

? 4/3
tl... ...what will be your attitude to radical black
opposition?

I'm told that he said no, he is, he will not accomodate
any radical opposition but that he would be prepared to
discuss with the reasonable leaders of the people.

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Now you see whilst he uses the concept of radical
leader he will not accomodate radical leadership, then we
have to think very carefully.

For the Nats anybody who says what they don't like,
and anybody who has said what in fact is truly represent-
ative of the aspirations of our people has either been
regarded as a communist, a radical, a revolutionary etc
etc.

And I think when he says he will not accomodate any
radical opposition those statements must be seen in part
as directed towards the UDF.

Of course in the question he was asked the UDF was
specifically mentioned, so too was the NFC. SO he
made this point and it was clear that in fact these boys
are worried.

The fact that recently they have been banning our
meetings so consistently and the fact that finally I
myself have been callad to CR Swart Square where I was
informed that they were considering banning me indicates
to me that the govt is seriously worried about the UDF.

They are doing a lot of thinking about what they
ought to do about the UDF. So one of the things that
might happen, I think maybe if they don't ban the UDF which
I think is going to be a bit of concern to them because
they are going to be worried about criticism from abroad,
they may do that.

If they don't do that they may perhaps decide to

eliminate a number of individuals whom they may perceive as key perhaps in the activities of the UDF, they may do things like that.

They may as in the case of Mrs Sisulu, find excuses to put some of the people, to arrest some of the people and perhaps try them etc etc.

Things like those may well come to pass. But I think that in the long run, especially as the UDF gains in momentum and comes into its own, as it continues to streng?- then its base and the Nats find themselves more and more frustrated ~~by~~ by its activiites they are bound to turn round on the UDF, I have no doubt about that.

jf..... They called you in and they threatened to ban you. Doesn't that worry you? Haven't you decided you'd better stop speaking out so much?

tl.... No. Well from amongst our own people as a matter of fact I have come many who have found themselves forced to make sacrifices much bigger than getting banned.

Getting banned really is nothing. I myslef have gone a bit more in it than this and I think the job which we are doing in the UDF is far too important for us to be frightened by possibilities of getting banned and so on.

It is, risks of that nature can be taken. Getting banned is nothing, it means nothing really, it is a very small thing.

On the ohter hand, banning me or any of the other officials of our movement, the UDF can only inspire others to carry the battle forward. It cannot, I'm not frightened, I'm not worried at all about ~~me~~ the fact that I can get banned and so on.

I'm, we're not doing anything illegal, but I mean I'm not even worried about the fact that maybe they might

sometime take me and send me back to jail for any of the other reasons like they did before.

I think this is our stage, as this current generation of young people in our country.

I think it is our stage, we are challenged to make history and I think not only do we have to know how to make history but we have to master the courage which will make it possible for us to make history if we are to claim our rightful place in the history of our people.

jf..... I'm just asking some summing up questions, just to make sure of what you've articulated.

Where would you say you've moved, from where to where politically in terms of from the 60s and seventies to now. You personally.

tl... I wouldn't say I've moved, from this to that. I would say that I think I have simply matured, I think I have just kind of grown.

I would say I have really moved from the formative stages of political activism in our country, I'm definitely still growing, you know.

I think I have a very long way to go still before I can say Look I am a seasoned freedom fighter. But quite definitely I think I have made progress. I quite definitely think I have moved from mere rhetorical participation in the struggle to perceiving the struggle as a matter of life, so to say.

From purely nationalist feelings I think I have moved to embracing the people of our country as a democrat and I think at the moment I am sufficiently armed, I think I have the support of our own people which I think provides me with a guidance of what ought to be done. Because consistently our people say well

this is what we think we ought to do, and all I have to do is listen to what our people are saying we ought to do and participate with them to share in their day-to-day experiences. Simply you know, in the way and style really ^{which} of the tried and tested leaders of our people have done and continue to do.

Even in prison I've seen how they've gone down with us in difficult times, hunger strikes and things like that, and come up still with us, you know. I think that's all I'd like to do and I think that's all that is sufficient, that's ~~be~~ necessary.

jf..... Some people say the weakness of the UDF is the lack of workers involved. Do you think that's a problem, do you think it's true, just with the unions not being fully involved.

tl..... I think it is true today that a significant section of the independent union movement is not yet in the UDF.

I'm thinking here of unions like, federations like Fosatu, the African F&CWU, GWU and other. It is true those are not formally in the UDF, but we w enjoy their confidence.

They have actually declared publicly that they are prepared to support us and participate in our programmes. They have given us the reasons as to why they were not prepared to come into the UDF at this stage.

But at the same time we have other unions in the UDF like the Saawu, which is a very significant section of the independent unions. Then of course the Council of Unions of SA, also in the UDF and a number of other union which are here.

So the point is we have a presence of the formal structures of unions within the UDF. At the same time we

have a section which is not there, that's right.

But at the same time people who say the UDF lacks working class presence are making a serious mistake.

