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 (B) jf.... ... the formation of the UDF. Does this make you feel that all kinds of open organizations possible, that, does UDF mean that any kind of armed struggle is no more necessary because there's this wonderful democratic movement that expresses the people's wishes. 29

Does it ~~an~~ in any way replace the existing historical movements for change in SA both legal and illegal?

tl.... The first point to make in that regard is that the formation of the UDF must be seen in the broad context of the historical struggle of our people in this country.

Those of us who participate in the UDF as an initiative of the 80s do so fully aware that the struggle of our people does not begin today. It goes far back - indeed it goes to the very origins of contact between Africans and Europeans on the shores of our country.

We see the UDF as both a reply and assurance to those who are critical of the performance of our forefathers that we will not allow those struggles to have been in vain.

So we see ourselves as an initiative which merely complements a struggle which has already been waged for a very long time before we came onto the scene.

The national launch of the UDF, in adopting its working principles found it absolutely necessary to draw an clause into its working principles, what you could call a constitution of the UDF, a clause to the effect that the UDF shall not purport to replace the accredited liberation movements of our people.

I think that clause was added as an acknowledgement of the fact that there are leaders, people who have so

(unlike BL which says we created struggle)

performed in the struggle of our people that they have won for themselves both in the homes and the hearts of our people a very special place.

Therefore the UDF can only be seen as complementing the struggle which has been going on long before we came onto the scene.

We launched the UDF aware that there were already formed organizations in our country which were engaging the Nationalist government in armed struggle.

Those of us who joined the initiative of the UDF found it absolutely necessary to sound a voice of warning to a government which was advancing policies which we see as a formula for the deepening of racial and violent conflict which ^{is} ~~was~~ already raging in our country.

The attitude of the Nats in insisting on the racial and apartheid policies and also the policies of governments which went even before 1948 which have consistently denied our people the right to participate in the government of this country were the ones which led to the decision which Mandela, Sisulu and other stood in 1961 in forming the Spear of the Nation, Mkhonto We Sizwe.

And whilst that is not publicly acknowledged today, the policies - even the amendments to the constitution which the SAN govt is now effecting - are as a result precisely of that decision.

We are afraid that unless the SAN govt heeds the call which was made in '61 already by Mandela himself on behalf of the ANC at the time which was leading our people and subsequently one which even we ourselves are making today that they should release Mandela and all the other political prisoners, allow all those people who are banned and restricted to move and participate

freely in the debate which is taking place in our country.

And also to allow SAns who have been exiled by the unacceptable policies of this government to come back home unconditionally and participate with other South Africans, black and white, Indian and coloured, as equals and countrymen in threshing out a constitution that will be acceptable to all.

We feel that it is only when the govt of SA shall heed that voice that there may be possibilities of working out a peaceful situation in our country and one which will actually be acceptable to humanity.

Otherwise we feel that to talk of peace in the context of a country in which there is no justice is indeed to dream.

For as far as we are concerned we cannot see peace coming to pass in this country or anywhere in the world unless there is justice. We think the formula to peace is justice. The policies the government is pursuing are unjust and therefore they can only lead to further conflict and violence in this country and we are worried about that.

This is why we are taking the risks, making the sacrifices we are making to try to raise the conscience of the Nationalist govt, to try to awaken them to the real dangers which lie ahead unless they change their attitude.

JF.... Briefly - the govt calls its changes 'reform'. Do you accept that as a characterization of what's going on?

tl... If reform means adapting apartheid so that it is a bit more acceptable then what we are talking about is reform.

But as far as we are concerned, what is taking place

in the country today is not by any stretch of the imagination a change in any way.

What is taking place is just a refurbishing giving apartheid a more acceptable face.

And certainly apartheid has already been rejected by our people. To reformulate apartheid and present it give it a new face does not change that fact that it remains apartheid discrimination.

There fore it remains unacceptable to us.

jf... BC background. Can you tell me just a bit about your political development. I'd be interested to know, did you come from a political family, was it something inevitable that you'd get interested in politics or...

tl.... Well I don't come from a family that could be said to be a political family.

