

CYRIL RAMAPHOSA 13/8/85 sm TAPE 1 SIDE 1

JF: Where are you from?

CR: From a western native township, before the family moved to Soweto. *continued on p. 2-3*

JF: Are you from any kind of political family?

CR: No.

JF: What did your parents do?

CR: My father was a policeman for a long time, then he retired in 1976 during the Soweto uprising because we prevailed upon him to resign, my brother and I and the family.

My brother was involved in the leadership at the time of the uprising and I had just come out of detention, having been detained from 1974 to 75.

JF: In connection with what?

CR: In connection with student politics at Turfloop University. I was the vice-chairman of SASO at that time.

Then in 1976 I was detained again for six months.

JF: In connection with what and were you still at Turfloop?

CR: No, they wouldn't take me back at Turfloop so, and I was partly involved in the leadership at that stage too in the uprising in Soweto.

JF: Even though you weren't a high school student?

CR: Yes, the whole action was such that many people got involved in some form of activity or other. Just after it happened my brother and I realised what the implications could be.

Then we prevailed on our father to resign from the police which he did.

Your father's role in the police force,
JF: Had it not been an issue before that?

CR: It had been an issue. ⁰²⁹ For us it was a very ^{thorny} ~~solid~~ issue because we didn't want him to continue working as a policeman and he had nothing else he could do at that age.

He'd been a policeman for over twenty years) and we'd been brought up be a policeman's wages and so forth.

But when the pressures became much bigger and more intensified, we got him to leave the police force.

JF: What kind of politics did he have? What was his views of whites?

① Rural roots

② Collaborators

CR: My father was a very good policeman, and he was not fully conscientised about issues but he knew what was right and what was wrong and in his own heart, even the way he kept talking he knew that certain people like Nelson Mandela were the leaders of the country.

He had no doubt in his mind about that and he was doing a policeman because he didn't have anything else to do.

When he started in 1939, he just came to Johannesburg looking for a job. He got married to my mother and had to find ways and means of supporting her.

HE started off as a blackjack as they used to call them then, that is the council priest, and then he left that and wanted to get a more secure job and the police force at that stage seemed to be the place to get a more secure job, where there would be some form of security for an uneducated person.

JF: Before 1976, growing up in your early years, did you think that he was in any way compromised? Did it ever occur to you?

CR: yes it did. I think that when I became more conscious and more politically active, I came to realise that his position wasn't that acceptable. At some stage I knew that we would have to put pressure on him to resign.

It was a com-~~promised~~ promised position anyway.

JF: And do you have understanding and sympathy for the ^{victims of the} attacks on black policemen that are going on these days?

CR: No, I don't.

JF: In what way?

CR: In a sense that we all see them as being an extension of the whole system. They are working to uphold the system and so forth, and I don't have any sympathy.

JF: For the policeman? And do you have any understanding for the dynamics that lead the youth to attack them? And kill them?

CR: I wouldn't say kill, I think there are other ways of putting pressure on them. I would not condone the killing, and I could never come to a stage where I could condone the killing of an informer. I don't think that is the way our struggle should be waged, and particularly at this stage

If at some stage they are found to have committed crimes against the people they should be brought to book in another way and not through killing.

JF: When you moved from the western native township to Soweto, did you go to Turfloop because of the language you speak?

CR: No, I matriculated in the Northern Transvaal..

JF: Did they send you up there to school?

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CR: yes, for my matriculation.

JF: Boarding?

CR: Yes, in Sibasa, Mbapuli High School.

JF: Did you know Nev and ^{Nengwehuku} ~~Vanku~~ve?

CR: Yes, we were at school together.

JF: Are you Venda-speaking?

CR: I am Venda-speaking. Having grown up in Soweto myself, I felt a need to go back to my roots to go and see where my grandfather and my forefathers lived and that was like an emotional thing for me.

