. 2

JF Just for the record, when were you born? and where?

bd:

A 31st of January, 1956. In Kensington, Cape Town, it was at that point, ah, called Windemere. It was essentially a ~~slum~~ area and in about '62 Africans were moved from Windemere to Guguletu.

JF And what ~~was~~ ^{were} your parents views- what kind of..were they political people?

from p. 3

A *class/fam:* Both my parents were factory workers. ah, and (they'd essentially been excluded from an entire political process because the mass political movements didn't actually reach coloured workers) um, (to the same extent as African workers had been reached. On the other hand, organisations like the Non-European Unity Movement were fairly exclusive. So one kind of grew up in an environment which was largely apolitical.)

JF When you say they didn't reach you, was there never any talk of the ANC or did they just feel ~~was just an African movement?~~ Was it just a question that organisers just didn't get to them?

A Organisers just didn't get to people sufficiently in those days.

JF So did they have any views about the ANC when it was legal? Or was it just not discussed?

A It was just not discussed - I mean (politics was taboo in) ^(our) the (house, until) In fact um, there's much later, in (about 1969, when my late father joined the Labour Party because he then stated talking about) um, (the need for change, and he saw the Labour Party offering something to coloureds at that point in time. But) um, (it didn't last for very long, in fact, he died in 1969.) as well so.

JF (Had you ever heard) of (about the Coloured People's Congress, ANC or any of the) those alliances? *(historical pol orgs?)*

(When you were growing up, did you ever hear abt the historical political organisations?)

A (It wasn't until the early '70s, you know, (after hearing about the Labour Party, and ^{with} a sense of a political awareness emerging, that contact was established.) um. (There was somebody in our community, Toufre Bardin, a taxi driver who had been banned for some 15 years, and he'd - He was ^{been} active in the Coloured People's Congress. I tuned me a copy of the Freedom Charter in the early '70s, (that was my first kind of exposure.)

check →

→ p. 9



Interview with Trevor Manuel

JF What was his name?

A Tofi Badin.

JF Aha. And did you have any reaction to that in terms of when you heard about it thinking this is strange to organise people along Coloureds, whites, blacks or do you have ? that its just not in you, that you'd thought about?

from p. 9

A (I think my first response to the way in which the Congress Alliance had organised was that it made perfect sense) ^(given) um.. (the extent to which) um (areas had been segregated and that people lead entirely separate lives, ^{the} cultural divisions) and so on, (which do obtain and were further entrenched by the) whole battery of the (Pass Laws) legislation actually explained that in a way. There was conflict (at a later point,) in when (I came into contact with different views at high school, like a more Unity Movement approach) - um non racialism and so on. But you know in the course of time those things were worked through. *to p. 5*

JF Ok, that's said a whole lot. I just wonder I guess I mean I didn't tell you about further, did you grow up with any kind of feeling of non racialism or did you grow up in a home where the bosses were the whites, and exploitation and there was an anti white feeling? How do you think you grew up? Also if you wouldn't mind I'm asking about white and I don't mean to stereo type but I actually didn't explore ^{with} any so called coloured, what does that annex mean and what particularness of that background might mean vis a vis whites vis a vis non racialism?

Starts → JF: (Can you speak about your experience of growing up "coloured" in SA?)

A In the... (when I was younger) um, (there was a kind of striving towards whiteness.) Um, I think (of my own family,) and ah, I mean, (some of my forebears were whites, so we tend to look a lot like whites, and) so on. And (there was quite an issue in the family because so many members of the family had applied for re-classification) and so on. *to p. 3*
(So whiteness was something that was sought after; (it was fairly ingrained,) you know, (very basic notions like what your hair looked like and were you fair, etc.) with ^(being) (things that actually mattered within the coloured community at that point in time.) *to p. 3, 9th line from bottom*

*from p. 3
11th line
from bottom*

from p. 5 → JF (Did you know these whites in your family's background, or was that many)

JF Did you know specifically white fathers, were they close (generations back?) Or was it just knowing that in the family way back there were *to p. 3, 6th line from top*

Interview with Trevor Manuel

JF whites, how was it?

A (The strange thing is that when the generation before me ~~always~~ related stories about our forebears, the whites forebears (were remembered) and ~~at~~ even at this point in time (but I haven't been able to trace my black roots as yet.) But ~~its~~ (that's ^{me} kind of emphasis that's always been there.) And I have great-grandparents who did immigrate to S.A. - in one case from Germany, and in the other case from Portugal.)

from p. 2, bottom

to p. 1

JF That's great grandparents (mmm) that were white. And the stories were they just this was a white guy, were the stories of them being decent people or was there anything known about them or oh, we know that our grandparent was from Portugal?

A Um, in one particular case um, (there was quite a lot known about my great-grand father.) Um, (he had lived at Stellenbosch and) became a tradition that (he'd established) with (a business) and this that and the other (in the community, ^{which} was actually followed through by his sons. So there was a kind of link with that) ah, you know (when I grew up.)

JF And did you go through that phase wewhere..of that..re classification? Were there brothers and sisters or were they just more distant people who tried to...?

from p. 2, 8th line from bottom

A (Aunts, second cousins people like that.) → back to p. 2, 7th line from bottom

JF Did they succeed, did they get a re classified..?

