

tl..... Nelson is best understood if he is seen in the context of teamwork.

He and his other colleagues - the other comrades with whom he's staying - old and young have been able over a period of years to forge a teamwork which knows no differentiation of age or social standing.

And I think it is their capacity to accomodate even the least among their fellows to live with each other to live with any man, even a man who does not, who may not have any respect for them.

But to be able to live side by side with such people and make them feel part and parcel of themselves. And this is the one great quality which I think, you know, impressed itself on me.

Those men are so much more valuable that they are able in spite of the high standing which they enjoy in the eyes of our people, they are able to humble themselves and that I think is the secret of undestanding Nelson and therefore of understanding the other men around him.

jf..... OK, briefly in thAT time on the Island do you think you changed politically, was it just a maturing process, how did you come out different than you went in because of the influence of Mandela and those people.

tl..... I consider that I have matured as a result of the impact of the association with those tried and tested leaders of our people.

I have matured. I'm much developed than I was before I met them and I'm not ashamed, I'm very proud to say that it was as a result of association with them.

I think as a result of association with them and as a result of the hardship of prison, I think adversity has both possibilities of destroying and at the same time of

building men.

For instance, if you meet those men, you find that they are such accomplished human beings I think largely because of adversity.

The hardship which they've experienced in jail has had the impact of drawing out of them the very best and I think that some of the qualities which have come out of them in the long run would not have come out as they have done had they not been subjected to the fire of hardship.

I think men are like clay, or types of soil. If you subject some types of soil, say sand, to fire the tendency is that it will crumble and fall apart.

If ~~we~~ you subject clay to heat it becomes stronger and stronger and I think that is the type of impact that adversity has also on men.

So I would say both as a result of the hardship of a prison term and also as a result of meeting seasoned freedom fighters of our country I have matured, I definitely think I have changed a lot from what I was at the time. When I went into jail.

jf.... Now why did some of the other defendants in the Saso trial who went through the same experience as you, like Saths Cooper and Muntu and those people, why didn't they change the way you did? Why do they still say whites can't be involved, why do they still actually reject Mandela or criticize him?

In the interview with ~~the~~ me they just wouldn't see that experience as a positive one. They wouldn't say anything that you're saying about how terrific it was to be exposed to Mandela. Why? What was the difference with those guys?

perhaps four or five who therefore has because he is their father, has got much more experience about life than his children, is of course available and ready to pass onto his offspring his experiences about life so as to arm them to be better men, even better than himself, so they can build upon the foundation he himself has laid.

Now some of the children may be prepared to heed the senior voice of experience, be prepared to examine what seniority has to say and see whether there is nothing valuable that they can extract from their own use tomorrow, even when the seniors pass.

Some children may be prepared to do so. Other children may not even be prepared to listen let alone to extract and go through the painful experience of internalizing and enriching themselves from the experience of their own father.

So what's going to happen in the long run is that some of the children will, those who are not prepared to listen to anything, will not learn anything. And as a result they'll never appreciate the profundity of their father, of experience.

On the other hand those who will be prepared to look and listen and where possible even to extract and take as provision for themselves for the future lessons from the experience of their own father will know exactly the value of their father.

Long before he has passed out of their own lives. Those children who'll therefore not have learned anything from their father are likely to even despise him.

Not because he has not done his duty, but because they were not prepared to, they have not learned anything from him.

I think and hope that that example may perhaps answer you in part. There may be other reasons which are perhaps not known to me.

I think men who are prepared to learn from others will have an opportunity once they have learned to value those men.

But if not it is too bad. Again, no matter how much a parent may love its child, if the child is not prepared to learn from the father or from the parent nothing can be done.

jf.... What about these BC people who came off the Island and the other ones who had the various experiences and now in 1983 they say Look at our Azanian manifesto. We are the real radicals.[?] We are truly talking about socialism, these charterists are talking about this watered down version, its not really the radical, the real thing. How do you answer them?

tl... My simple attitude is that the Freedom Charter is a document which evolved and emerged out of the suffering and struggles of our people, and I think that much history records.

The Freedom Charter as I see the SAn situation today continues to enjoy a lot of support from millions of households in our vast country.

It is not for me or any individual to decide whether it truly reflects the aspirations of our people or not. I think in the long run it is the reaction of the masses of our people to the Freedom Charter which must judge it.