The best thing I could have done was to actually go there and see for myself what the area looked like because I've never been there. → add pages 14 + 15 here

JF: A big sophisticated kid from Soweto goes back to the bush, what did you find? Did you find them politicised or totally not politicised?

CR: Apolitical.

JF: Do you ever go back there now?

CR: No.

JF: So from that school, you went to Turf and did you right away get into SASO?

CR: Yes.

JF: And how did you get into the black consciousness philosophy? Did it immediately find its substance with you? Did you think it was a long term ideology?

CR: I got involved with SasO and the black consciousness movement because at that stage that was the in thing. I think we wanted more than anything else to assert ourselves as black students, to be proud of the fact that we are black and we can do things on our own.

And at that time at the university that was the only form of exposure that we had to any kind of political activity.

JF: Did you see it in long term, did you see it as a kind of philosophy that would take you to liberation? Did you see it as short term. Did you critique it at all then?

CR: I did yes, I did. I particularly saw it as a short term type of thing just to put us beyond the threshold so that the white man who was in my view undermining the black person, dealing with a black person as a non-person, should realise that the black person is a human being and he can do things. He's proud of the fact that he's

..that he's black. Now in a liberated society I did not see that going much further, I did not see the whole philosophy or ideology going much further, for me for us just a threshold.

Because then we had to get into a wider real society where we had to live with white people and so forth. Having attained liberation, from the oppressors, we'd have to live with the oppressors and the oppressors being white then we'd have to find an accomodation, complete ideological accomodation for them. Now I got to University at the height of the black consciousness movement. We had good leaders, Steve Biko, Barney Pitsoana and the way they presented their philosophy to us was very appealing, and it made sense at that time.

But one had to go further and when I got out of my detention, I then had to start trying to weigh up, looking at the whole South African society, seeing what the future could be.

And at that stage began being more and more exposed to other philosophies, like say non-racism and the involvement of the ANC and the break away of the PAC and I suddenly realised that the BC was essentially a sectarian type of movement which tried to get black people to be on their own.

On another level it also encouraged a hatred to white people which I could not live with, much as I may have had suspicions of white people in the struggle itself.

I just came to realise that you cannot completely avoid or just mark them absent from the entire struggle and particularly those white people who were more sympathetic to the struggle itself.

JF: So what made you come to those realisations? I mean those are quite profound things you're saying. You came out of detention, and was there any person, any experience, anything you read that made you look at the non-racial aspects?

CR: Yes, I got myself to read quite a number of books. At that stage I did come across a Freedom Charter and it made a lot of sense to me I also became more and more exposed to the involvement of people like Nelson Mandela in the whole struggle.

As a person I found him a lot more appealing to some of the people.

JF: Found Mandela more appealing than some of the other leaders talking about moving away from black consciousness?

CR: One other thing that leaders such as those had achieved a lot for people, they'd raised a lot of consciousness amongst the oppressed of this country and they were the most acceptable national leaders and throwing in one's lot with people who were widely accepted with a philosophy or an ideology that was more acceptable and more appealing to me, it seemed to be the proper thing to do.

JF: And did you have any trouble moving away from BC? Were you the only black in your group doing it?

CR: It was not really a trend because some of my other comrades

CR: .. still remained rigid in the BC philosophy and my own beliefs had always been, or are now that it's very important to have a black leadership, and going through the organisations such as the ANC, their central committee, for a long time they did not allow white people.

This seemed to mean a loss⁺ to me in (that they believed that black people should get into leadership positions and lead the the struggle.

They have changed now, since the last meeting they had, but I'm all for supporting a strong black leadership but at the same time, it should not be an exclusive leadership, and I substantiate why I say that.

White people usually have a lot of privileges as they grow up, educational, the way they have been brought up and they usually tend to be in a dominant position in whatever organisation they get in just like I am because I happen to have an education.

A person who's not been well educated like I am would not usually be confident in terms of knowledge, in terms of being able to put his facts correctly and so forth.

The move to promote a strong black leadership is important in that as you promote it, the people who get into leadership positions acquire skills that they wouldn't otherwise have, naturally.