My family is a family like any other ordinary African family which you find in SA. My father was part and parcel in 1947 as a young man ~~xx~~ of the squatter camps and the campaign, SOfa Sonke (phon) at the time when people were struggling for housing in Johannesburg, just across next to Dube.

At the time our people were struggling to have housing there, that was soon after the second world war. And because of the impact of the development of secondary industry in WW2 most of, quite a lot of our people were drawn from the rural areas, they came and formed an urban proletariat.

My father was part and parcel of that. He of course had come from the Free State. But he is not in any way you could talk about as a political activist.

So I have a background which is fairly well, African, Fairly ordinary. But because the life of our

people in this country is permeated by unjust discriminatory laws one finds oneself consistently confronted with apartheid in one form or another.

I think ~~x~~ my involvement was therefore inevitable in the sense that daily involvement with the pass laws in particular aroused my consciousness to this.

And you know of course there is an obvious disparity of the distribution of wealth in our country, where when you move into the townships and locations of the towns and cities of our country you are immediately struck by the contrast of the areas in which our people live which are squalid, poor, virtually no facilities whatsoever.

Then of course the plush green parks, beautiful, well-painted homes of whites in the suburbs of our cities and I think that immediately struck a chord with me.

In a way I began to conceive of the disparities in terms of what is available to the various racial groups in the country. And beginning ~~an~~ building from there I think began the initial percept^{ion}~~ual~~ that there was a difference in terms of the treatment accorded to black skinned peoples like myself and others who were white.

I think as I grew up and was going around the country I began to perceive even more the fact that along the streets, in the shops, at the railway stations, the treatment which we were receiving was certainly much poorer and left much to be desired.

As opposed to what white people were getting. Small little things like those. But this actually I think, I regard those as the formative stages of my political development.

They were the very first things I began to see,

which made an ~~apppp~~ impression.

The appeal to me of the black consciousness idea as it emerged on the horizon of our country in the late 60s was the fact that it was saying that the treatment which the black people were receiving was unfair and that white people were responsible for this.

And because of the things which I had seen for myself, that immediately made sense to me and appealed to me.

Many of the generation of ^{young} people to whom I belong, with whom I participated also felt this way.

I think it is particularly so because we came into our own at a time when any meaningful political activity which had been taking place within our community had gone with the banning of the people's organizations in 1960.

So we were deprived among other things of the wealth of the heritage of struggle which others who had gone before us had already amassed. So we moved into the arena of fighting apartheid without the weapon of experience which otherwise we would have enjoyed, had the people who had gone before us not ~~actually~~ either been arrested and locked up in jail or ^e perhaps just sort of phased out or left the country.

So we moved into this as virgins, completely, like small children who had no experience of what life is and would even handle a burning candle without knowing that because it is alive it is dangerous.

We were bound therefore to make mistakes and commit mistakes in terms of judgement with regard to a number of things.

Finally, as we moved onto the 70s many of us were

beginning to think a bit more harder about the SAN problem.

But we did not have the resources. If you went onto university campuses at Turfloop or (any bush college) much of the history of our people, very w rich history of the struggle of our people was nowhere available in those instiutions, no lecturers, no teachers whether they be high shhool or so on, were able to comment or inform us about what or who in fact we were. That was what was denied.

In spite of that, our will to challenge and do away with apartheid remained. We were also inspired by the struggles of people who were fighting on the borders of our countries like Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola etc.

And within those struggles we could see that the struggle against racial oppression, against discrimination generally in Africa was alive.

Occasionally of course ~~w~~ there were also reports which filtered through about SAns who had been exiled and who remained loyal to the struggle of our people.

Even more important was the constant mention of Nelson Mandela and the others who were then serving secntences on Robben Island, we were told because they had dared to object to ap^rtheid as we ourselves were doing.

And we ^ffelt that we had an obligation to express our solidarity with those men, to do so not just by word of mouth but by actually doing something.

Finally I think some of the people especially towards 76 were thinking a bit hard, harder than before in fact, and actually making efforts to find out as to what really were the issues involved ~~x~~ in the SAN problem.

I must say that we were denied deeper understanding of the SAn problem - for myself I can say that I think that right up to the period of our arrest and going into prison.

