

J.F. Can you tell me where you were born and when?

K.N. I was born in Durban 1965.

J.F. What part of Durban?

K.N. I was born in Chatsworth, and my parents - my father was from south coast of Natal - he lived on a farm called Sawoti - and my mother lived in a semi-industrial area called Claremont - I (?) was born in the (... ..) hospital.

J.F. In the what?

K.N. (... ..) hospital - that's the - one of the sort of major hospitals at that time.

J.F. Have you ever thought much about your background - have you asked your parents about their - do you know when your father and mother, relatives, ancestors came to South Africa?

K.N. Not really actually - in fact the first time that this question about where my ancestral roots might have exactly originated from occurred to me when I'd left the country now and I was in - I was - I was speaking at a meeting in France and somebody came up to me, and this guy was from the south of India, and this guy came up to me and he said - he asked me about where did my ancestors come from, because he had this uncanny feeling that I originated from the same place where he came from, and I said : You know, really I don't know exactly where - and he asked me my surname, I told him it was Naidoo, and he said ja, that's exactly where he comes from (Laugh) but I never had really thought about that, you know - about India itself and which part of India we might have come from, no.

J.F. Is that because you don't - do you consider yourself Indian?

K.N. Well, I mean prior to my getting involved in the struggle, which was when I was 15, I would think that I had a broadly kind of - I saw myself as Indian or - or - ja, like a South African Indian kind of thing, but from the point that I got involved I gradually developed more South African consciousness and I saw myself more simply as a - as a South African but working politically in the Indian community, so I - I think I would say that I don't really see myself specifically as an Indian person in South Africa.

J.F. Let's take it back - you don't know if your - when your father came over and was he....

K.N. Oh, no, I mean I know that, ja - both my grandparents, or all my grandparents were born in South Africa, so that would make my father and them third generation South Africans, and I would - I presume they came as indentured labourers because they Tamil speaking and - but both my grandparents were born in - in - in South Africa.

J.F. But no-one knows about whether they came on the boat in 1890 or anything like that?

K.N. I think if I had to ask my father that I don't think he would be able to say definitely (?) you know, but we haven't like spoken about it - it hasn't been a consideration.

J.F. Just to really look at the history and get a sense of it, when you were growing up did your parents have any politics, did they talk about any movements, were they specifically not keen to?

K.N. Generally they wouldn't talk much about anything political, but my father was involved in the Chatsworth Football Association, which is - which is now part of SACOS, the South African Council of Sport, and the Chatsworth Football Association had Rajbansi as a patron for some time, and then there were struggles to oust Rajbansi from the organisation, so you know, it was like that kind of low keyed politics that we - we used to very vaguely hear about, and as far as the local government was concerned the - for the Indian and Coloured areas in Durban, there was something known as the local affairs committees, LACs, and my parents were both - didn't vote in those elections - they were sort of anti-LAC, but that - that's about where it stopped.

But then I had wanted to do law ever since I got into high school, and my mother used to always say that I shouldn't do law because if I did law that would lead me to get involved in politics - she had this kind of idea that all lawyers were involved in politics, so ja, she was quite concerned about us not getting involved, but she - she used to speak about Fatima Meer, you know, just a bit - she used to just talk about her, not with us but like with my father, and if we had to probe too much and ask, she - she would switch off - this is like when we would have been like 12, 13.

And then when I was 14, in 1979 this was, a group of - I was in Standard Seven - I had a group of friends who were in class with me in some kind of adventurous kind of mood decided we were going to form a small body to get involved in politics and....

J.F. How old were you?

K.N. We were 14 that time, but we - I mean we were absolutely naive, didn't know what we were about basically - all we used to do was collect newspaper articles and - and - and stick it up in a - in a scrapbook and talk about those articles, and it was sort of, you know, around the time of Biko inquest and that kind of things, and we knew that there was some - we knew that there was inequality and there was something wrong basically, but we didn't have any clear understanding of what exactly was happening, and well, there was this organisation we were studying in when we were in Standard Seven in history in Italy called the Society of Young Italy, Garibaldi and company in - in - in the history syllabus in school there was an organisation that was involved in some resistance in - in Italy known as the Society of Young Italy, so we decided we'll call ourself Society of Young South Africa (Laugh)

Basically nothing came of it, so we didn't - but there was like a group of eight people that were involved in this, and ja, it - again there my mother was quite concerned when she discovered this file of what she saw as political newsclippings, and she - she became quite concerned about it, and then unfortunately she died in 1980 and....