I've seen it in our own union, the leaders in our union, I've seen them growing and growing because they've had the opportunity to get into those positions and the opportunity to actually grow in those positions.

So I supported very much the position that was taken say for instance in the ANC central committee that for some time the members of the central committee should be black.

I also support the change that has been brought about because it's necessary; you cannot remain rigid in issues that are of a practical nature. You've got to be changing all the time and adapt to new situations as they come up.

However, I found that some of my comrades remained very rigid for a very long time which I found very short-sighted. You need to grow and draw knowledge and experience from a ~~white~~ wide range of our country's population.

It does not mean that when you have a white skin you cannot contribute to the struggle.

JF: Up unto the point you're talking about was this about '75 when you got out of detention? When were you detained, from when to when?

CR: I was detained from 74 to 75 for 11 months, then later from 76 June to December 76.

JF: Was 74, 75 your first time in detention?

CR: Yes.

JF: Where did you go then, you couldn't go back to Turfloop, did you just go back to the community in Soweto?

CR: I went to Soweto, and I started studying with UNISA to complete my degree which was interrupted again in 1976 and then I went on for articles with a legal firm.

JF: People talk about a generation gap. There were some years between you and the Soweto youth, the ones who hadn't matriculated. How did you get involved with it? Did they come to you because they knew you were SASO, how did you get to be with them?

CR: I got to be with them because they knew that I was involved in the struggle even at Turfloop, and we got to meet and discuss the issues, and even the uprising itself.

So there wasn't much of a generation gap. They were doing much of the work, I must say, but at the same time they needed advice and direction and so forth.

JF: Some people look back and talk about it being spontaneous and not organised. What do you think? From your experience?

CR: It was organised but it was very limited; it had its own limits in that the people who were involved were young and they were inexperienced but it was a necessary event in our struggle.

JF: Were you picked up because the police saw you as an instigator? An agitator?

CR: I got picked up because they knew that I was meeting some of the people and they knew I was involved and I don't really know whether they would have categorised me as an instigator.

JF: You just had links?

CR: Yes.

JF: Did you find those kids to be ^{BC-}oriented(?) or were they moving beyond that?

CR: I think there was a mixture, I must say, there was a mixture between BC and Charter.

JF: Where were they getting the Charter, from individuals in the community, oldtimers, or from reading?

CR: Oldtimers.

JF: So again if certain people say ^{The view that} there was absolutely no influence of the ANC in '76 do you think that's true or false?

CR: It's a very difficult question to answer, maybe I shouldn't answer that one.

JF: I'm just wondering whether it was totally unrelated to the ANC or whether those kids saw that as one of their influences.

CCR: Yes, there was an influence, that's for sure.

④ JF: Then when you got out of detention in 76, 77, how long was that for?

CR: Six months.

⑤ JF: And what did you do then?

CR: Then I started working serving articles in a legal firm and did not get very much involved in most of the things because maybe I was also trying to search, I was looking for maybe a qualitative political whole.

Then I concentrated a lot more on my studies and maybe to an extent my personal life, 1978 I got married, and I finished my degree, and then got disillusioned with law because it seemed to me one of those professions or careers one follows that tend to promote one's bourgeois tendencies.

I did not feel comfortable with it but lucky enough I did not really take the plunge to go in, and then after that my marriage got into problems and I got divorced and I left the law completely and then joined the Union.

JF: Which union?

CR: CUSA first.

JF: What did CUSA represent to you then? Was this '79?

CR: It was '81 when I joined Cusa.

JF: You left law and went to CUSA in what position?

CR: I was legal advisor.

JF: What did Cusa represent then? Was it a black consciousness union, did that attract you?

CR: It was more getting involved in a union rather than looking at the sort of ideological status of the union itself. At the time Cusa had not really come out strongly as a BC type of federation.

It never did anyway, because in its operations, it still had a lot of white involvement, it had white advisors and what have you so to me that did not represent a compromise at all.