A (Some of ~~them~~ ^{relatives} succeeded) ja. (in being reclassified)

from p. 2, 4th line from bottom

JF And just left the whole community - gone to (yes) be white. (Yes) And how did you feel about that growing up, I mean, with all this emphasis and that kind of inferiority thing was there another stage when you felt you might like to try that?

A (but it had never been on in our family.) Ja, (I think that). that (my father's) and his ^{as part of} (connections and life style and so on were fairly ingrained in him the coloured community, and there was ~~no~~ ways he was actually going to make a break.) → to p. 4

000 - TREVOR MANUEL: UDF.

Q: Um... ~~xx~~ question indiscernable due to crinkly tape.

back top. 2

from p. 4
from p. 2

A: I think that the rejection was devoid of any political content, but later there was, in fact, um, (a reaction from ~~the~~ my part where the whole notion of black consciousness actually made a hell of a lot of sense) because of those kind of experiences where an emphasis ~~of~~ on blackness, an emphasis on accepting what people are ~~and~~ on the need to utilise blackness to generate a more generalised consciousness actually made a hell of a lot of sense.

Q: Where did you get that, when you've been here. You're moving kind of Also, parenthetically, if there's any stories you can tell to illustrate... a bit dry. I mean, how did that go... did you remain apolitical or

(When was this?) (South African students org.)

Bush (Univ. of the Western Cape)

A: In 1973, there was a walk off of students at Boesche, and it was then that SASO had actually emerged as the force in the Western Cape, and (together with) that (the tradition of black consciousness. I was at high school at the time and these things were actually communicated to us) and (the school that I had attended was in fact dominated by ~~the~~ movement people who'd ... those teachers and the children of unity movement types who'd rejected black consciousness as reactionary, out and out... (J: from the outset)... (from the outset. But there were others who'd looked at this a lot more positively. Some of us had attended meetings of SABSAs, South African Black Scholars association, and tried to come to terms with something like Black Consciousness. We met a lot of opposition at the school, but it did lay the basis for being able to look at BC in the context of (Obscured).

Q: So you're saying you're open to it. Also again there's just assumptions you make that I don't think necessarily anyone knows. When you talk about the unity movement traditions.. I mean, without giving me a whole history of the Unity Movement what did that mean? what did you know about it in the coloured community? What did it symbolise, what was their non-racialism stance, did they want what whites wanted; was the whole black/white thing, if you had a Unity Movement orientation...

(With the Unity Movement)

A: The UM as it was understood then and probably is no different now, their non-racialism allowed them to work very very selectively with whites) - not with white organisations or anything like that, but with whites who would be prepared to completely assimilate themselves politically, with on the side of the people, as it were. Their (whole Unity Movement approach has always been a very principled approach, and their politics has always been a politics of exclusivism.) So (it wasn't something that was felt generally in the community, but something that was encountered at places like schools and universities) and so on. (Because the one element of the UM that has remained throughout was the Teachers League Movement of SAfrica, and quite a number of teachers, especially English-speaking coloured schools in the Peninsula,) were in fact, or (did represent the remnants of the UM and tried to communicate this) through in that way. (to their students.)

Spell out

Q: Do you remember any experiences where any of your teachers introduced it to you for the first time, or tried to interest you in it or can you tell me (what ^{was} your reactions) were, did you have any time that you were involved or thought it was a good idea? (to the Unity Movement?)

A: I'd actually (just because of the particular style of the unity movement) teachers, at school, I had built up an initial resistance. They tended to be too security-conscious, they tended to be very selective. They did distribute journals and things like that, but very, very selectively to the bright kids or the kids of the UM parents. I was always excluded from that process, and that kind of exclusivism made an impact. There were other teachers as well, who were far more open, (open to whatever we had to say about BC, for instance, open to allow ^{for the} development of students,)

to p. 6

The Coloured Representative Council

A cont: ... (whereas our experience with the UM teachers was that they tended to give the line and lay down the line, rather than allow for development.)

Q: And what did you hear about first? I mean, it's kinda easier if I can understand any kind of development if there was a separation of it. I mean with your father's time in the labour party where you got all involved there and I guess also I'm wondering when non-racialism was introduced as a concept. I don't know if I even asked. Sorry. To take it from the very beginning, if you felt there was non-racialism in your home or there was, or you had to ? that through something outside. (I remember when)

A: Non-racialism was encountered outside (J: not in the home) not in the home no. (J: Your parents wouldn't wanted to have seen you with whites?) They probably would have liked to see me with whites rather than Africans but it was never really an issue as such in the home. In so far as it affects the Labour Party, in '69 I was only 13 but (I'd assisted with canvassing for the elections for the coloured representative council for the Labour Party, and as a result of that, I got involved in the Labour Party Youth.) Then. (Even at that early stage, there was resistance from UM orientated teachers again at school to the whole notion of CRC and so on because their principles were, of course, way, way beyond any notion of the Labour Party.) So that was the first kind of experience.

Q: How did that hit you? Did you think these guys were right to impose this public body or did you think why are they imposing if my dad's involved in a good party? (What did you think of their stance?)

A: I think the question that struck me most then was, see (if they're so dis-satisfied, what the hell are they doing about anything?) So there was always that and I tended to be less vociferous about my labour party activities in school but stuck around with labour party youth in the area. (outside of school.)