J.F. Was she ill?

K.N. And she actually died two weeks before the school boycotts started - I remember the day the boycott started at the school I was at - the 1980 school boycotts was the 16th. day ceremony - there - there's a ceremony that is held when people die 16 days after - it's people of Hindu background - 16 days after people die they have a kind of major ceremony where family, you know, are invited - ja, in fact on the 16th. day ceremony the boycotts at school started, so by then - the strange thing is the night before there was lots of people gathered at my house, you know, for - for the prayer, and there were lots of youth also gathered, and there was the student from the university who was later - quite funny, his father is Dr. J.N. Reddy, who is in the solidarity party now - and his name was Krishna Reddy, and he came and he said well, you must pull together all the young people who are at school and I want to speak to them.

K.N. So - and he explained it to me, and I immediately supported it because of this basic kind of vague notion of wanting to get involved that we had the year before, you see, and - and lots of - like all the people that were involved in that little thing were - were - were at the ceremony as well, so - so he gave us this talk about getting involved and explained why the boycott was important and that kind of thing, so in the morning was the first real political thing we did when we went to school early in the morning and went from class to class and explained to people that it was important to get - get involved in this boycott and the - the way we understood it at that point was that there was an inferior education system and we were getting - not getting as much - we were not getting as good an education as the white kids were getting, and we needed (?) - if we boycotted school it would help in the struggle to get equal education for everybody.

I think it would be fair to say that that was our - the sum total of our understanding at that time - and then we went to school, organised it, and then we (Laugh) my brother and I had to actually leave because we had to come back home from - for this prayer and - and then I was in Standard Eight that time and this - the boycott started on a Friday, and then on Monday I went back to school and even, ja - and what happened was there was - the people that were leading the boycotts in our school were the prefects, and the prefects were having this liaison with - with the principal and the administrative staff in the school, so everything they were doing on the ground they were getting sanctioned, and basically what they were doing was they were getting people to march around the - around the school ground and continuously, and people were getting pissed off and people losing interest and people were eventually saying that it was quite silly because nobody was taking notice of the march - it was just like people on the school ground, which is like not really - you can't really see it from the ground - sorry, from the street.

So then when they had a meeting, a mass meeting eventually, I went up and I argued for us to go onto the streets and - and to march on the streets, and that's when - after I made that speech was when I got thrown into the leadership of the school boycotts at the school - and eventually what happened those students generally took to the idea, but the leadership, who were basically the prefects, who were - who were elected or nominated by the - by the administrative staff in the school, they objected to it and it was like this - you had people going up and saying that if you'll go on the street you'll get killed, and putting extreme fear into people, so eventually just about 40 people marched from - from Chatsworth High School - that's the school I went to, Chatsworth High School - to the near - neighbouring school, which was Protea Secondary School, and when we went to that school, just 30 of us, we made it there without getting intercepted by the police - we made it there - the students at Protea Secondary School were slightly more militant and received us quite warmly, and then they decided that we'd march to the next school, which was the Southlands High School.

J.F. This was 1980?

K.N. 1980, ja.

J.F. What month in 1980?

K.N. March - so then - maybe I should just sort of cut it short by saying that ja, then after that day that initiative of going onto the street and taking the boycott onto the streets caught on and the - with the support of most of the students at the other two major high schools.