The many community organizations which are in the UDF are waging struggles at community level which are struggles of the working class.

If you take the Joint Rent Action Committee (Jorac) in the whole of greater Durban, sorry, I'm talking about the Commuters Committee, who is represented and who is the Joint Commuters Committee (JCC)?

The commuters committees which constitute the JCC are commuters committees of various townships around Durban.

Now who are the majority of commuters in the buses? As soon as workers leave the factory, the first thing if they are going to get to the townships they must get on the buses.

Who are the majority of people who use the buses? It's the working class. M Now people will say because you're talking about the JCC you are not talking about the working class, you are making a serious mistake. The JCC is actually the working class, itself, the same people who are members of Fosatu, or any other union.

They can't go to the townships unless they go on the buses.

And if you fight the struggle against high bus fares you are fighting the struggle of the working class.

And then they get into the townships, they are confronted with the problems of rent. Then here ~~we~~ is the Joint Rent Action Comm (Jorac) affiliated to the UDF.

But who are the majority of rent payers in the townships? Are they the middle class elements, no of course they're not. They are the workers themselves.

So here in the ^{UDF} Jorac is represented the working class.

Now people who fail to appreciate the totality of the struggle of the working class and see it only in a particular aspect will fail to appreciate that those struggles which are being waged there are the struggles of the working class.

We are now up against struggles of housing, Crossroads. Who are the people who stay in Crossroads? Are those middle class? Are those intellectuals etc etc? they are No of course/not. Those are actually the worker, the proletarian proper itself.

And these people are part and parcel of the UDF, they are here in the UDF.

Now which workers are you talking about if you say there are not workers in the UDF? So I think some of that criticism is born of ignorance of the real facts and of lack of understanding of the totality of the struggle of the working class. And I think whilst people appreciate that we will find less of that criticism coming forward.

As I've said to you now, whilst it is true that even if the other unions are not here, even with those unions which are not in the UDF, they are part and parcel, they support us and we maintain very healthy relations with them.

And they've only said that they're not coming into the UDF at this stage because they have a confederation to, which they have to sort out. And we don't see any reason why we should panic, we have no reason to panic about that fact that for instance Fosatu and the other unions are not directly in the UDF today.

And we think that our performance in the field in the long run will persuade their own members and themselves to accept the fact that it is important that they come into the UDF. And in any case we are discussing with them.

For instance now we have an appointment coming up with the Transvaal steward of Fosatu which we will be addressing on the 19th of this month.

And all that is going to go a long way towards explaining to the ~~xxx~~ workers and saying to them, look this is who we are and this is what this thing is all about.

Now you see what the problem of many people is that at community level, most of the organizations set up, they tend to be led by intellectuals, fairly well-educated literate people and so on.

Then people say now, these are middle class, our critics say those are middle-class organizations. But what they fail to appreciate is that in conditions which are semi-colonial like those of our country you find that most of the working people are denied privileges of education.

There's a whole lot of illiteracy that is there. Now whilst the working class itself support the struggle and so on, if they have to ~~be~~ elect the secretary and they can't obviously elect a worker who is OK, genuine and committed to the struggle but who cannot read and write. Who cannot speak English or Afrikaans.

So they look among themselves and find somebody they can rely on, who can read and write, and they elect him.

But that does not make that organization only a middle class organization. Who are the people who lead the trade unions? I mean most of them are graduates. You take

General Workers Union (GWU), any union, Fosatu and so on. Lots of people who lead those unions, who are organizing those workers are university graduates, ^{and} intellectuals.

But it is because the workers have got confidence and because they have, by virtue of abandoning their privileged position, abandoning their lucrative careers and linking up with them that the workers think No, we can trust this man.

And so they place them in positions of responsibility. ~~xxx~~ But it would be a mistake for anyone to say that because those men are intellectuals, they should not participate in the leadership of the trade union, it would be a serious mistake. And our attitude is much broader than that.

I think, at community level again, that should also be understood, that a similar thing happens with the working class. Of course, where possible in the UDF - and what we want is that workers should not only come into the UDF just to give it muscle.

First of all they must participate in the UDF, because participation of workers in the UDF will give it its true national character. Without the working class, without anyone of that classes, the UDF would like its national character to start with.

Secondly, workers must participate in the UDF not only as followers - they must be able to participate on a day-to-day basis in the activities of the UDF and to that extent the UDF must evolve democratic processes which will make it possible for workers to participate in its day to day activities, and their voice must be heard.

So that they can give direction to the UDF so that it moves in the direction in which they want ~~it~~ it to go.

We have the challenge to involve such democratic processes. So that the UDF can reach that level.

Today we are only two months old now, we are in our formative stages, we are working hard day and night to build those democratic processes.

Thirdly, where it is possible, the workers themselves, the proletariat itself, must rise to positions of leadership. Where that is possible, it must be encouraged and we are open to actually making that possible.