Q: (What did Labour Party mean to you?) Was it just sticking up for the right coloured people? Did it mean that one day everyone would have a vote or what did it mean?

A: At that point, it meant that there were very elementary slogans used like "people's rights for all". The Labour Party, had campaigned around the ticket that they would enter into the CRC and close it down from within. They also indicated at the onset that they would stand for election and not take up seats in the CRC and so on, (and that would be one of the tactics used towards bringing about change in this country.) So those were the early experiences. (I think that) it was (already towards the end of 1970) that (some disillusionment had set in because it became abundantly clear that they weren't getting out and they weren't achieving anything on the inside, either. I'd say the period between then (1970 and) at least (1976 was a very hazy and mixed-up period. On the one hand, I'd come into contact with this man, Toukie Bardien, I'd come into contact with earlier (who'd shown me a copy of the Freedom Charter). We related some of his earlier experiences in Congress, and we related some anecdotes about the meetings that had been held etc etc. So there was that. (On the other hand,) as I've indicated earlier, I was coming into contact with BC, as it had spread from UWC in 1973. I remember the walk-out from campus and a fairly big meeting attracting some 70 000 people that was called in 1973. Speakers ranged from Fatima Meer (?) to Gatsha Buthelezi, all who had signified a blackness at that point in time. On the other hand (one was coming into contact with more kind of principled and exclusivist UM approach. There weren't any organisations existing as such and it was extremely difficult trying to find out precisely where one could develop in any sort of way. (Soon after leaving school in 1974, I joined up with the Young Christian Workers, which is an international organisation of essentially Catholic workers. That was a different kind of exposure, again. It was an opportunity to work together with whites, possibly for the first time in that kind of way,

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from p. 6

Acot: That didn't last too long either. I became ^{fairly} disillusioned with their inability to move in any kind of direction, even (though) they, (on the role ~~of~~ and position of workers) and so on, there seemed to be a bit of clarity. There was just a general inability to take it anywhere. From there, I moved onto, uh..., w in the area we got involved in trying to organise a bus boycott in 1975 and set up a youth organisation in the area. And then we had some kind of contact with activists from other areas, because (the attempt at getting a bus boycott going - even tho it was unsuccessful, had exposed us to people from outside the area and dominant activists at that point were BC. So for the next period, I'd kind of gone into a phase of Black Consciousness) where ^(all my) early experiences about some members of the family having tried for white and some actually having succeeded, ^(there was) and all of (that) the (difficulty in trying to define how coloureds relate to a South African context: "Xiiiww (Were we a buffer group?", "Were we a part of the solution?", "Were we part of the problem?") All of those were fairly simply answered by BC? From there, I kind of drifted back to the Unity Movement position, and that had resulted largely from the fact that there was some attempt at an intellectual stimulus from the ongoing forums and educational fellowships, etc etc, (monthly lectures at a couple of different venues that opened up a whole range of possibilities and probably introduced in my own development a more leftist content. So there was the transition from BC to the Unity Movement.)

Q: Was the non-racialism an attraction to leave BC? or were you happy with BC's racial stance?

A: It wasn't actually an issue with the Unity Movement because the UM was, and probably still is today, ~~was~~ largely an organisation of Coloured intellectuals. It wasn't ever considered to be the key issue as such. But there was a difference between the way they saw struggle and the way BC approach itself.

Q: And just because I'm interested in the non-racial black/white thing I mean (when you were first attracted to BC,) were you happy about that? Did you feel like you know we must be separate from whites and was there a sense where you went ^(did you go) through an anti-white stage??

A: Oh, most definitely. Commonly whites were referred to as pigs and you know *persona non grata*. And we were very happy with that. (J: in BC?) In BC, yes.

Q: Were you in an ^(a BC) organisation with BC?

A: (Not formally.) We were.. I was one of the hangers on to BPC without formally getting involved. ^(Bl Ppls Convention)

Q: And ~~getting~~ involved leaving BC and getting interested in the UM, did you in any way, say to yourself Whites aren't pigs, that's not the way to ~~see~~ see it or what ~~moed~~ ^{did you go} moed you from one to the other, I mean what was your view on race?

A: I don't think it was a view on race that had moved me in as much as the static approach of ~~the~~ ^(the) Western Cape BC was further to the left than any other of the regions, of BPC, (it was still not answering the kind of questions ~~w~~ that we were grappling with. We were reading elementary Marx and Lenin then and there were just so many contradictions that couldn't be answered by BC) and ^(it was) a need to develop a kind of broader understanding that had actually allowed me to shift. ^(my position)

Q: The contradictions being turned up by the kind of reading you were doing, was race rather than class approach ever a contradiction for you?

A: Not at that stage in my development.

Q: Why was that? Was it just that Black is Beautiful was comfortable or it just seems that if you're reading Marx, the contradictions that are being turned up, that would be one of the first contradictions.

A: I think ^(at that stage) you know that (the generalised view ^{in the circles I was in at that stage} was that the class contradiction is the primary contradiction in South Africa, and therefore to enter into any kind of debate on race was considered to be entirely superfluous) then so I don't actually recall ~~over~~

to p. 8

Acont: having really grappled with those kinds of questions.