K.N. The - the prefects at Chatsworth Secondary School, what they did was they stepped back and they allowed those of us that were more sort of radical to actually take the leadership and - and that three schools actually in - in that - in the Chatsworth township as a whole were the most coordinated as far as the boycotts were concerned - after that day we met - each day we would meet at one school and coordinate the activity - there were several marches, and event - by Friday there was this major clash with the police, and it was a clash where people landed up in hospital, people were arrested, and then it was quite good for the political education for most of the people there, and it was the first time that we were able to bring the parents into the whole sort of boycott campaign, because a baton charge (?) took place on the Friday and that Sunday there was this mass meeting, and like you had the hall was just like packed - people, parents couldn't get in, and it was something that would have never happened a week before, and parents were really emotionally charged by the fact that the children were baton charged and things like that and -

But what was very striking was that when the - the clashes with the police started from that first day that the marching took place, and they tried whether it was possible to bring African policemen and - and almost every - every time that the police came there would always be at least about, you know, ten African policemen so as to like - and - and you had lots of students questioning that, you know, and you even had people who would say that we are fighting for them, but look at, you know, them, they are coming to - to - to put us down kind of thing.

But by the end of the boycott we had learned lots of lessons, and a few of us got together and formed the youth organisation to continue the work and....

J.F. (.....)

K.N. Helping Hands - I mean it started off - the people that took the initiative were the people that had led the boycott in 1980 at that school and - but were - were not people who had any other history of struggle, because we all were quite young - we all were at that stage 15, 14 so - but we had the assistance of - like our class teacher was involved in it - she just like, you know, helped us to - with the constitution and that kind of thing - and so Helping Hands was formed on 17th. August, 1980, and we saw ourselves as being some kind of charitable youth organisation who would engage in raising funds for the black community and....

J.F. What's the black community, which community?

K.N. So-called Coloured, African and Indian - and oh, ja, so we had like this first campaign to raise funds for the KwaZulu drought fund - there was like this severe drought in Natal KwaZulu in the 19 - in 1980, and the Red Cross was - together with the Sunday Tribune, was - the newspaper was raising funds, and in fact in - interestingly enough the - the - the organisation - the forming of Helping Hands was - was actually sparked off by the principal at the school where - at Chatsworth Secondary School, because what happened was in all - all state schools - at least Indian state schools they have to adopt - I mean they - they adopt charities every year - they can adopt up to three or four charities and the - I can't remember what the charities that were adopted by the - that school, but students have absolutely no say in which charities are adopted - in fact nobody really has any say - it's just the principals' wishes basically, and we felt -

But every class in the school is - has to have a fund raising activity to raise money, and we, the same Standard Eight class that I was in - we raised - we had a variety show and raised quite a lot of money, about 150 rands, which is, for within the school community, it's quite a large amount of money.

K.N. And the principal refused to allow us any control over where the money would go to, and we had wanted it to go towards this KwaZulu drought fund, and in - in any case this KwaZulu drought fund there's lots of problems with it, right, as you can imagine, but at that point we didn't really understand - we just saw it as like our people starving in the rural areas of Natal and that's a better place to - for the money to go, and so we - we had a struggle with the principal - it went to the press and stuff like that, and eventually we lost, and then the principal had his final say and the money went, I think it was the community chest (?) or something and -

And so it was like this gave it - gave us a kind of boost to form the youth organisation, because we were talking about it ever since the boycotts were over and - and the boycott in fact in a sense carried on for a while, because we - 10,000 students were suspended from school by the director of Indian education in 1980.

J.F. Were you one of them (?)

K.N. Ja, and - I was actually suspended first in the school because they - the - they did quite a dirty thing to me because this teacher - certain teachers in the school spread the - spread this rumour, or spread this idea that the only reason that I had got involved in the boycott because my mother had died two weeks earlier and that I was like so devastated by it I had given up, you know, hope, and I was like basically ruining everybody else's education because I had seen my education as being ruined because - and this like was something that certain people who (?) were linked with the LACs and, you know, who were also saying (?) - I mean they say it - it's not peculiar to me in any way, it - it's a common kind of slander that is used against people who are politically involved, especially those of us who were involved in organising school boycotts - you know, this thing where they would argue that the reason why person acts who's involved in organising boycotts is because he's not interested in his education, so therefore he wants to like ruin other people's education, so - in what context did I say that?