Similarly, other memoranda which various groupings have drawn up - you are talking about the Azanian manifesto which I'm told was drafted recently at Hammanskraal. There are other documents which have been

drafted for instance what was earlier talked about as the Mafekeng manifesto. Like what others talk about as the 10-point programme etc etc.

You have these memoranda drafted from time to time. But none of them in my judgement, none of them has ever enjoyed the amount of support and acceptability which the freedom Charter has ~~to~~ enjoyed and continues to enjoy today. That is my personal judgement.

But I content myself with the fact that in the long run whether the Freedom Charter is a valid document or not will be decided by the masses of my country.

At this stage I think the most important thing is not for us to argue so much about what should happen after freedom - the people of SA will decide that, the future will decide that.

I think what ^{is} most important to me, even more important than that I think, is whether we can bring together those who are opposed to apartheid and conquer apartheid and win freedom for our people.

And then I think we'll have an opportunity when the people of our country will choose whether the Freedom Charter is the document which will be implemented and which truly reflects their [“]minumum demands [”] or not.

So I'm not worried about the criticism of the Freedom Charter by particular individuals.

People may write articles, they may write books and books condemning the Freedom Charter (FC) - it is the people of SA who will pass final judgement.

jf... What interests me is how come they can actually talk about this phenomenon called socialism which the SA government, other groups that talk about it get into trouble. I just wonder whether you agree with that?

tl... Yes, well two things of course could happen.

Ordinarily, a little child will see a candle that's burning and because it looks beautiful that child will go and grab that thing actually grab the flame, unaware of the danger of the thing.

It may well be that that is what is happening. There could be other reasons.

We want a SA in which the people of SA may rule. Those who talk about the need for socialism, they want to have socialism - I don't know to what extent they have consulted with the people of SA to be able to say the people of SA want socialism. And at the same time it is quite queer that such calls should be made in the context of our country.

And that the rulers of our country do not react to that type of thing, where the FC, a document which merely says there must be redistribution of the wealth among the people of our country, actually went on trial in 56 - from 56-61, actually where the Nats were saying that to say that the wealth of the country must be given back to the people of SA, that that was actually communism.

And yet it is quite queer that some groupings within SA can actually say that they want socialism, they are going to build socialism along the lines of what we see for instance in the Soviet Union and countries like those. And yet you find there is no reaction from the state. I can't explain it.

jf.... What do you think threatens the state more - the progressive non-racial line, or black consciousness?

tl.... I think if the behaviour of the SAn govt is anything to go by then the democratic movement is perceived by the Nationalist govt as the most dangerous to its continued rule in this country.

In terms of support within the country, townships, and locations, within, even in the ~~xxxx~~ outlying rural parts of the country and even with statements of men like Gatsha and so on, the democratic movement is perceived as the real threat which in the long run will carry the day for a free and non-racial SA.

In spite of their hot rhetoric, the other smaller groupings are seen as dissipatory factors, dissipating the resistance to apartheid and therefore the fight for freedom in our country.

jf... Can you compare to me the kind of awareness people had of the ANC when you first got into politics in the late 60s and 70s and then since you got out of jail, now. To me it seems an incredible, much more openness about the ANC, just in terms of the songs, what people are talking about - obviously they can't talk too openly because it's trouble but can you talk to me about that, what kind of change have you seen specifically about the ANC?

tl... I agree with you entirely that in the period before we went to jail there was certainly much less awareness of the African National Congress in particular than there is today.

I think that today the ANC or talk of the ANC is daily bread so to speak. It's almost like our father to talk about it. I think an increasing number of young people in the townships are saying today that the ANC was formed in 1912 as the first liberation organization of our people and by that fact alone the ANC became our natural political home.

A large number of young people today are saying so - you go to any public meetings today: if they are not

singing about Oliver Tambo then they are singing about Nelson Mandela or they're singing about Joe Slovo etc.

You find that is a phenomenon that we found. When I came back from jail really I found the country had changed so to say. People just talk about the ANC.

And in meetings you see them, public meetings you see them going in the ANC colours, which are well-known colours.

And I think even Gatsha Buthezi has admitted today that there is a real presence of the ANC in the country. He feels it there, it is in the paths of almost everybody. Especially the young people, are head over heels in love ~~xxxx~~ with the ANC - it's a reality which is there. The Nats themselves admit it.