Going to Robben Island...

jf.... Are you saying that you did have respect for Mandela before you went? If you look back to the days when you were in Saso - yes.

tl.... But we worked very closely with organizations like the BPC and the student organizations, SASM and many of the other organizations which were around at the time.

jf.... Now with those people at that time, say the early 70s, when you thought of Mandela, was there no feeling, you felt immediate support for him? I thought BC people were a bit sceptical in those times.

tl... No no no, that would, is a mistaken impression. As a matter of fact there is hardly any speech which we delivered in the early days of Saso and BC, right through until our arrest, there was hardly one speech which we delivered in which we did not assert that Mandela, Sisulu, Sobukwe and others were the rightful leaders of our people.

That has never been in doubt at that stage.

Even in our ^{indictment} (~~embodiment?~~), when we were arrested and finally charged in Pretoria one of the assertions of the prosecution in our trial was that we were responsible for popularizing communists such as Mandela, Ahmed Kathrada, Walter Sisulu, Mbeki, who were serving prison terms for having attempted to overthrow the SAn state by violent means.

So, it is, I can assert with certainty, that the BCM of our time has always asserted and accepted without any

question, the leadership of Nelson Mandela, and others, as the rightful leaders of our people.

jf... What would you have said in those times about someone like Dennis Goldberg, wwho was sentenced with Mandela but wasn't black? What did you feel about the involvement of whites then?

tl... To a very large extend the attitude of Saso was not one of direct participation with white people in the struggle.

We kept our distance with regard to them, but I think we acknowledged the fact that there were white people who participated in the struggle and who had made sacrifices even before we came to pass which were unparalleled in the history of our..

But we did not advocate and I must say in all fairness we did not consider that it was ^{wise} ~~wide~~ to participate directly on a day-to-day basis with whites in the struggle as such.

However it is also true that the men who fomred Saso like Steve Biko, Charles Ipsibisi (phon)~~x~~, Barney Pityana, Heron Nqakulu (phon) had themselves been long-standing members of the NAtional Union of SA Students. Before the formation of Saso.

They came to form Saso as a breakaway from Nuxsas and the Univ. ^{ersity} Christian Movement, both of which had been organizations in which there had been direct participation side by side with white students, those white people who were apposed to apartheid.

These people had come from there and the breakaway by Saso was seen more in terms of practical problems in the actual implementation of the thing, you formed in a way an involvement with Nusas.

Problems such as the Separate Amenities Act which when you went to conferences, for instance, meant that whilst both black and white students as members of Nusas could sit together in the course of the day in the conference setting, but ~~x~~ when the evening came they found themselves confronted with the problem of sleeping accommodation where the Sep Amenities Act provided that we ~~w~~ could not use the same amenities with white students or that they could not use the same amenities with us.

So it meant that white delegates to Nusas conferences would have to go and sleep somewhere else and then black delegates somewhere else.

This was as a result of the laws which were really beyond Nusas' control. But at the same time you found that if you arrange accommodation along separate lines you are not in position to arrange accommodation of equal quality.

Invariably you found complaints coming either from black students, because a majority of Nusas members were white students.

And this was a practical problem and of its own it generated a bit of dissatisfaction.

Then you have a problem such as the 72 hour clause where if black students and white students went to the same conference after 72 hours of participating in a conference black students would find themselves forced to leave the conference, go out of the magisterial district in which the conference was taking place and come back at the end of the day to begin a new 72 hours ~~v~~ visit which would allow them to continue to attend the conference.

All of these were practical problems which imposed themselves on the situation.

Then there was an even much more thoroughgoing problem where because the majority of members of Nusas were white students it meant that they were coming from a background somewhat different from which the majority black students/~~were~~^{which} members of Nusas came from.

Now if they came^{to} the same conference, issues which were foremost in the minds of black students would not be foremost or would not impress themselves as of urgency in the minds of ~~x~~ white students.

When you went to the question of voting you would find that white students ~~xxxx~~ on a number of occasions would vote against issues which black students felt very strongly about and which they felt were verve very urgent^t issues and whites students would vote against them.