J.F. You said they did a dirty thing to you in terms of the suspension.

K.N. Oh ja - oh ja, and then what they did was they, ja - they pulled me in that - that principal in the school pulled me in - this is before the general suspension, which was when 10,000 of us - pulled me in about three days before and he said they were saving me (Laugh) and they called my ex-principal from the primary school I went to, who was quite a nice person, and who they knew had influence over me, and like they suspended me into his custody and - and ja, he - he was somebody that had by then retired from - from - from the teaching, and he came and well, he said : You know, it seems like the sensible thing - he was sort of acting in my interest - he thought it was the best thing as well because he was being told things like I was personally responsible for hosing (?) children who were not boycotting, and that I had overturned a - a waste paper basket on somebody that was not boycotting and all - all were absolute lies, but he was told these things, and so when he came he saw it really as he was acting in my interest.

But eventually the - there was an application that was made, court (?) application, and the director of education was defeated and 10,000 of us were reinstated in school, but this played - played itself out for some time, you know, and also there was the question in certain schools, including Chatsworth High, of the boycott - of the boycott of the exams, because what had happened is lots of people had lost out sort of crucial time - it was quite close to the exams when the boycott started, and some of felt that the examinations should be postponed to give people a chance to catch up.

K.N. And it was - it was in fact around this time that the suspensions took place, and by the time people were reinstated in school there was a sense of defeat, because when we were reinstated there was the question of us signing a paper saying that we wouldn't boycott again - we managed to defeat that, but it was beginning to be clear that they were going to pass a regulation outlawing any boycotts in future, which they in fact did in 1980, '81 I think - early in '81 they passed some regulation outlawing - outlawing boycotts.

And then in 1981 there was this anti-republic day campaign, and students in a school in Chatsworth called Soka (?) Secondary School and another school just outside Chatsworth, Meerbank Secondary School had gone on boycott and were expelled, because what had happened - I was saying that they passed this regulation, the Indian Affairs Department - so I think they just give you one warning, and if you don't go back to school immediately you were expelled.

So then we at Chatsworth Secondary came out in support of the boycotting students - or the expelled students at the other schools, and also in protest against the republic festival, and then we also got expelled, so at the end of the day there were like 500 students from all the Indian school that were expelled, and in fact - I think I'm correct here that it was only the students from the Indian schools that were expelled because it was the only department that had passed this regulation.

So again in 1981 we were expelled on 26th. May, 1981, and we were out of school for the whole year, and when we were expelled we tried to engage this part of the community to get us reinstated - the NIC played a major role during....

J.F. NIC (.....)

K.N. The NIC played a major role in '81 and....

J.F. In helping you?

K.N. In waging that campaign and by - and the - we were expelled - a day after we were expelled we called (Interruption) - the day after we were expelled just those of us at school had called a meeting of our parents and - oh, by the way, at our school there's 1,100 students, and only 30 got expelled because they - for one, we didn't have the total support of the students because it was made clear that if you - the moment you - you step out of class you were going to be expelled, so there was the threat of expulsion, and even though, you know, much more students would have supported the boycott they - the fear had kept them in, and then again there were more than 30 students at - there was at least about 300 students, but they expelled like 30 people that they saw as leadership, and then the 30 of us were expelled and it was like a - a shocking experience because expulsion meant that you couldn't continue with your schooling at all, and it was like the end of the road academically, and I mean it seemed at that stage that there was absolutely no options left, and so we called this meeting of our parents to explain to them what had happened, and I remember it - like I chaired this meeting, and I was absolutely terrified because - can you imagine our parents - they were absolutely furious because they didn't understand really what had happened.

And I remember there was one person was supposed to - his name was Marie (?) - was supposed to explain what the boycott was about and why the - why the republic day was such an unjust thing and why we needed to protest against it, and we had this meeting where he spoke for like 45 minutes, you know, giving the whole history of the how the republic was formed and - but all - all the parents came.