No, maybe I shouldn't say that. It did not feel like I was getting ideologically involved in Cusa, I was getting more involved in the working class struggle.

JF: It wasn't an alignment with them, it was a chance to get into working class issues? Why did working class issues assert themselves to you at that point? At the point of getting away from law and getting to...

CR: Yes, because I realised that it is the working class that really carries the future of this country on its shoulders and if anywhere that was where the action is going to be for the future of this country.

I wanted to be there and one other important thing was in a union, in a working class struggle, I knew right from the beginning that I would be able to see the results of what I am involved in.

Working class leadership

CR: .. rather than say for instance in SASO where one did not see the fruits, but in a union you see the fruits, you see workers getting organised, getting conscientised, getting educated, having a very strong cohesive structure.

Taking decisions, being in control of their lives and being able to take action when it is wanted.

But in an organisation like SasO it was all intellectual talk most of the time without any mass movement backing and it was the right place to be and I have no regrets.

JF: And how long did you serve in that legal capacity?

CR: For a year, and the following year we formed our union ^(NUM) and I got involved in our union.

JF: Did others form it and you got involved, or were you a founding person?

CR: Yes, I was.

JF: And why miners? Had you had any connection or did you see it just as a powerful juncture with the state?

CR: Well both I would say. Miners because when I was at university, I always thought that one of the things that I should do on leaving university was to go and work on a mine because the mines represented to me the utter degradation of man, utter exploitation and I wanted to experience that so that I can be able to do something about it if necessary.

I remember when I was doing my third year I kept talking about finishing my degree and going to work on the mines but unfortunately I was kicked out of university and never got that opportunity.

My grandfather was a diamond miner in Kimberly. I never got to know him, I just heard that he had worked on the mines. It did not form a strong link with me but then I had my own personal ambition to work on the mines.

The biggest regret is of course that I've never been a miner.

JF: In getting into the union did you get in as what capacity initially?

CR: I was the co-ordinator of the organising effort; in the first congress, I was elected as general secretary.

JF: And then did you get to know miners and mining and the issues pretty fast? Did you feel it was a learning experience?

CR: It was a learning experience and I did learn very fast and I used to go out to the mines where nobody knew me and just mingle with the miners and talk to them and that way I got to know more about their lives and their struggles and the way they were being exploited, and how they were suffering.

That made a big impact on me because then I knew and realised..

..CR.. what responsibility I had ahead of me, and that propelled me and gave me a lot more motivation to press ahead with the union's organising efforts.

CRYIL RAMAPHOSA TAPE 1 SIDE 2

JF: You had been working with, you were obviously well-educated compared to them.

CR: Yes, obviously at the beginning they had suspicions - this man had never worked on a mine, what does he want? And those type of suspicions are obviously unavoidable, they do take place.

I had to like prove my bona fides to the miners because on some occasions I was asked personal things, like where was I born, why was I interested and so forth and I had to answer those questions directly and as honestly as I could.

Eventually I found that I was well accepted. I was accepted on a number of levels, one the mere fact that I had legal training meant to the miners that I could be accepted and trusted, well accepted initially because they saw me as somebody that would have more knowledge of the laws that were oppressing them than they would, and eventually I was also accepted because looking at my own personal life they found out that I'd been in conflict with the state and having been detained. That too meant a lot to them.

They didn't like brand me as informer or a collaborator and I think my own personal attitude to them, I didn't try to portray the attitude that I was a lot superior. I did come down to their level and eventually they saw that I was not in it for personal gain but was more concerned about the exploitation that they were being subjected to by the capitalists and as we started going on with the organising of the union, the ideas that I was putting across to them, things like worker control, the working class being conscious so that they can eventually perform their historic role in the country. That appealed to them.

JF: And again on the non-racialism theme, is it at all relevant to talk about it being a non-racial union?

CR: It was at the first congress we debated the question of the clause in the constitution whether we would like to say "black workers or "all workers" and there was an overwhelming rejection of "black workers".