Not so much bevause they did not sympathise with the argument, but simply because of their background the issue did not impress itself on their minds as of such urgency as black students perceived it to be.

Add to that the impact of external developments in students movements - chief among which should be said was the Students Non-Violence Co-ordinating Committee in the United States in 67 when Stokely Carmichael and others broke away from a multiracial organization in the US.

And then came forward with such slogans as the call for black power by Stokely Carmichael and so on.

Now all these ideas filtered through, came into our country - you can ~~xx~~ add to that of ~~v~~course that students themselves would go back into history and read the writings for instance of the pan-Africanists on the African personality and things like that, the Back to Africa

~~xxxxxSo if you take a combination of all these factors~~

back to Africa movement of Garvey and so on.

So if you take a combination of all of these factors would have created with the most immediate of course being the material conditions which we ~~was~~ ourselves were directly confronted with, would have created a situation in which black students felt that there was a real merit in breaking away and actually setting up their own organizations.

It was therefore an expression of this. But even as black students broke away from Nusas at the time I think it's important to make the point that they did not denounce Nusas.

The first constitution of Saspo - at the time of course there was not even Black Consciousness to talk about - the first constitution of Saso, 1968, spoke of We, the non-european students of SA.

Which later on came to be looked upon when the concept of BC came forward with contempt.

But it is significant that at the formation of Saso the question of "We, non-european students" could still be enshrined in the constitution of Saso.

Saso at that stage still accepted Nusas and regarded it as the National Union of SAN students.

So Saso still felt and saw itself as part and parcel of Nusas. Only that the move away from Nusas and the formation of Saso was seen more as a response to the immediate practical problems which were confronting black students at that time.

But you see the situation could not remain like that - student bodies are and ever-evolving grouping. Students who are on campus this year will be tempered by those

new on campus the following year and others who leave.

So you'll find by 69, by 70, and when you move into 71 you'll find that the majority of those students who participated in the formation of Saso in 68, have the majority of them have moved off the campuses.

And increasingly, large numbers of new students who were not there at the formation of Saso, who did not comprehend in full the motivation of the men who formed Saso have now come to dominate the scene.

At the ^{same} time, the conditions which were prevailing at the time of the formation of Saso have changed. New factors have come into being. Now the concept of black power from the US, the literature from there, Stokely Carmichael's book for instance about black power, that literature moves into our country.

A whole lot of reading is now being done. Franz Fanon for instance is being ^e read now much more, so this type of thing is going to influence them.

You'll even find slogans which come from the Black Power Movement in the US about white pigs and things like that - you'll find those things coming in. We begin to find around 70, some kind of shift where now the attitude of black students is hardening towards what they perceive as liberal white students.

These slogans about white pigs and things like that, they raise concern (side one ends)

Side Two

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Now they raise concern in the minds of those who are much more familiar with the thought that dominated

the formation of Saso. The question asked is: What is our correct attitude towards white people?

Especially because at the time the liberal press in the country is accusing Saso of 'anti-whiteism'.

The question which now arises is Are we racists in reverse? What is our correct attitude?

So by the beginning of 1971 the national exec of Saso sent a directive to all the centres affiliated to Saso to say to them: It is important that when we go to the 2nd general student council of Saso in 1971 your branch or your campus should have discussed thoroughly the correct attitude which we must adopt to white people. What does Saso say about white people in this country.

So that the campus are asked to discuss that question so that when we ^{send} ~~assemble~~ our delegation - I was at the time at the Univ of the North - to the second general student council at Univ of Natal black section our delegation had to have a mandate from our campus which says the numbers of Saso on the Univ of the North say that the correct attitude to white people is the following.

It is as a result of the need to define the correct attitude of black consciousness towards white people, that the Saso policy manifesto was drawn at the 2nd gen student council in Durban and in that manifesto clause 3 dealt with the questions specifically.

There we said in clear terms that Saso believes that SA is a country in which ~~we~~ both black and white people live and shall continue to live together. That clause is divided into 4 subsections - it is 3 (a)(b)(c)(d). I think subsection (c) says that the fact that Saso does not allow for direct participation with whites in our day to day programmes must not be

must not be construed as anti-whiteism but as merely as a step to maintain a balance in a situation which, an abnormal situation.