Q: You were just an all-black organisation because that makes sense. Yeah. And so moving on, what do you mean by exclusivist?

from p. 7
A: (The whole approach was decidedly ^{an} intellectual approach. There was a strong resistance to mass work as such, and therefore access to those kinds of circles ~~is~~ was so limited and because politics were conducted in those fairly tight circles, it was by ^{is very} nature separate from the masses of people who had no deep love for working class participation. It was all up there at a very abstract level.) *to p. 13*

from p. 13
Q: (So your ^{to} move from BC to the Unity Movement was ^{wasn't} a kind of intellectual step up in your eyes?) You thought well these guys they know even more clearly about class or what?

A: (It was essentially that, yes.) *(What were you doing then?)*

Q: So then where did you go. Were you ^(working), were you ~~still~~ ^{(or} still studying?) *(from 1974-81)*

A: (I was working on construction sites.) And (I worked there for seven years after leaving school) and that had actually assisted in trying to come to terms with the class contradictions because I was in contact with migrant workers, and there was a whole different experience opened up to me. ^{with} that ~~one~~ point in time.

Q: And were you politically active in any organisation during those seven years? What was that '75 to 82 or something like that?

A: No it was 74 to 81. (It wasn't until 1979 that ^{the need for} ~~an~~ organisation rose) very very sharply. (Prior to that I suppose I'd been active in various education fellowships and lecture circles ^(typical) with ~~post-grad~~ Trotskyite movements the world over, ^{and a} very, very popular activity in the Unity Movement here.)

Q: So you're saying you were a Unity Movement and ^{you were} a Trotskyite?

A: I wouldn't really say that I was a Trotskyite then, but the Unity Movement has been, is a Trotskyite group in fact and even now I cannot say that I could see myself as a Trot then but just the whole style, the intellectual debate, everything confined to that kind of level, I mean was what my political activities consisted of. (In 1979, we established the need for organisation and started looking up community organisations as an option.) It was then that I got involved, well (firstly, we started a news letter in the community, as a means of reaching people, and on the basis of that ^{you were} moved into an old ~~rate~~-payers organisation in the area which, within a very short space of time, we transformed into a civic organisation. It was the Kensington ~~rates~~ ^{rates} ~~payers~~ ^{organisation}.)

Q: ~~It~~ ^{Problem shouldn't} will publish ask the office details. But you got back into the community organisations, decided that was something and started getting involved with civics, and then that, what was the newsletter? *?*

A: It was called Kent Facts. ^(the newsletter) Covered Kensington and Factington *check* *CAHAC* *Action* *in Cape Area* *that led* *into UDF* *Freedom Charters* *which were* *kind of dusty at that point in time* *were hauled out* *you know* *(reading and* *so on,* *looked* *at* *that* *and* *before* *a* *positive* *identification* *with* *the* *Charter,* *you* *know* *politically* *(i* *decided* *this* *was)* *to* *be* *(the* *road,* *)* *and* *(this* *was)* *to* *be* *(where* *we* *could* *act* *out* *our* *politics* *best.)* *to p. 9*

Q: And that led you eventually into UDF?
A: Jaa. Eventually (into ~~Kensington~~ Housing committee, and from there into UDF. But also at the same time, the Freedom Charters, which were kind of dusty at that point in time were hauled out, you know (reading and so on, looked at that and before a positive identification with the Charter, you know politically (i decided this was) to be (the road,) and (this was) to be (where we could act out our politics best.) *to p. 9*

Q: Do you remember your feeling about the freedom Charter when the taxi driver first showed it to you years before?..

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A: (I remember) you know, (he was so excited about this, He received a copy in the post, and because of various raids on his house,) and so on, he disposed a lot of things, and he now (had this ^{one} copy), and A3 copy which took a place of pride in his home. He stuck it up on his wall, and sat me down and explained all of this (to me, and he was so overcome and excited about this.) It was actually a very good experience.

Q: So you didn't think, ach what are they talking about, whites and blacks together. (Tmn n) OK so we're still unclear as to what your feelings were. That was in 79...when he showed it to you? ...T: no, no, that was in possibly around , 73 or thereabouts. J: and after that you got to be the anti-white, whites are pigs stage. Did you just sort of forget about the freedom charter, or just didn't have the relevance?

(How did you respond?)

A: It wasn't a popular document, it wasn't sort of (being communicated in any way at all. There were no organisations. After the sixties (60s) there was a great fear about being associated with the Charter) and so on. So there were all those kinds of factors that just removed it from my total experience for a while. → top. 2

Q: And then just tell me a bit about the non-racialism and your understanding of it. How did you go from the whites are pigs to the UDF? Apart from what you've traced chronologically, I mean just theoretically.

from p. 8

A: (I think it was a fairly organic thing that had taken, (built up over a long period of time.) I don't remember any specific incidents that had assisted in that process. But even (in 1980, ~~there were still~~) (with the schools boycott and so on, one saw NUSAS coming out in some kind of way. (and later) in 1980, (there were NUSAS publications floating around, w/a discussion of the Freedom Charter) at NUSAS. (and there was an attempt to establish the Release Mandela Committee,) and (NUSAS had been associated with that.) So those kinds of events had actually assisted, but for myself I recall the early 1980 schools boycott and so on. (I was still fairly sceptical about the participation of whites, I hadn't really come to terms with it as yet. I had the notion that all these whites are liberals and they're doing these things to salve their consciences and so on. But ~~in~~ with time, one saw a measure of consistency with from groupings like NUSAS. Off instance. (It became clear that there was actually a role ^{for whites}.) Another event ^(mine) was the Trade Union Movement and here in Cape Town we had contact with the Food and Canning ^{workers} Union around the Fattis and Monis boycott, and with the General Workers Union around the Red Meat boycott, in 1980, and (it was common knowledge that whites were involved as the secretaries of both unions,) in fact. (And it didn't seem strange anymore then, and (so) it was (that whole period) then that (had actually assisted greatly in shifting my ~~mind~~ understanding of the role of whites.)