As a matter of fact, the Nats now are accusing the UDF of being a front of the ANC in spite of the fact that we have said quite clearly that we are a particular initiative committed to opposition to Constitution Act, the Black Local Authorities Act and the other related legislation.

But so conscious are the Nats of the ANC today that any opposition, any voice of opposition that they feel in the country, they just perceive as the ANC.

So the presence of the ANC today is, there is virtually no household in the townships which does not say one way or the other - either if it is not discussing the ANC, it knows that the ANC is a reality which is here with us. And it's here to stay.

jf... How do people hear about the ANC?

tl... It's a pity man - I don't think I could give information, any information as to how... Maybe it may also be in part because of the broadcastss of the ANC,

perhaps from other countries, something like that.

It may also be from the court cases - so many of the court cases of the trained guerillas who are being tried today now in the country. Occasionally in the earlier period you used to find pamphlets exploded here and there and so on.

There've been things of that nature which have been there. So I think it's a whole combination of factors I think.

Sometimes I think even the ministers of law and order have said there were a lot of ANC people infiltrating into the country and so on. That may also be in part be some of the things.

When I was detained by the security police at CR Swart Square not so long ago, about two weeks ago, one of the peculiar things that happened to me was that a captain Macram (phon) who is a security police captian at CR Swart Durban suddenly confronted me and said Look you, I am informed that there are some trained people here, or some trained person who is roaming around Durban here (trained militarily that is) and then he asked me whether I knew such a person.

Of course I denied this question. But if security - and this is an intelligence man, he's a security policeman - if even they themselves say that there are people of the country who are roaming the country and so on, and now of course there are an increasing number of sabotages in the country and one sees a sabotage act there and one doesn't always hear that those people have been arrested and so on, so one can asume that even those people are roaming around the country, maybe in part also that could be one of the ways in which information is getting disseminated.

And then of course it's a whole lot of people I'm sure who have been members and part and parcel of the ANC from before it was banned and so on, who maybe in the changed circumstances from what we had earlier on in the fifties or 60s may perhaps now be coming forward perhaps to discuss the ANC and things like that.

You still have symbols who are associated with the ANC like Mrs Sisulu whose husband is doing a life sentence and so on.

You have people like our president in the UDF - Mrs Sisulu is also a president - for instance Gumede from Durban who himself has been associated with the ANC over many years and so on.

And then you have people like the other president, Oscar Mpetha from Cape Town who also over many years apparently has also been involved with the ANC.

And also of course some of us who - I've been in jail myself - I have met people like Mandela like I've just been telling you and so on. So I've been, there is something like the ANC and quite obviously its part and parcel of my life now.

I mean Mandela, Sisulu and all these comrades are so to say part and parcel of my own life. Now I can talk about them, I have shared the most difficult part of My life with them and there's no way in which I can talk about my experience in Robben Island as a political prisoner of the SAn govt without mentioning the ANC one way or the other because Mandela is one of the leaders of the ANC.

And of course we read a lot, the literature, books like the late Chief Lutuli 'Let My People Go and so on, books which are not banned books and which are available

which do talk about the ANC and so on.

And then all of these, w a whole combination of factors make for it.

And of course one thing you have to understand - if you consider that the ANC was formed in 1912, that is throughout up to now which is something like about more than 70 years I think now of presence in the country, it is natural that so many people should know about the ANC in spite of the suppression and repression by the government.

jf.ti.... Do people ever talk about the PAC?

tl..... Well, I don't know really. Here and there I think comment on the PAC and of late I think, I don't know when last I heard about the PAC.

You may find here and there some people who perhaps may have been associated with the PAC in the past. But really we know very little about the PAC.

I know some of the PAC people myself, I even know Pokela himself, I spent time with him on Robben Island.

Otherwise I think there is very little that is known about the PAC.

Not unless perhaps I am misreading the situation somewhat.

jf.... I've interviewed some mothers of people who left the country to go for training - just about their experiences and their feelings - could you tell me, was that something which was ~~xxx~~ a marked difference from when you went in?

Not to be sepcific but just the kind of general awareness of so and so's left the country, that there are people going for training, that general awareness. Is that more now in the 80s than it was in the early 70s?

because of the time at which I'm coming back into the country from Robben Island but I must admit that I haven't experienced that much.

I can't even, I'm trying to think about a specific example.