As a matter of fact now we have begun, we have already said public meetings, we are going to insist, for instance where unions are participating with us, that there must be workers, speakers from the unions themselves, who will come and address. So that we don't just have the people who say well workers must come there and listen and so on, they must actually address the meetings, say what they want themselves. You see that's what we want.

jf... How is the UDF supported financially?

tl... Well that's a major problem, I think it's a problem which confronts every organization in colonial countries.

Our people are paid very little where they work and of course even to run a very small organization is a very difficult thing.

But we are convinced there are resources which can be tapped within our own communities and so on. So at the moment we are ^{thriving} ~~surviving~~ on that. We have been asking some of our affiliate organizations, and this is where we largely rely ~~on~~ for our financial support, to make contributions, not subscriptions but contributions towards the running of the UDF.

The point being the fact that the organizations

which are affiliated to the UDF are not equal in size. Some are big and can afford some amount of money.

Others are small. And if we ~~xxxx~~^{set}/a uniform amount of money to come out of every organization and so on, we'd find ourselves hard put, and we'd find situations in which some of the organizations would just simply not be able to meet some of their obligations.

This is why we have tended from time to time to issue circulars and ask organizations to make contributions towards administration and so on. And we are coping that way.

I hope that in the long run we may be able to evolve and find ways which we can raise money much more effectively than that.

jf..... Is there ever a day when you doubt that freedom will come to this country?

tl.... Not for me. Not for our people. Of course we are not prophets. We don't know the day when it will come to pass.

We know that it will come to pass. That much we are prepared to say definitely, Some day we will be free.

When precisely we cannot say. We don't know at this stage. We know that it will come, we don't know precisely when it will come.

Freedom I think is like the coming of the Lord. They say that you must always as a Christian, you must always be ready, because the day when God will come and demand your account is not known to you.

And I think freedom is more or less like that. That we don't know when it is going to come. We know it is coming, we don't know when it is going to come. The only thing is that when it does come one must not be found on the wrong side or as part and parcel of the enemy of the

is
 people. And this/why therefore the struggle is a lifetime affair, so to say, so that at all material times we'll remain here, in the struggle whatever the cost.

Because when freedom will come we would not like to find ourselves on the side of dogs, we want to find ourselves on the side of freedom, and therefore the side of humanity.

jf.... You use the word freedom fighter to describe yourself people working. People think in terms of a guerilla, but you're using it in a different way?

tl... Ja. I think a freedom fighter does not mean a man who is carrying weapons as such.

Some freedom fighters resort to arms, other freedom fighters use non-violent methods. So I think to be a freedom fighter does not necessarily mean arms.

jf... Gatsha Buthelezi, is there any doubt in your mind on what side he is? Where is he in the struggle right now, which side?

tl... My personal opinion of Gatsha is a very lowly one. I think for so long he has taken many of our people for a ride, attempting to convince them that he was genuinely into the cause of the struggle of our people.

But I cannot see how a man like that, who is today thriving and wallowing in the fruits of the apartheid policy, can genuinely be said to be on the side of our struggle or on the side of our people.

His activities, especially over the last weekend at Ngoya have sounded a death-knell. As it is he is using the most vicious methods to fight any of our people who are opposed to him.

As ~~an~~ a matter of fact, even people who are with him like Rodgers Ngcobo (phon), Mhlabansi Mamapumolo (phon)

who have opposed him because they have disagreed with him on certain points, they have become outright enemies as far as he's concerned

So I just have no place for Gatsha. A man like that, just now he's been calling for Lamontville to be incorporated in Zululand which means in fact that in spite of his claims that he's opposed to bantustan policies, by calling for Lamontville and Hambanadi (phon) to be incorporated in Zululand he's actually saying that an increasing number of our people should be stripped of their SAn citizenship

I think that unless I'm absolutely wrong, and I doubt if I'm so absolutely wrong, I think he's turning out to be one of the enemies of our people.

He may not be clearly perceived as such today by many people, but I think an increasing number day by day is beginning to understand who he is.

jf... You age? - 35 (Aug 13 1948) the day the Nats came to power.

jf... How did you get this name Terror what's your real name? - My name is Mosiuoa Lekota.

Terror - That's just a football nickname really, which I had, I used to be a footballer so I still play football even k now.

But not as much as I used to in the past. So that's wherex I got the nickname from.

But it'S tended to stick with me over the years because I think many people got to know me intiællly as a footballer and even when I was at university, so it remained on and it's become just kind of popular and even though I've tried to suppress it. I think I've just worsened the situation so I've given up the fight against my name (laughs).

- jf.. Do you have a job now?
- tl... I'm the national publicity secretary of the UDF
on a fulltime basis.
- jf... So you get some salary for that? - yes.
- jw... Can I ask what you're repaid?
- tl... I'd rather not discuss that if you don't mind.
- jf... A/right. You mentioned something about Cohen (phon)
on black theology way way back. How do you spell that?
- tl... Prof Cone. At the Union Theological seminary, New
York.