Q: And that taxi driver, had he said anything about whites, you know when you held up the Freedom Charter and it said People and all that?

A: Some of the incidents that he recalled, I mean, besides the CP night schools and he seemed to recall parties at the houses of whites and so on, but there wasn't much besides.

SIDE 2: 000

001: Q: Difficult to discern due to krinkly tape.

002: A: I don't actually recall any of that.

Q: And so then you werefound yourself being non-racial. Did you get challenged by other blacks and union people(?). Do you remember people saying Ag how can you support non-racialism?

Q: ~~(the AFSA)~~



(Once you'd begun supporting the non-racial approach, were you ever challenged by blacks who opposed it?) to p. 10

fairly strong

from p. 9

A: Later, there were ~~some~~ challenges, especially during 1981 ?????? after the boycott period of 1980 the emergence of a whole range of organisations and, an overall kind of jumping for a political dominance in the Western Cape. And in the course of that, ~~these~~ kinds of arguments arose from time to time, and we were forced to sit down and clarify our own approaches to the question, and we resolved to defend the participation of whites in the struggle, and we (in fact) challenged and engaged all of the (other groups in debate on questions like these.)

Q: So (how do you feel now), this is asking quite a complex idea but how would you answer simply what you see whites' role (about the whites) in the struggle to be?

(franks, broadly)

A: (I think that at one level it's important that whites continue to generate ferment within white ~~franks~~ ^{organisations} the kind of work being done by ~~thev~~ (organisations in the white community) (like NUSAS) for instance on campuses (and the End Conscription campaign are actually tremendous gains for our struggle, because democrats are being generated in that process, and unlike the force of events in the black community, it's actually far more difficult for whites in South Africa to come to terms with the reality. So that kind of work is important) ^{immediately} in unity.

I also think

We also find that because of ^{or} because of a whole range of reasons (whites) presently (are able to pick up a whole lot) of ^{more} skills and that ~~x~~ can be filed back into organisations. At another level it is very important to take ^{our} ideas about current ^{events} affairs into the white community) far more generally. I think that by doing this we will actually ~~stable~~ a lot of problems that could arise at a later point.

Just (by way of example,) last week (I addressed students at Stellenbosch University on the All-Blacks tour.) And (the meeting started with a lot) of hostility - some forty or fifty rucker-buggers marching into the hall completely kitted out in their rugby outfits, boots slung over their shoulders, placards, etc) etc. (There were so many questions, and so many prejudices, not only about UDF, but about Blacks in general.

I went there because I thought it was very important to be able to speak to these people. I understand the isolation that (these people) Afrikaners, especially, grow up with and live with for their entire lives. I understand the need) to be able (to break through that. I also understand the counter-revolutionary role that people like that can play, not through any force of their own, but because they haven't been exposed to any other ideas. My own experience at Stellenbosch) last week in fact (illustrated ~~this~~ point very clearly. You know, I was eventually (caught up in discussions there for two hours, long after the meeting had broken up. The people who remained to talk to me were the same rucker-buggers who marched in there intent on disrupting the meeting. They were asking very basic questions like "What would happen to us as whites if there were a take-over in this country? Are you going to chase us into the sea? What will happen to our language, Afrikaans) if there were a take-over? (So even though, i mean, I think that those people ^{can} never (be persuaded) (to think) (about the immediate topic that I went there to discuss with them, ^{namely} the boycott of the All Blacks tour, the fact that they used the opportunity to raise the kind of questions ^{which} they were grappling with is indicative of the fact that) ^{they actually we need} we need to break through there. Obviously, they are not going to be a leading force in the struggle. But even if we can effectively ^{utilize} use their action) against the course of events in South Africa, we will actually make great strides.)

If, (to answer the question ~~now~~ on what I see the role of whites as being I think there are two) ^(approaches) groupings. The one, the process is not mutually exclusive to one, (is) a need to move into those situations and generate democrat ^{out} out of that, The other is being able to utilise the broader white community and

off a counter attack on democrat and on those engaged in struggle. ^{at this point}

from article

in struggle. ^{at this point}

This whole paragraph is unclear - can you listen + write out what you think he's saying to p. 11

from p.10

in SA

Q: How do you respond to people who say) Ag (the only force that's going to bring the change is the working class and the only way whites ~~ix~~ are going to change is when they get hurt and you're wasting your time talking to those Afrikaners?)