K.N. We actually had it at my house, in the garage - we had a garage there - and - and this meeting was - we didn't know this meeting was actually banned, because the government had banned all meetings over that republic weekend, and we - we had now known anything about it, but we had immediately coordinated with (?) the meeting because we somehow hadn't picked that up, you know, and it was only at the meeting that certain political people who were there, you know, experienced people - at the end of the meeting they came to us and said : Did you know this meeting was actually a banned meeting - and they said : What do you mean (?) (.....) said : You didn't hear on the news that all meetings have been banned from this time to that time - and they said if people came here all of them could have been arrested and put away legitimately because (.....) broken the banning on meetings - this was like a blanket banning - it used to be quite common before, you know, for certain areas for certain periods.

But anyway the parents were - who (?) all came there like really angry and stuff, but there were certain parents who spoke about us in a proud way - you know, they said we must like, you know - in fact my father, who surprised my brother and I, who by then at that stage we were being identified as - as sort of leadership people - I mean he gives a small speech at the end, saying that, you know, we must support the students, they've taken a brave stand and - and stuff like that - he took us completely by surprise, we didn't expect it, and I mean he was - he was really concerned and - and also a bit angry, but he I know (?) - he - I think there was some degree of understanding or sympathy with what we had engaged in.

And then the idea was that our parents would put pressure on - on the principal at our school to put pressure on the director of education to reinstate us, and a small committee was formed and that committee was going to liaise with other committees from the other schools - and immediately after that, about four, five days had gone by and a major mass meeting was called - no, sorry, there was first a - just a meeting of - which was called by the NIC and all the schools which were affected by the boycotts, which were all Indian schools, and a committee was formed - it was known as the parents - parents' students' interim committee, and I was on that committee.

Other people in the committee were M.J. Naidoo, Archie Gumede, some people from TASA, you know, the Teachers' Association of South Africa - that's the Indian Association of Teachers - in fact they weren't on the committee but they - they like liaised with the committee - so it was basically NIC people in the committee and - and student leaders - and that was like the first sort of structure that I sat on outside of the - outside of the youth club in the area, in the community.

And then this committee called a mass meeting, which was very well attended, like there was 1,500 people, and in 1981 to have 1,500 people at a mass meeting in Durban was - at that stage was quite good because, you know, the - it was still growing at that stage, you know.

J.F. Where was the meeting held?

K.N. In Durban - it was held in APSO (?) in Carlisle Street - I can remember it very clearly.

J.F. Which hall?

K.N. APS - APSO (?) - APS Hall (?) - you wouldn't know it - but you had like Paddy Kearny, Dr. Ginwala, Zac Yacoob, George Sewpersadh and Sam Kikine spoke at that.

K.N. And this meeting was fairly successful, but it didn't get us back at school - all it did was it got quite a lot of publicity and it resolved to launch a campaign, a petition campaign, so there was the petition campaign calling for (Interruption) - ja, so this mass meeting then resolved to engage in a petition campaign, and then the community became quite involved in calling for our reinstatement, and we had to go into the various communities and - and - and sign this petition, and it wasn't easy - we had lots of resistance from the community - I mean every sort of - out of every five houses you'd go to, at least two houses would not sign the petition - they would say : Well, you'll (?) ask for it, you've got it, you know - that kind of thing.

J.F. What exactly was the petition saying?

K.N. It was simply saying we the undersigned, noting that the students have been expelled and noting that what they boycotted for was just, call on the department of Indian education to reinstate them - so we remained expelled then for the whole year - we were out of school for the entire year, but the only level that was left then was the question of legal action, and the director of education was taken to court again, and we won our case again, and we - I think the regulation was worded very vaguely and because it was worded vaguely it - it was unclear, and the courts decided that, you know, it was more on a technicality, the courts decided that we should be reinstated.

But even though the courts had said that we should be reinstated immediately, the department of education decided that they weren't going to reinstate us in '81, but they were going to reinstate us the following year, in '82, but what they did was they allowed 500 of us to write our exams at the end of the year, you know, just - you know, they just allowed us to write the exams, so we sat the exams though - even though we weren't at school for the whole year, and we managed to scrape past, some of us - at least about 75 percent of us scraped past into the next year..