There was more acceptance for all workers in the industry and the feeling was then that if a white worker who renounced the apartheid system and so forth wanted to be a member, his application could be considered.

Rather than saying he will never be allowed to be a member.

JF: Where did those black workers get that non-racialism from? Is it because they were never a part of the BC movement, it never affected them?

CR: It's very difficult to say, I don't think you can really say that, that because they didn't get involved in BC, ...

JF: No, that wouldn't be a reason. Interestingly enough lots of people I've interviewed, even coming from tiny towns, will talk about an old man or granny in the town who is an ANC banished person who gave them.. obviously not everyone is exposed to that. What are your feelings.. you know if you look at the most exploited people who could never even say they've seen a progressive white, then where did they ever get that idea of non-racialism?

CR: It's a very interesting question because what did come out from the congress was that the mines and the nature of the mines is such that the white person is only seen as an enemy because he's always like oppressing them and exploiting them.

I remember at congress one man stood up and said they need to be re-educated and the feeling was that we are going to re-educate those whites because they are workers like us,

They are just being used and they need to come to a realisation that they are being used. Our union would be the most difficult union to openly accept any white people or white membership, but at the same time I've come to realise that there is no violent objection or opposition to white people who have indicated through their actions or something else that they are willing to renounce the system as it exists.

So it's very difficult to answer the question so where did they get that from? when they are working in a such an oppressive and racialistic environment.

JF: So you have to leave it at that, that it's very difficult. Are you saying that there are many influences?

CR: There are influences obviously. Most of the miners - that comes out in our congress, that as soon as you mention Nelson Mandela's name, there is overwhelming applause meaning that people like Nelson Mandela are very well known to the miners.

They also support the total rejection of Bantu homelands system and its leaders. Miners recognise as being their leaders those who are in exile and those who are in prison today.

So there must have been influences all the way through.

JF: Given what you said, what does that mean about whites in this union. Could there ever be a white who would be an official of any kind? Could there be the kind of involvement there is in some of the other unions?

CR: It's something that cannot be written off.

JF: And looking at the history of the union, did you read about the Rand Revolts. Did that teach you anything about the potential for resistance even in a convoluted way? Did you have thoughts about that?

CR: Not only myself have read about that one but even our members. We've made a point that our members are exposed to the history of the industry as such.

Some of our members, the shaft ^{shop} stewards(?) particularly have read the 1922 Strike. We've purchased thousands of booklets on that revolt and most of our members have read it and they know and understand what the struggle is all about.

JF: What lesson do they take from that, I mean if you're speaking to them what conclusions can you draw? One has to do with racialism and the other with worker - what lesson do you feel is important from the Rand Revolt.

CR: One good lesson that the workers have learnt is the workers getting organised to an extent where they are able to bring down the capitalists, to their knees.

And eventually take over the means of production.

JF: Do you ever have contact with the white mine workers?

CR: No

JF: You do have contact with the white mine owners?— I'm just wondering if you use the liberal capital deciding, kind of finding a voice of opposition, liberal capital—speaking out against the detentions sometimes calling for negotiations with black leaders. I mean within obviously their framework. I mean do you feel cynical about that?

CR: I'm very cynical. You see the crucial question that they will never be prepared to answer is workers gaining control, that all the expropriators must be expropriated, they will never really get to grips with that.

They are willing at this stage to have the government talk to black leaders and reach some form of arrangement where they, too, as capitalists can be accommodated.

We obviously don't view it that way; we see capitalists as being completely expropriated.

JF: Do you think that you believe in stages, do you think there would be a stage when the struggle would get much more intense that they could play a role in terms of finding a conscience to speak out on mass detentions even more than now, or do you think that they're aligned as such that it's useless what they say?

CR: Yes, it's very useless.

JF: What does that mean on a personal level with them, is it quite a .. you're definitely on different sides and never the twain shall meet, or do you find any potential to look at them as thinking of what the future non-racial South Africa shall be? I mean that you will have a stage of working with them?