But the point is that except for the mothers of those people, who have either been sent to Robben Island and are serving sentences or have been hung or have one way or the other died - I do know mothers of some of the people who have gone through those calamities, otherwise I'm not aware, I know very little about it.

jf.... Let me ask you this way: If someone goes on trial and it's for an overt ~~M~~ ANC thing, is there fear in the community, is there ostracizing of that person or is there support for the families of those people?

tl.... I would say that I think there is quite a lot of support.

If one looks at some of the cases which do take place one finds a heavy presence of people there at those cases, even people who may not have known about this, people who don't even know those children are just going there to see what is taking place.

But certainly in the communities which those people come from there's a lot of sympathy of course.

Today to struggle against apartheid ~~xxx~~ in our country, today going to Robben Island - of course it's not a good thing going to jail - but going to prison now for our people, it's almost ~~xxx~~ now a badge of honour. Because it's a struggle against a system. It actually says here is one more of our people who's prepared to make the sacrifice against this type of thing.

So when people have in way way or the other been

associated with opposition to apartheid there is general admission for them.

(Side one ends)

Side Two

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jf..... ... that's obviously about the ANC. Again I'm just wondering, the govt will say Oh blacks are scared of violence, they're worried. Can you tell me what was the response of the black community if there's a railwayline blown up or say the Pretoria blast, something like that?

What is the response of the blacks you come into contact with?

tl..... Naturally our people are not keen on bloodshed as such.

But within our communities I think there is general appreciation and understanding of why some - an a growing number - of our people, young and old, have come to find themselves pushed to adopt those methods.

And so when a sabotage action takes place, people have no sympathy with the government. They understand that here is a government which has actually given birth through its policies to men who resort to methods of this nature.

That is now the attitude which I personally have experienced, coming from within our own communities.

At the same time I know the majority of white people like, will think, will tend to condemn that type of thing and so on.

That is because they don't understand what the really of /life under apartheid conditions is.

Look, you have a man like Nelson Mandela who became

who was part and parcel of the initial decision to take up armed struggle in this country. And when you look at the time was started during 61, and you look at where the ANC had come from from 1912, a stretch of about 49 to fifty years of patient and persuasive methods which in their judgement did not persuade whites at all.

As a matter of fact ^hLutuli in his Let My People Go in 52 already was asking the question, who will deny that 30 years of my life have been spent knocking patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door?

What have been the fruit of my many years of moderation? That was in 52 ^hLutuli raised that question.

So by 61 when Mandela and others decided, No, the time has come for us to take up to arms, it is not a thing because our people just like to have bloodshed. But almost 50 years of persudaing the Nats had not, or white people had not yielded any result.

So it was bound to come that ~~s~~ some people would lose patience. And I think an ^cincreasing number of young people in our country today, if the cases, sabotage activity and cases which we see in our country are anything to go by an increasing number of yug people are resorting to that.

We have made that point so clear also in our letter to the prime minister recently that if you continue to maintain the apartheid policies which you are pursuing, like the the successive other governments which have gone before your govt, you are merely fanning fires of an even deeper racial and violent conflict in the country.

Hence we actually made ~~that~~ the point that if the new constitution Act came to pass, it was juts going to deepen the conflict even further. And that is why many of us, those of us now who constitute the UDF have actually

decided that we must stand on our feet and organize and express opposition to this new constitution because we see it as nothing else but a recipe for further violence in the country.

Because just as much as the Nats are clinging so tenaciously and selfishly to life all by themselves and denying our people full right and participation in SA, so too any increasing number of uncompromising freedom fighters is being born, from those shacks of Crossroads, Inanda, Orlando East, so too is being born from those household of the locations of our country men who will sacrifice everything including their own life to see to it ~~in~~ that injustice is done away with and that freedom comes to pass in this country.

And we realise that here therefore there is going to be a collision of two very strong and powerful tendencies in the process. Each one of us will find themselves forced and pushed into a situation which may have very disasterous results.

We made that point fo PW Botha quite clear in the letter we wrote to him. That is why we called on him to abandon the Constitution Act in that letter, to release all the political prisoners, to recall all SAs who have been exiled and to unban those who have been banned.