J.F. Had you studied for the exams?

K.N. Well, ja, we - we used to go for night classes and we had study groups, which we kept going throughout the year because, you see, at that point this thing about - and - and it became worse in '81 - you know, this question of these guys are not interested in education, therefore they are asking people to boycott - it became quite bad because we were in a minority now - there's only like 30 of us expelled from our school - so at that point we had said that it was extremely important that we should try to - we should try to pass, and it was looking like we might - we might win the court case and we might be reinstated in school and we might get a chance to write the exams, so we felt that it was like our political responsibility to make sure that we passed so that we could negate those ideas that - that were fairly I mean - I would say that it was fairly widespread, you know, those people that at school - you know, people would - people would - would every now and then say : No (now) these guys are not interested in the schooling - and it was ja - I mean the few people who (?) knew us very well might have felt differently, but I - I'm not even sure, you know, what were the sort of percentages, you know, in terms of how people felt, but - so we had studied and we had - we - there were certain teachers that were a little sympathetic who used to come and teach us at home and - and all of us wrote the exams and most - most people passed.

And the idea was then we would go into school the following year, in '82, so I went to school in '82 to do my final year at school, and it was really difficult to handle school that year because the teachers were - certain teachers were afraid to even talk to me, people who I thought were my friends in school, because they felt that if they were seen to talk to me openly they - they might be regarded as political teachers, you know.

K.N. And some teachers were like going around and referring to us - they - they identified my brother and I as being sort of the main trouble makers, and they used to like go and speak about the political thug brothers in the classes and - and I think the final straw came for me when my English teacher tore my composition book - he had given us this essay to write on the person you admire the most, and I wrote on Mandela, and he - he brought (?) the book in the class and he like just tore it, and he said : This is what should be done to this book - if you want to pass, you don't write crap like this, you know - and then after about a week I left school and what - what I was hoping to do was I was hoping to register night classes and write another exam - and plus there was this question of victimisation, because the department had known - known us very well, and people were saying that - certain teachers were saying that, you know, you mustn't think that you right - you do well in all your papers you necessarily will pass - and these teachers, some of them were saying it in the context of, you know, you must act like you've changed your views and you must be like very - you must be very kind of subservient and - and you mustn't try to organise in school and stuff like that.

So ja, given all that, I eventually left and I was hoping to get into night classes, but it was too late, but I managed (.....) for another exam - it was called the national senior certificate, and I wrote that exam at the end of the year and managed to pass, but in 1982 when we were reinstated in school, we engaged in the struggle to get recognition for an SRC, which we failed, but it was - was a fairly good struggle because in - we engaged lots of people in that - you know, we had meetings in cl - you know, we had reps from each class and - and there was a fair amount of participation, but unfortunately in the end it - it fizzled out because the principal was absolutely dogmatic and he wouldn't budge - he - we had submitted a constitution, and he totally rejected it, but then politically 1982 we were like selling newspapers, like Grassroots was around that time, and SASPU National had started in '80, and we were - you know, we used to sell newspapers and stuff to try and politicise students.

But during those two years we were still involved in organising the youth organisation, and we still had not developed a clearly political focus - we were still like - in '81 we had raised money by having a dance and we had donated the money to this project to raise funds for a blind man in the community to buy a dog, you know, a guide dog, which we did in '81 - oh, we also - we also - then we became a little bit more sort of focused on the community where we lived in itself, you know, and we raised money to buy - this is '82 - we bought jersies, school jersies for sort of very poor kids who lived in - in our community, who couldn't afford them - we bought about 200 jersies, but it was like just the youth organisation raised the money, but you see, what was more important was the way the money was raised, the lessons we learned out of that, like I mean simple things like how to organise a jumble sale, because most of these things we hadn't done before, and the process that we used to like raise the money usually would be - now on reflection I think of it, were like very democratic processes, you know, where we would like work out (?) street reps - people would go and collect - the procedure would be like we would - we'd go like a week before and give people pamphlets and explain to them why we were raising the money, and we'd - and we'd say we coming back the next week to collect whatever old things they didn't need, and there was like - you think of it as lots of participation because everybody in that road would know the youth organisation from the community firstly, and by giving that - whether it's a old shoe or a old jersey or whatever, there's a sense of participation in that, you know - people feel that they've made a contribution to the organisation, and that was like those valuable lessons I think we learned sort of fairly early in our political development.....