CR: WE can have a stage of working with them if they become workers but otherwise as long as they hold ^{on} the capital the twain shall never meet.

JF: Another question on unions and political activity, I mean you lived in Soweto.. social activity with the civics, it's not that much to ask about, have you been involved with community organisations or do you have any feelings about whether unions should affiliate to the UDF?

CR: My own personal feeling is that members of unions should become members of organisations such as UDF, or whatever their political persuasion is, but that unions should retain their independence.

One sees that throughout, say history, where unions have affiliated to political organisations and have lost their identity.

My own belief is that workers as an organisation should retain their identity and be able to be the conscience of any political organisation.

JF: What lesson of history are you talking about - Sactu(?)?

CR: Not necessarily, I'm looking at say for instance at a place like Zimbabwe where presently the unions or the federations there are being told that they should affiliate to the party.

The unions want to resist that but the party is a lot more powerful than the unions and the party is trying to have its own leaders who are sympathetic to the party in leadership positions.

I think that's very dangerous because the unions will eventually lose their own identity completely.

JF: What lessons do you draw from the fifties, have read about Sactu and that?

CR: Lessons that one draws from the fifties, I mean Sactu has played a very important role in our struggle in this country and one cannot at any stage put the blame or see anything wrong with Sactu's alliance with the ANC.

It was a necessary development in the history of our country that it should be like that, but at this stage I would tend to believe that a union should be independent and be the conscience of a political organisation, but then that members and leaders of unions should get involved in political activity in political organisation.

JF: Right, but it's not discrete; there is a convergence at some point?

CR: There is a convergence at some point but then if the union is

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Community

..CR.. is independent, and obviously the union will have sympathies with political organisation, I mean there is just no doubt about that.

JF: But you see a necessary, or inevitable convergence in terms of the kind of boycotts one saw in the Rand in late '84 and now. Is that okay, is it too soon is it jeopardising the union? Is it necessary?

CR: It's necessary. It's necessary the union should be able to co-operate with political organisations on issues that are important and they should be close working together but that, to that end, my argument is that the union should be able to retain its independence.

JF: Should the union put itself on the line, should the union know for example that the capital workers could get fired, that something like that could happen, that detention is that something that shouldn't happen to the unions and should be avoided?

CR: No, that should not be avoided, that should happen.

JF: Do your own miners talk at all about community organisations and UDF, I mean what do they say to you about that?

CR: Mmm they do talk about it, but the only constraint is of course that the miners live in compounds and completely removed from the community and that's a major disadvantage but in areas where our members are actually living near the community, they do get involved. They've got a situation like Kimberly for instance, most of our members are UDF members because they live in the community and they are involved in many other community organisations.

JF: Do you ever think it would give you protection for your union, you know still such an early stage to try to keep out of politics?

CR: No, I believe it's as follows: we've always believed that we should build a strong union, the work place and having done that we've virtually finished our work because if you build up consciousness on a particular structure at a work place, you can never hold it there.

It spills over and indeed it is already doing that. We find that you don't even have to go out of your way to tell miners that you must get involved in community organisation.

Once they get an organisational structure and they become conscientised, in the workplace, the rest is automatic and you don't have to have a Bible in your hand to go out to preach to them.

JF: Do you think the government tends to be more supportive, or more liking to see support for a Facata line (?) Or a pure one say as we saw say pre-84? Or a line that says look workplace issues is it?

CR: Yes, I think that the government would just like to see unions just concentrating on the workplace and we cannot. I mean that's totally out of the question, I mean you don't lead your existence

..CR.. existence only as a worker, you're a member of an oppressed community and you've got to take those issues up and a union, a progressive union can never survive if it just concentrate on bread and butter issues, it's got to get involved in wider community issues and in our union our membership has been conscientised to a level where now they are forced to get involved in other issues other than the workplace issues and the congress resolutions that we passed, mounting boycotts if the state of emergency is not withdrawn and openly that may be probably the most significant steps that our union has taken.