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A: (I think that), you know, (the whole notion that) even (the working class people have to go it alone is completely short-sighted.) (To be effective, the working class will have a necessity to draw behind it as many allies as it can get, and whites are not ~~excluded~~ excluded from that process.) (- Especially in view of the way things like the military ~~are~~ are being used against our people.) in the Eastern Cape and elsewhere today. If I look at the fact that 7 000 conscriptees or 25% ~~go~~ to make the call-up in January, I think that is particularly significant, without for one moment suggesting that all of those have been reached by organisations like the End Conscription Campaign for instance. I think it is nevertheless significant and it shows that a number of things are possible. (The fact that the ECC has been banned from all white schools in the Cape Province is another indication of the ~~fact~~ kind of fear that the State has of the ability of the democratic movement to actually reach ~~one~~ even at the High School level.) So I think that the need to actually bring over and utilise is a growing need.

Q: Trevor I'm really interested in your concern for that because my interest in those people who've st out against the working class is "What's the society of the future?" I mean the working class takes power supposedly next year or whenever and then what do you do with the whites? I mean what society are you going to have if these rigger buggers are going to be running around as angry as they are? So you know you're saying that your concern for them, OK let me just ask it in another way- I mean does your concern for them derive from what? A way ~~from~~ of breaking down the ruling class, a way of making a better South Africa afterwards, I mean is there ~~actually~~ any personal self-interest in it - I mean why all that effort, cos you don't have so much time, I mean why spend so much time on that?

from p.13 block

A: Firstly, it would be to try and create as many schisms in the ruling ~~class~~ class (as possible. Secondly, it would be to lay the basis for a future non-racial South Africa. We're not going to achieve that by being anti-white now and trying to introduce ~~at~~ at a later point. There's no ways we're going to be able to chase them into the sea. I do believe like everybody else ~~that whites~~ have made a contribution to South Africa, as it is today, that they will continue to make a contribution, (and that's why I think) South Africa truly belongs to all who ~~ix~~ live in it.

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Q: And what did you feel, you didn't complain about the tour..um what did you feel, were there any accomplishments in that trip to Stellenbosch? Anything you achieved?

A: Two people who had contact with students there subsequently had picked up that things had gone very well and there are indications that the UDF will be invited back to Stellenbosch to address students again. I also know of an incident where ~~Karel da Kota~~ had addressed students at the (RAU) Rands Afrikaanse Universiteit, and as a spinoff from that a group of 30 UDF supporters had emerged on campus. Some of the work that they had done initially were things like translating UDF documents into Afrikaans and so on. But again these are all indications that there is a fair amount possible. It doesn't become a major activity for us but it isn't something we can afford to ignore at this point in time ever.

Terror Lekota

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Q: ~~Do you speak Afrikaans?~~ A: yes.

Q: ~~Do you speak Afrikaans at home?~~

A: (Not in the home, but in the community, yes.)

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Q: And, this may be, i don't know if this is anything, I might have the wrong idea, but one of the things ^{we been talking about} the whites ^{is} their effort to forge a cultural, it's not a political, but a cultural future, I mean there was a time they'd been looking to Britain(?) or wherever, and what should they be looking to and some of the people are trying to like understand what a South African culture would be about. Do you think, that, I don't know if this is a stereotype, ~~but~~ but do you think that there is anything, ~~in~~ any affinity you might have for that effort and that struggle to find a cultural range-kind of language, music, books and all that whites ^{are down} have, progressive whites, that coloureds ^{one} might would have. I'm just thinking of when you talked about the kind of trying to be whites and what often the lack of identity the coloured community have been said to have.

A: I think that lets say my experience of music in the coloured community is, there is a greater affinity amongst younger coloureds to kind of American soul, Black American stuff. But there's also a fairly large component that has a very strong attachment to Jazz and a kind of Jazz that is essentially African, the jazz that has tended to use a lot of brass the kind of stuff that Dollar Brand, Abdullah Ibrahim plays. Those kind of things actually go down very well. So I think at that level it would be possible to find or establish common ground with Africans in so far as music is concerned, ^{but} Language is a much, much greater problem. I think it's going to be a problem that we're going to sit with in South Africa for a very very long time. If one looks at Cape Town for instance, the separation is so stark: Africans speak ~~Xhosa~~ Xhosa, ^{whites} Coloureds speak English or more predominantly Afrikaans, so those are some of the problems that we are going to face. Finding the lingua franca ^{is} is going to be a major, major task. I don't know if we can use any single language or if we would have to find a combination, depending on regional dynamics or whatever. But those are problems that we are going to have to grapple with. But at the moment those things are somewhat secondary. In the UDF here in the Western Cape, there's ^{an} emphasis on using translations as far as possible. The two languages we use most are, in fact, Afrikaans and Xhosa, because the coloured and African working class use those languages. It might have to be an arrangement like that. In Durban it might be English and Zulu for instance. And you know after that kind of arrangement, how exactly one pieces ^{together} the nation is still going to be a major task.

Q: Do you speak any Xhosa? A: (Very, very ~~much~~ ^{more} animated Xhosa that I picked up in my years on construction sites.)

Q: So I guess you answered my question - you didn't answer it maybe totally directly to what I was saying. Do you ^{in any way} identify with whites, I mean if I asked a white do they speak any Xhosa, they'd probably ^{say} I picked up a little for this reason.

A: I think that given the kinds of regions that do obtain in South Africa, language, housing, group areas, etc, it's probably easier to identify with whites under the present circumstances, but it's also a struggle for us to identify more closely with blacks, in this country.