K.N. I'm just rambling on - I don't know what was the last question.

J.F. If you want to continue from the politicisation from there, then I can go back later and ask other things - so you got reinstated, but then you yourself quit?

K.N. Ja, I quit school.

J.F. How many months (.....)

K.N. That was a stupid thing as well - I was six months in school, right....

J.F. Back?

K.N. Ja, I spent like first half of the year in school doing - doing the - the syllabus of the Indian Affairs Department, and then I quit to go and do the National Senior Certificate, and the syllabus there is different because - and plus I had to study on my own, I - I had no supervision after that - I had to - I studied at - at home - at home to - I basically didn't - I didn't have money to - to enrol for a correspondence course, so I used to just borrow textbooks from friends at school and I used to just work with the textbooks, and there were a few comrades who would assist every now and then when they had time with - with - with the work and - but the thing was like say, the first six months I was in school I did - for English I did (Laugh) (.....) I did Hard Times, Charles Dickens' set works, and Winter's Tale, Shakespeare, and a set of poems - when I switched to the other exam I had to do the Great Gatsby (Laugh) and Romeo and Juliet, Shakespeare, and like another set of poems, and plus in this other exam I had to do Afrikaans literature written, and we didn't have to do that in the Indian Affairs Department, so it was quite - it's quite difficult - it was the worst exam that I studied for - I mean I - I used to like study the whole night and sleep like four hours during the day.

I had a friend who lent me a office to study, and this like helped quite a bit - a comrade who was a lawyer in the community where I lived, she had a office and she would let me use the office at night, and so I had like a very solid place to stay, so - but then during this period by then - by '82 - by end of '82 we had become firmly committed to - to NIC and to the A - I don't know - and the broad congress movement, and I mean we had become extre - I mean we were clear as to where we stood, and we were engaged in all the campaigns.

In fact from - from the point we got involved in 1980 we were engaged in all the campaigns that the NIC waged, like in 1981 there was an anti-LAC campaign in August, and in November there was a anti-SAIC campaign - anti-SAIC campaign, and we were involved in that campaign as well in - very actively at a grassroots level - I mean it - it involved like every day going out sort of pamphleteering, putting up stickers and putting up posters and that kind of thing '81, and then in '82 there was a major cam - for us it was a major campaign, which was the bread price went up on October 1st. by ten cents, and this - those - a couple of us in Helping Hands felt extremely strong about it, and we raised it with the other comrades as well and this campaign was eventually taken up by the NIC and other progressive organisations in Natal, and there was a petition campaign that was launched, and unfortunately nothing - I mean we didn't succeed in any way, but there was a - in Chatsworth there was an anti-bread price action committee that was actually formed around this campaign, where we were able to draw in like women's groups who weren't political at all - women's groups and a few religious groups in the community and -

K.N. And I think for us that was a - one of the first sort of lessons at like drawing the lines as with (?) other groupings within the community, and well, ja, in '83 I went to university.

J.F. So you passed the National Senior Certificate?

K.N. Oh, ja, I - ja, I managed to - to pass - I - it was quite - quite heavy though because like all my friends finished - their results were out - all my - I was the only person that - oh, no, myself and two other people who'd - who were reinstated but never came back to school, you know, those - the two other friends of mine who opted not to come back to school - one guy who - who - his name was Rajan - Rajan was like for me important - very, very important political part of my development, because in Standard Eight 1980 he was called - he was very, very quiet, you know, in the class, but he - I had known him - he was in my class from - from Standard Six, and, you know, they give you this forms to say where your parents, what jobs your parents do, you know, and he would always write like the - you know, they'll ask where your father is, where your mother is, he used to write his father's in Zambia, and like we used to ask him, he used to say : Oh, he's working there - you know, that's all he used to say.