We also ~~xxxx~~ made the point in the Saso policy manifesto (interruption).

tl.... But I am making this point because I consider that it is important.

One other point which we made in the Saso policy manifesto was that whilst participation with white people in the struggle is not encouraged Saso does not legislate against it, especially where there are issues of common concern.

jf.... But in a general way what are you trying to say to me - you're saying that the seeds of understanding what the roles of whites were, you don't want me to think that in the 70s there was no tolerance of whites and that in the 80s you're accepting.

You're saying that there was this understanding of the complexity of the issue, even back then?

tl... Ja I think that we perceived and understood the position as being not participating with whites but not because we were anti-whites as such.

The position of black students in this country has developed of its own. I think perhaps it's the attitude which we were perhaps not able to articulate so well at the time is clearly discernible in the Azanian Students organization (Azaso) today.

It is a blacks only student organization, right. But it is non-racial. The point is that we could not I think, we were not able to articulate our position clearly at that time.

I think what we wanted to say was that the fact that we are a blacks only students organization does not mean

we are not non-racial. Because non racialism as opposed to multiracialism does not mean that in your organization you must actually have whites there. Non-racialism means that you judge men not on the basis of their race but on the basis of merit.

We represent i think the early period of what is clearly properly articulated in both the Azaso and Cosas because much as they remain blacks-only student organizations, but they are non-racial.

They accept the position of white people in the struggle and so on.

jf... OK, Thinking back to that stage, I'm trying to understand, there were differences, wouldn't you say, between what you believed then and what you believe now? I'd like to talk about how did that change come ~~xxxxx~~about - did part of it come from going onto the Island?

tl.... In a way yes I think there were slight differences I think I did not have the depth of understanding of the SAn political problems that I have today quite definitely.

I regard my days in Saso as My formative years politically yes.

As far as I can see, and I'm sure that this is true of all those who participated with us at the time, we saw the struggle strictly in terms of one race versus another race.

Although here and there there were glimpses, there were periods when we realised that there were some shortcomings although we could not thoroughly grasp as to where were the shortcomings. But certainly our approach at the time was heavily one of a racial approach, you know?

jf..... So how did you change that view? What were the influences?

tl.... First and most important I think in the sense of formative changes is the fact that I came from a catholic background, like Steve Biko I was a product of Marionhill.

The catholic tradition is generally one which does not judge people racially.

So the factor of my catholicism also played its role. To a very large extent. Schools and church had already formed the background I think in which people really were people. But it didn't go far. It was just that.

Even more important Robben Island I think. Perhaps even slightly before that, my period in detention and on trial I think played a very crucial role.

I am jumping the fact that there and there I did meet some individual people from the white community. I wouldn't like to mention their names.

Some of them are abroad now. But I did meet some of them as Press people, some as members of Nusas on a number of occasions and whom I experienced as very genuine people.

But in particular the period of my arrest. I think the first thing that happened was that we went on trial and we were arrested with men who were blacks like ourselves. Men with whom we had shared platforms and campaigned together against apartheid.

Men who could not by any stretch of the imagination could be said to be ignorant of the political situation in our country.

But it was precisely ~~for~~ from among those men that some of them took the witness stand side by side with the SAn security police and condemned us and sent us to jail.

Now I think that became a crucial moment for reflection whether if black men like ourselves could take positions - black men who knew very well about the issues involved in SAN situation, if they, in a moment of trial could abandon the struggle against apartheid and oppression and side together with the SAN security police, how correct was it to say or to push the line that only black people have the right to struggle against injustice?

And then of course was also the fact of mensuch as Anthony Holliday who happened to have been arrested at the same time we were on trial in 76, was arrested with a black man, Harry Mashabela who's a reporter even today on the RDM, at the time he was reporting for the Star.

Now both of them were arrested for distributing pamphlets which I think were supposed to undermine the govt in one way or the other.

The irony of that case is that Anthony Holliday was a white man stuck who stuck to his opposition to apartheid to the end. And Harry Mashabela who lives in the squalid conditions of Soweto, abandoned him, joined sides with the SAN security police and testified against Anthony Holliday.

should mention name?