And let the people of SA, all of them, participate in building up a constitution that will be acceptable to all. That is the only formula for peace in this country. We can't see it coming to pass in any other way.

jf..... Did you get an answer to that letter?

tl..... We are still waiting for him to reply to us. We assumed that at the time we wrote the letter he was very busy with the referendum. We have in our press statement

which we released yesterday, we have made the point that the referendum is behind us and we hope that he will have time, now he has time, to devote attention to that letter, and most important the contents and issues which have been raised in that letter. And then of course to honour us with a reply.

jf..... Briefly, I don't want us to get sidetracked by it, what was your reaction to the vote yesterday?

The outcome, what's the reaction of the UDF to the yes vote?

tl..... Well our attitude really has been, has always been that this referendum was ^amarginal affair.

It does not, we said, address itself to the central question about the South African political problem.

Of course, for PW Botha, the results will give him a false sense of, he'll feel of course that he's got the support of the people of SA and so on.

But only just a little more than 1-million people voted for the new constitution yesterday. The population of this country is some 30-million plus today.

And we hope that he is not going to be fooled by the fact that some whites voted for this thing. As a matter of fact if you take into account the numbers of whites who voted against the new constitution, you take those who did not vote at all and you take those whose papers were spoilt, you find that he can not even claim the majority support of whites for the new constitution.

So the whole thing means nothing as far as we are concerned. And this is why we are saying to him that he must now focus attention on the contents of the letter the UDF addressed to him. And reply, you know.

jf..... There's a lot of talk that the West is pleased about this ~~re~~ reform. What is the attitude of the people to the West these days. How do they feel about the West and the way it's involved in SA. I'm talking about the Reagan administration.

tl..... The United States in particular has come under heavy fire from our people. At the national launch of the UDF in August 20 in Mitchell's Plain, the point was made in a resolution which was adopted on imperialism, that the US first and foremost must stop peddling the so-called new deal of PW Botha which the US has been extolling as a step in the right direction through their "constructive engagement."

The US has increasingly come to be seen and understood by our people - and I think correctly so - to be aiding and abetting the Nats in their oppression of our people.

Even in the case of the struggle of the people of Namibia, which is our struggle as far as we are concerned, because we are serving political imprisonment terms with Namibian freedom fighters on Robben Island, the struggle of the people of Namibia is being held up today because ^{the} (white/boer)-boys have got the support of Reagan in particular, who is saying that the people of Namibia get their country the Cubans must leave Angola.

We can't see how the question of the Cubans in Angola should become a stumbling block for the people of Namibia to get their country back.

And yet that is what the govt of the US is doing. It is actually aiding and abetting the Nats. That's how we are perceiving the US, to be playing a role which is assisting in our oppression in this country.

Then to a lesser extent other countries in the West, like Britain and I think Canada, the so-called western five and so on, who for a very long period of time amongst other things stalled on the question of the independence of Namibia. Of course now they have left, it's only the US which remains, which is a good thing for us.

In the context of the struggle of our people in this country the US is still to convince our people that it is ~~xxxxxx~~ committed to a struggle against apartheid.

At the moment everything that the US has done and is doing, especially with this administration points to the fact that the US support, what is taking place in our country.

And because in supporting the new constitution Act, as our people were coming down at Mitchell's Plain in thousands to form an organization to protest the new constitution of botha, the US abroad was trying to convince other nations of the world that in fact the new constitution right.

So the US, in the campaign against the new constitution emerged clearly as undermining our efforts as oppressed people opposing apartheid, it came out clearly opposing us and instead, side by side with Botha it has been trying to convince the world that the world must accept SA because SA is doing right by us. We are unhappy about it.

~~xxxx~~ jf.. What if someone were to ask you surely you must be pleased with this reform because it'll mean that the Nats will be easier on you, the reform will mean that there won't be as much repression? Do you expect less repression?

tl.... Look, we have made the point quite clear in our campaign against this new deal, the new Constitution Act in particular, that this here is nothing else but a

preparation by the Nats - in this new Constitution Act they are not giving the coloured and Indian people the right to vote because they now have come to accept the coloured and Indian people as human beings and equals, no.

In the first place the very fact that the so-called Indian people will have a house of delegates of their own somewhere and then there will be a shack which will be called the House of Coloured Representatives somewhere, whilst whites, white members of Parliament will remain in Parliament as is today, is a clear indication that the coloured and indian people are not yet acceptable and are not yet accepted as human beings as equals with whites.

Now that says quite clearly that apartheid is still written deep in this new constitution they are talking about. That's point one.