Q: How do you respond to, I mean ever since I came to Cape Town I've been amazed at the criticism that ^{people from} different camps and just the whole kind of criticism of the UDF from the White intellectuals, ^{and} that it's got the bourgeois or the petty bourgeois ^{in mind} and ^{what} might cause problems in the future and all this which I think certainly there is more than in PE or Johannesburg which is where I was before. How do you feel about that kind of criticism? Do you think that it's useful, do you think that it's just typical, do you think ^{eg} there are sort of whites again, or do you say Oh we get a lot of that from Coloured intellectuals too. Is it something that is ^{specifically} essentially white that says they're even more revolutionary than you that they've got to sit over here on the sidelines and not get involved?

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unity in action

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A: I think that we get as much flak from the coloured intellectuals in the Western Cape. That kind of criticism is something that was far more prominent in the Trade Union Movement earlier, when the Trade Union Movement tended towards economism and the whole notion that the working class are going to liberate themselves and they will lead the struggle alone, etc etc. But one finds a different trend emerging and it's still emergent where (as a result of struggles in the community and struggles on the factory floor, we are actually beginning to see some kind of action in unity, emerging. We will find those same workers taking the organisation's experiences) off the factory floor into the community, and the emergence (from the community into the trade unions) and so on. So there's also been a more recent ^(growth) upsurge of worker participation in the trade unions. So there are hardened attitudes that had existed there for instance (about questions like the role of non-workers in the struggle and so on are actually shifting quite considerably. One looks at the participations of the trade unions in the stay-aways in the Transvaal on the 5 and 6 of November last year (as one example of the way in which the whole process is opening up.)

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Q: But as far as the criticism from the whites do you kind of have an image of the right kind of intellectual you find aggravating?

A: I think that intellectuals by and large, are people who've absorbed themselves in academia, do tend to see the world through a very particular perspective, and I don't think that the result of their whiteness or anything like that. It's probably more a manifestation of the alienation that they suffer from.

Q: How do you feel about uh...would you ever have thought years ago when you ~~was~~ know all the debates on these things(?) discussed, not any of the groups mentioned, all the different groups, that there'd be a white group of progressives who'd be alive in the way they are?

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A: I never actually envisaged that. I think the rate at which the grouping of white progressives is going especially in Cape Town and Johannesburg is quite phenomenal. We have a situation now for instance (where) you know (the grouping of white democrats) active in the UDF (is much bigger than the Congress of Democrats was). It's something that.. I mean the kind of work being done on ~~the~~ campuses and elsewhere is really paying dividends now.

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Q: When did you hear of the Congress of Democrats?

A: It was probably in the very late 70s when I said earlier you know we dusted the Freedom Charter and so on. It was within that period of grappling that I heard about the Congress.

Q: Zimbabwe's promoted this idea of reconciliation by letting the whites retain their privileges sometimes. How would you envision the reconciliation in South Africa in the future after liberation? How much accommodation to white privilege would be necessary in order to maintain production? I mean there's the theory and then there's the reality of what happened to Mozambique and the whole thing.

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A: I think to ..we're into that because there's a much longer line of whites who don't have any other homeland, who feel themselves as South Africans and nothing else. I would imagine that in all likelihood a greater percentage would opt to remain in South Africa, in any event. Ja, (there's very little other place for them to go to. There isn't anything south of where we are. So I don't think that for those kinds of reasons we do foresee a major kind of exodus of whites) from South Africa. (The more complex question is then) to be a situation where, over a period of time whites have built up an incredibly strong military machine. They haven't...I think that since the job reservation laws were lifted and so on a couple of gaps have probably been created

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A:cont: and anywhere they haven't been created like in the mines for instance the work there is largely done by blacks, under supervision of whites. So you find a situation where blacks don't have blasters certificates for instance they in fact do the blasting themselves. So it isn't around industry as much as it is around the ability of whites to become a tremendously strong form for counter-revolution. and given those kinds of conditions, it's a lot more complex to come up with any immediate answers.

Q: So you're saying you don't know what ~~in fact~~ would be in practice... what we talked about non-racialism in practice but in reality you may well find you can't just change people's ideas(?) (hard to discern).

A: Yeah, I think that what I'm saying as well is assuming that we were to go for one person one vote immediately there would be, I mean, Pik Botha has said that, we will fight to the last drop of blood. Right. How far they can actually go, I'm not too sure. But I think that there is a commitment there at least, and sufficient military machinery, and the backing of the United States and Imperialism in general because of the strategic importance of South Africa, for them to be allowed to continue for a while. And that is going to be a very very important question, but whether we can tie ourselves down to the same extent as Mugabe has tied himself down, for instance, I don't know and I don't think it will be accomodated.

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Q: Would you say this before you had a view about liberals? Do you think you've changed at all? Do you think you have more tolerance? or do you think there are different kinds of liberals or do you still feel that they are not really able to contribute? I'm thinking of white liberals.

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A: I think I've become a lot more tolerant. On the one hand a lot more understanding of how expedient liberals are so while there is a tolerance (there is also an acute awareness of the extent to which liberals will try and manipulate situations.) They are so... I think my feelings are decidedly mixed on that question.