So Anthony Holliday in this case as a white man who went to jail and a black man sunk him - again I thought, it became important that I should consider really carefully.

And then there were men like Bram Fischer who at the time was serving a life sentence. And to the end of his days the Nats would not free him. His own people would not free him. And he died a prisoner for opposing apartheid because he did not approve of what his own people

were doing to us.

And as I reflected over these things everything one thing led to another. There was Beyers Naude, himself an outstanding Afrikaner, a man who had reached very high positions within the NGK and then the Broederbond - he had been ostracized by his own people, they had actually banned and restricted him because he was opposed to what they were doing to our people.

Now this was an Afrikaner, it was not just a white man, it was actually an Afrikaner and his own people had ostracized him.

Now I felt it was high time that one really reflected carefully as to whether the struggle for justice in this country can be pursued only by men of dark-skinned colour or whether in fact this struggle was a struggle of men who were committed to justice, never mind the colour of their skin, and those who were committed to injustice.

That picture began to unfold. And then later on I was to come across a statement which Mandela read to the Rivonia trial in 64 in which he made it quite clear that he was committed to a struggle against white domination and black domination. That was quite intriguing.

Fortunately for me I would be sentenced later on and ~~unfortunately~~ that would give me an opportunity in the period I spent on Robben Island, amongst other things to meet Mandela and perhaps to question him a little bit more deeper.

And therefore to draw from a very rich history of the struggle of our people from men who had .. and a man amongst others who was still performing in the struggle - to get it from him, why and what he means when he says he's up against white domination and black domination.

And I think that was one of the highlights of my metamorphosis, political metamorphosis because it were from discussions among other things with Nelson over a period of time within the confines of Robben Island that I broadened my understanding of the issues involved.

Then there was literature, the writings of - before I even went to Robben Island - the book of the late Chief Lutuli where he makes the point in 52 that the struggle that is being waged by our people is not a struggle against a particular race but against a particular system.

All of those to be put in context to be explained in detail in a much broader and thoroughgoing context but Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and many of the other freedom fighters of our people, some of whom are not known to the world, but men who are committed to a free non-racial and democratic SA.

I think there lies the secret of how I really broadened my understanding mixing with men who had been tried and tested, who had reflected so thoroughly and therefore who also had had an advantage of mixing with others who had gone before them and were passing on to us, and they passed onto me amongst others the understanding of the struggle of, the experience of our people.

And that I think enriched me, it helped me develop and this is how I think I came to develop and embrace the non-racial line.

Today I embrace the non-racial and I'm sure all of us who embrace the non-racial line do so not because there are some white people participating in the struggle or who have participated. We embrace the non-racial line first and foremost because we consider it to be right.

So that even if there were not white people participating in the struggle, even if there were no Bram Fischers etc we would still say it is wrong to judge any man by the colour of his skin.

The participation of white democrats in the struggle in our country can only come forward as evidence of the correctness of our non-racial approach.

Not that the correctness of non-racialism is predicated upon them participating. If white democrats today participate in the struggle for a free, non-racial and democratic SA they don't do so because they have an obligation to convince us that the struggle is right etc etc, they themselves ^{as mature responsible citizens of this country} have their own obligation to see to it that injustice is set aside and justice established as the only formula for peace in this country.

jf.... Were there any influences concerning any kind of economic analysis of the country and the problems of SA?

tl..... Oh yes, quite definitely. A study of the SAn economy will show, particular racial groupings will immediately show that when it comes to the question of the formation of social classes it would be correct to say that a particular racial grouping is a particular class.

It is true that the majority of capitalists in our country would come from the white grouping.

Just as it is true that the majority of the working class, proletarians for that matter will come from the African section of the population of our country.

But it is also true that ^{within} the African grouping itself, there are people who are middle class elements ^(I daresay comprador, a comprador class) and some of whom. I'm talking about those men who for instance run business in the townships but who are not the direct owners of capital but who are handling

and managing that capital in their own means but on behalf of others, on behalf of actual capital owners.