But now if they have not accepted the Indian and coloured people as equal human beings like themselves, why extend the voting right to them? For the simple reason that today with the escalating violent conflict in the country and on the borders of our country, the Nats need young people from those racial groupings, they need them as tools which will carry the FN rifles and defend apartheid with their own lives.

So they'll give them the voting right ~~xxx~~ so that tomorrow they can force the young, their children, into the armed forces to go and fight and defend apartheid with their own lives.

That's what this whole thing is all about. There's no question of it becoming better for us at all.

That is why when it comes to the question of local

affairs they have said now look, they are going to give the indian and coloured people local government. You know what that means? It means that the Indian people must live in Chatsworth. They must remain in such squalid townships as Marabastad in Pretoria.

They must remain ~~a~~ in all the poorest and least-equipped areas where they are staying ~~at~~ today. They must have local government there. They must remain there with the problems which they have lways suffered all along.

They are saying, Let the coloured people have own affairs, or local affairs government. And that means coloured people must remain in Noordgesig. It means they must remain in Mitchell's Plain, in Manenburg, in Wentworth.

They must remain in exactly those squalid and poor conditions where they have lways been. So what is happening? I mean what is the pride of having local government in Noordgesig? What is there to be proud of in a location like Marabastad? What is there that the indian people and the coloured people ought to be proud of living in conditions like that?

So the new constitution does not even do away with the poverty and squalor and dehumanizing conditions in which our people are living?

Instead it retains them there. So we are not impressed. Others may make such allegations and so on. Reality says otherwise. And this is why we are not fooled into accepting that thing. And we will never accept it, you see. It is completely unacceptable. It means nothing.

All that it can mean is that Hendrikse will get higher salary. Because he'll be leading the so-called House of Representatives. It means that Rajbansi will get a higher salary because he is leading those people there in those

jokes that've been cracking that House of Delegates, he will get a higher salary for that. That is all that is going to be happening.

For the rank and file, for the masses of our people life remains exactly as what it was - if it's not going to get worse. Because now their children are going to leave them there and they are going to go, and going to fight, against others of the Africans who are fighting against a system that prevents them leading a full and democratic life in this country.

So the new deal is out, you can forget about it.

jf... The Community Councils Bill, what about those promises of they way the urban blacks will have their own ~~government~~ community councils, what are they calling them, municipalities. What do you think about?

tl... A similar thing. You see this is why we have said in the UDF that the Constitution Act (CA) must not be seen in isolation from the Koornhof legislation. It is part and parcel, it is one package. The Nats are just rearranging the whole thing.

So all of these laws and bills must be seen as a composite whole. The Black Local Authorities Act they are talking about is a similar thing.

All that is happening now is that whereas in 1976 the struggle in Soweto was between the black youth there and the SAn white army, today the whites are pulling out of there, they are giving a bit more rights to Thebehali and others. And they have set up the 21st Battalion just next to Soweto as his army.

Now Thebehali has given the 21st Battalion the freedom of Soweto. You know what's going to happen? Tomorrow if and when our people should rise up against

anything in Soweto, say perhaps even against the implementation of this new deal, even against this black Local Authorities Act itself, what's going to happen is that Thebehali as the municipality will now have the right to call upon the 21st Battalion, which consists of black unemployed young people who have been drawn from Soweto, trained and then armed with FN rifles, they are being kept there, they are being given the freedom of Soweto tomorrow so that they can have the freedom to move into Soweto and shoot and kill our people if our people should oppose the govt and Thebehali in any clearcut way.

So as far as we are concerned the question of the Black Local Authorities Act again is just passing on, delegating, the task of keeping our people in shackles of oppression onto some co-opted, selfish individual from within our own communities who will perform the tasks which yesterday were carried out by whites directly by themselves, they're delegating them.

They're now retreating a little bit, extending that and saying look: give them municipal rights there which means now Soweto will be government wholly and totally by Thebehali and a number of his fellows and so on.

Those are the same fellows who are being armed at the same time with the 21st Battalion, so that they can use it against our own people.

The Black Local Authorities Act amounts simply to that, nothing else.

jf... What is the freedom of Soweto tomorrow, what is that?

tl... What has happened in Soweto, you know they have this traditionally in Soweto where they say they are giving...

jf... What they gave to Koornhof?

tl... You know about that. Koornhof has been given the freedom of Soweto or the freedom of Johannesburg.