Q: And do you ever think that the white, ...do you ever think that there's a definite left where people say there're whites involved but ag they're not going to get hammered the way we are, they don't get the chains(?), they don't get ... by the State the way the blacks do?

A: But when people say that that's very real. One looks at the situation in the Western Cape, where we find that the Security Police, the Action Unit, all of those arms of State, even treat colours far more cautiously than what they treat Africans. They don't bash us up, they pick us up and try and act in a very, very humane way) and it is very, very different to what we experience elsewhere in the country. You also find that, as a result of that, there's probably less militance) to go around (in coloured communities, and I would imagine that) you know (that is multiplied so much more in the white community.) It's reality.

by police, etc. blacks are?

Q: Do you think that if you asked any people in UDF to name the kind of heroes of the struggle there would be any white names?

A: For a long time our people sang songs about Dennis Goldberg. His name has appeared on a number of our banners and so on. I recall the discussion around the time that he had accepted the terms of his release. Dennis, because he lived in Cape Town, was also known to a number of the older comrades.

Q: ????????

A: and there was actually a very, ...of course people were unhappy about the fact that he had accepted when ~~was~~ Mandela had refused. But there was also an understanding you know of thetape ends.

What was the reaction to his release by the SA authorities after he agreed not to escape in UDF against the state?

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(Follsmoor)

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A cont: there was an understanding (of the conditions under which Denis Goldberg had accepted) the conditions of (his release). The situation in Pretoria Central was entirely different from the one on Robben Island, and even in (later, in) Volksberg(?). So he had kind of fallen from favour. But (names like Bram Fischer, are names that (are still regarded with honour by everybody in the UDF.) Other contributions like Eli Weinberg and names like that are (also) names that are remembered in our struggle. (Eli Weinberg, Ben Turok, Solly Sachs, I've mentioned Bram Fischer. I think that many people still recall those names, (Ray Alexander, of course, yes; (Helen Joseph is very popular) in the UDF (as well.)

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Q: And it's just that you're so interesting that I keep,...there's one thing that I think is a blooming problem, I'm just wondering what you think of it, It has to do with what the media has done with these white women (can't discern) I mean that one that was killed in the Transvaal. She was (?) stoned by a (?) mob, the little baby, (difficult to discern) the one white child against all the black victims. Do you think that that might be in any way counteracting what's being built in terms of non-racialism, that that can help sow the seeds for a new kind of racism or do you think that the people will be ready to understand that and deal with it? I mean certainly the way it's played in the Citizen and the SABC and stuff.

A: When you say the people who're you talking about?

Q: Well I ~~was~~ guess taking it both sides, I mean do you think that UDF supporting people will deal with it? And then I'd ask you whether that could derail all your efforts to go to Stellenbosch and that kind of thing?

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A: In fact, you know, those kinds of things were mentioned at Stellenbosch by some people, some students who were there. (I think that, you know, it depends entirely on which side you are. I remember in Uitenhage, two coloured youths were killed, (dragged from a car and killed and the media tried to play that up as well. These guys were Muslims and through the Muslim ~~tradition~~ Council, with whom the UDF has a reasonable working relationship, the matter was addressed and I don't think that there is a bitterness about that. It's a lot more difficult in the white community) as such (to address those problems.. Yes, those things will be remembered, and they will probably be remembered (used time and again) against the UDF, against (progressives in general,) but it is one of those things we would have to take, you know. (There will have to be, I mean, ~~xxx~~ casualties, and it's not only casualties in terms of lives. Sometimes) as a result of action (we suffer political casualties as well. We don't quite have the same media, or (control of the media as the State has and that complicates ~~our~~ task, but that is something we will have to deal with in the course of struggle.)

Q: It seems that Cape Town has some peculiar innings in its history - that Jodak(?-) was established, that other ones seem to be established. Do you think ~~that~~ there'll be a CADAE ever?

A: In fact there's been a debated amongst the UDF white area committees. I think the debate has just been shelved temporarily. But you see, Cape Town is less harshly racist than other parts of the country even though I mean there've been thousands of people moved under group areas Act and so on. (We found last year ~~the~~ with the million) milling? (signature campaign) - we took a number of white democrats along with us into areas like Elsie's River where people accepted them. We all went along to Crossroads to collect signatures and even though we had a language problem, the UDF made the difference to the people there. I think that work on the ground at that level isn't quite possible to the same extent, you know (the kind of non-racial work force that)



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Acont: we rely on here, isn't quite possible to the same extent elsewhere. So I can understand the hesitance among the white democrats ~~in~~ about forming a separate organisation in this country. Things just aren't as compartmentalised. I think it's just probably due to the predominance of numbers of coloureds in the Western Cape who don't have the same kind of cultural tradition and I mean somewhere along the line in most families you're going to ~~have~~ find white ancestry and black ancestry and so on. So I think it does make a difference you know. But it's peculiar to, not even the Western Cape, to the Peninsula.

Q: What's your position in the UDF?

A: ~~Executive~~ Western Cape Secretary, one of the secretaries and I'm also on the NEC at the moment.

Q: Of the national ... (Thmm)...what position or is it just on the National Executive Committee.. T: just on the National Exec.

Q: And is this a paying job working at UDF?

A: For the Western Cape ja.

Q: Can I ask what you get paid?

A: R450 a month.

ENDS....tape two:075.