Now you do find other people who are actually capitalists quite apart from compradors, from other middle class elements.

They may be few and far between but you find them nevertheless, they are there.

Then you find amongst white people themselves, people who are workers who in order to survive must wake up every morning, go and sell their labour power and live by the proceeds of their sale of that labour power.

But the point out to be made that the majority of white workers are white collar workers, the (knights?) of labour.

Because of job reservation, what capitalism has done in the our country has been to elevate white workers and give them almost all of the best paying jobs, managerial positions, as executives etc.

The whole thing has been in the process of doing that thing of course, capital has co-opted quite a lot of white workers, those highly-qualified workers, has co-opted them into being part and parcel of its operation in this country.

But still everyone of the racial groupings in our country actually has a number of classes and within those classes you'll find stratification. So looked at from that angle our society again, I found myself in a situation which if one was to see exploitation done away with in the context of our country one also had to be wary of the fact that capital in our country had also won to its side a number of people from within the working classes, and even from amongst our own people who,

men who would make common cause with capitalism.

And what do you say of some of the people now who have been co-opted by capitalism, big capitalism in our country, some of these fellows in the homelands here who are being financed by these huge monopolies companies?

One would be unrealistic to imagine that all white people are capitalists and all black people are workers, as some people have said. I think its ~~extremely~~ unrealistic, it's a distortion of the reality that is in front of us.

jf.... When did you start seeing things in terms of capitalism in the economy, the workers, what you've just explained? Did that come during your Saso days, did that get clarified on the Island? From any things you read?

tl.... I've been a student for most of my life. I studied for social work at university, sociology - one of the things was to become conscious of the formation of classes.

Maybe the thing did not at that stage impress itself so thoroughly as of immediate use. But at some time, partly because of my further reading, and also because of meeting other people who had a bit more than I had helped me to develop, deepen my understanding.

jf... In ~~brief~~, when you went to Robben Island, can you tell me a bit about your first meeting with Mandela, I mean your first impression, just him as a man. You know you said you found yourself fortunate to have had to spend those years... Just a bit can you just tell me a bit because you did allude briefly about it.

tl... Well, going to jail is I think not a very pleasant experienced.

Going to Robben Island is more than going to jail I think. For most of the youth of our country going to Robben Island over and above it being going to jail, its also going to pay homage.

There are so many freedom fighters of our people who have had to go to Robben Island and pay the price for freedom there.

Some have gone and come. Others went and never came back. And when I ~~st~~ went to Robben Island I didn't like going to jail but I was ~~also~~ proud of the fact that I was walking in the footsteps of the proud defenders of our ~~people~~ people who had been there before, in particular, that here was an opportunity to meet some of the tried and tested leaders of our people, chief amongst whom was of course Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba etc etc.

When therefore I met Nelson I think ~~he~~ one of the first things I was able to say to him was that today the young people of our country will give anything if only to have a glance of you.

That's how I felt about it. And I still feel that it was a justifiable comment in that through his sheer performance and his absolute devotion to the freedom of our people - I'm talking about him as the representative of the other political prisoners around him.

Now I think by virtue of that he has conquered for himself a very special place in the hearts of our people. So when I met Nelson I think I'm not so sure what I expected him to look like. I just wanted to find out what he looked like and what type of personality he is.

Now Nelson's a fairly tall man, I think he's in the

region of 5'11" or perhaps even slightly over six feet.

People say he is a handsome person (laughs),. Ordinarily you know we evaluate a man in terms of his performance, it'S the women who we really consider whether they are beautiful or not. But usually with men it's what they are and why they are capable of doing what matter so much to us.

But I found Nelson a very steady man. I don't know whetehr he's always been so steady, he's very steady, he's very self-assured, very deliberate.

He has tremendous amounts of stamina. I'm wont to say that he'S got the stamina of a dog. You know, a dog is chasing a hare, it just sticks and sticks andsticks, it does not matter how long, it stays on and on, he's got that tenacity about things. I think that is one particular quality which has made it possible for him and those around him to remain loyal, absolutely devoted to the aspirations of our people even after 21 long and cruel prison years.

TAPE ENDSX

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