Now what happens there is that whoever has been given the freedom of a particular place is free to come into that place any time and receive anything he likes to have free of charge. At least, at the expense of the inhabitants of the area.

jfx... What did you mean by tomorrow?

tl... No no, I mean tomorrow in the context of the future.

jf... So is that figuratively that they're giving is or are they making some kind of ceremony?

tl.. No no, he has actually given the 21st Battalion the freedom of Soweto. So that army has got the freedom of Soweto, it can come into Soweto, it can get into any shop, members of that 21st Battalion, they can have cold drinks free of charge, they can do anything they like.

I think they also now, quite obviously, they also have the right, they can quite even just shoot anybody there. That's what Thebehali's going to use them to do tomorrow, you know.

jf... You spoke about relations with the West. What do blacks these days, what do the people think about the East?

The SABC says people are scared of communism, they reject the East. What's the reality?

tl... I'm afraid really, I don't think, unfortunately I don't think I can say much on that.

At the national launch though, of the UDF one of the speakers, and I thought that was quite peculiar, one of the speakers made the point that the socialist countries,

the Soviet Union, GDR and I think one or w two other countries of this bloc and said now these countries, actually said those countries are saying no to apartheid and oppression and things like that which is being supported by Reagan etc etc.

And I think that peculiarly, the reaction of the people was to clap and shout and all kinds of cheers and whistles and so on, which expressed approval of the sentiment as expressed, if that is anything to go by.

I think at the same time the people in our country have been watching struggles as they have been waged around and I think one of the things coming forward now is that the Soviet Union, Cuba, etc. are beginning to be perceived as countries which have always and are increasingly coming to the assistance of oppressed peoples.

I mean if you look at Zimbabwe for instance, you look at Mozambique, you take Angola and so on, the people of those countries - who did they fight against? They were fighting against Western countries which were oppressing them.

And the Soviet Union, GDR and those countries were not allies of the countries which were oppressing them. They were allies of the people who were oppressed.

And then you look are oppressed, when they finally resort to arms, and you look at the weapon they use, the AK47, which has almost become a symbol, a weapon of freedom.

So I think people are looking at these things and are beginning to interpret them in what do these things mean to them.

They mean that if you, if it came to a push and you had to resort to arms, the AK47 would be the arms.

I mean look at the young people who are now from time to time

being arrested in our country for sabotaging the installations of the Nationalist govt, you always find that Mr Le Grange will always say that it was a Russian limpet mine, it was a Russian AK47 and so on.

So I think increasingly our people are beginning to perceive the socialist countries - now perhaps it may well be one of the reasons why Azapo, Cooper and company are saying look we want socialism and nothing else and so on. Perhaps also in a way they are expressing the fact that look as far as we are concerned these are the countries which are interested in our freedom from imperialism, capitalist exploitation.

Those are some of the evidences which I can kind of piece together and so on. I think generally that is the attitude as I read it from these public developments.

jf... You talked about response to incidents. I want to take one big incident, the Pretoria blast, was there a specially strong reaction to that incident?

I see it as a kind of watershed and I'm wondering if you do also?

tl.... Unfortunately you see there is a point that now most of these blasts, sabotage activities are not widely reported now.

I think the govt has come under pressure in our country and insisted that they must reduce their reporting on this aspect. I would have been much better placed had I been in Pretoria to gauge the reaction of the people.

But at the time I was not here, I was down in Natal.

jf... Surely they heard of it in Natal?

tl... My point is that I would have been better placed to judge it if I was immediately on the ~~spot~~ spot.

I was not on the spot and this is the point. But even at that distance there was a lot of hue and cry from the white community, in the Press and so on. But I didn't seem to experience any regret on the part of our people from the townships, certainly.

I think the general attitude now is that when it happens people usually say Ja, well these boer boys deserve it, you know. They've been carrying on like this and now they are reaping the fruits of what they have sown.

I think that is the general attitude of our people really.

jf... What do you expect to be the future of the UDF.

Do you think the govt will let it exist, do you worry about that?

tl.... At this stage it is really very difficult to say. But quite obviously the govt is concerned about the UDF.

Mr PW Botha was himself asked yesterday, by some reporters, now that the new constitution has been accepted, what are you going to do about radical black opposition to (cuts)

Tape ends

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