But this, there isn't going to be any limit from now on we are just going to tackle issues that affect the community/or people in South Africa even if they do not directly affect miners.

Because we have built a fairly strong organisation which upon speaking has to be listened to and if not listened to, if necessary can take action.

Now as I said earlier, it has been important for us to build the organisation at the workplace and having done that you have some bargaining power, not only in the workplace, but in the country as such.

Our view is say for instance two years ago there had been a state of emergency and say our union had said anything, we would not have been able to do anything, it was still weak, it was not strong enough.

Now it is important to actually do something right now because it is stronger.

JF: Do you think the government is more pro-BC, these days do you think they would be happier to see unions like Azactu, than a union like a non-racial one which may threaten the government?

CR: It's very difficult to say. I don't think the government is pro anyone who is opposed to them.

JF: Not pro, but okay do you think that they are less threatened by a BC line. I mean you hear stories of people who were detained who were told, why don't you just stay with a BC line, I mean what is this UDF, what is this... Do you have any sense of why you've moved and why some of the other people haven't moved from BC?

CR: Well, they believe in what they believe in and that's it.

JF: Your father was he alive(?) to that, have you ever heard him comment or thinking about the attacks on black policemen?

CR: No, we've never really discussed that.

JF: Your mother, does she work? *cont'd from p. 3*

CR: YES, she does still work.

JF: What does she do?

CR: She's a tea person at an engineering company.

JF: You have a brother who was in detention. What is he doing now?

CR: He's left the country, he's out of the country.

JF: Does that upset your parents, or do they have understanding?

CR: They have understanding, he's in Tanzania.

JF: So have you heard from him?

CR: Occasionally.

JF: Do you ever think, how do you envision the struggle, this is obviously long but just to ... how do you envision the struggle evolving in the future, do you see a non-racial future coming about. Right now we're seeing things that were kind of unthinkable three years ago, it's obviously escalating. What are your thoughts about the future of this country, do you see that the unions will be leading the way, or a combination?

CR: Between the unions, the working class will be leading the way and they have to lead the way because they are the one entity together with political organisations that will bring about a major change in this country. I see the union playing a very important role.

JF: So do you see violence as the ultimate way things will go through the governments conduct?

CR: The way things are going, as things are now, the government has left the people no alternative but violence.

JF: And do you see a non-racial future?

CR: In South Africa, yes I do, very much so.

JF: And what will the role of whites be?

CR: I think whites will be regarded as any other citizen of this country. They have to be because we've long past that stage where we say white man go to the sea. They're part of this country and if you're going to have a non-racial country then they have to play a role in the government, if the black man and the white man are competent then they must play a role.

JF: And do you see what you're describing as different from other post-colonial situations in Africa?

CR: Yes, I think it is, it may be a little bit different from Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe a lot has been done which differs from what has been done in other post-colonial countries.

JF: Finally can you just give me, everything else was from two years from now, but can you just say something about the upcoming strike, or just generally, you know I haven't asked you about 1985, what is, a week from now we're facing that strike, haven't you explained what the power is behind that, you know how things would have gotten to that stage. It's a very open ended question.

: What is the conduct of the industry, what are the factors why will you be in the middle of a strike?

CR: I think the union will be having the massive support of its members and even those workers who are not members will rally behind the union's banner and take strike action.

Strike action will be taken because the industry does not really yet believe that it has got an open end opponent who is strong enough to upset production and upset the rules that are taking place in the industry.

We anticipate the government moving in with the police and the army to try and crush the strike, but at the same time we anticipate the workers standing very firm.

Firm until their demands are met and I think that the strike is going to make the union a lot stronger in that a balance of power will be introduced between us and the Chamber of Mines, the bosses.

When that time comes which will be during the strike and after the strike, they will know that they gave a real big force to reckon with in everything that they do.

Right now they believe that we're a pushover that they can do what ever they wish, but they're in for a big shock.