And in 1980 the English teacher called him into the front - they - they were having this impromptu speeches, you know, and the - the teacher said : O.K., I'll give you something easy to speak about, speak about your father - and like he gave this speech about how he had never met his father, his father was a member of the ANC, and how much he respects his father and - and like, you know, it was like took everybody by storm, you know, and - and Rajan was like my best friend - one of my best friends for some time, and he was also expelled in 1981, and his father's name is (.....)

J.F. (.....)

K.N. Ja.

J.F. (.....)

K.N. Ja (.....) and - and then like I didn't know who - who K (Kay) was, right, but - but then I became quite close to his family and I saw how they had struggled and how his mother had struggled to bring them up, and I became close to one of his - I knew his sisters and - and we both worked together - when we were expelled from school, we worked together in a tote, off course tote, ja, so - so we, you know - and - but like just talking to him about how he would write letters to his father and don't get replies for a long time and - and stuff like that, you know, and I think a couple of times his father phoned and like all those, and then just like from that experience I mean I - I learned just like so much about what the real South Africa is about, you know, and for - I would say like that was one of the most important factors to have influenced me and like strengthen my commitment to the struggle because - and - and this happened like quite early when I was 15, 16 and - and you know, it - it's difficult when we very young to - and plus, you see, the conditions in - in - in Chatsworth weren't as - as it was in Soweto, you know - it wasn't like - it was O.K. - it was - in comparison to a white community it was like bad working class, right, but it was like much less severe, or much less harsh - I mean there was lights, there was - you had three meals a day, your parents weren't hassled for passes, and the immediacy of the - of the harshness of apartheid is not really visible, especially - the point is I mean when you are born you are confronted with certain reality, and that reality is what you are socialised (?) into accepting as the reality, and what you don't know, in a sense you don't miss, you know, unless somebody or some influences prod you to question what reality you are confronted with, because I mean the fact that there's no pavement outside your....

K.N. house - from the point you were born there was no pavement and, you know, that's how it is, you know, so - ja, so I think especially in, you know - when (?) the situation is not as bad - like I think you can be more easily politicised if like - and plus the troops have not operated in Chatsworth - I mean the - there hasn't been troops in - in - in Chatsworth, for example, except when there's been certain - like in 1980 the police acted against us, it wasn't the SADF, but that too when the police acted it was like specific for a particular protest - it wasn't a ongoing thing, so it's not like a ready made politicisation, as it is in certain other townships in the country.

Ja, so basically what I'm saying is that I think coming into contact with people like (.....) family would be an important factor in influencing somebody like - who - who was young as myself, you know, into becoming committed to the struggle.

J.F. What kind of things did you ask them? I've been taking notes on what I wanted to ask you - questions like when you went around to organise on the anti-SAIC, anti-LAC things, what did you say to the Indian working class people that you would go door to door with? How did they respond?

K.N. Well, the good thing about the LAC and the SAIC was that they had been around for a couple of years by then and they had already discredited themselves by a whole range of devious kinds of things that they had done, corruption - whole range of corrupt practices - so when you went to people's homes around that specific issue, you found that you had quite - people you were very well received, and it was quite a fairly easy thing like, you know, you'd speak about the SAIC, a group of people who are collaborating with the government, they're unrepresentative, they in it for themselves, and you would say a few things, and then people would - would come out and talk about their local LAC or SAIC person and say things that they had known about him or her and that - that used to help.

And you'd find that most places people would be quite resp - receptive around those particular campaigns, but I must say that our organisational strength in 1981 was not formidable by far (Interruption) - ja, in 1981 I mean there was a whole lot of shuffling around of activists, you know - people would be brought from - from all the areas into one area, you know, to - to do the field work, for example - I mean this was done a bit in 1984, '83, around there, anti-tricameral parliament, but - anti-tricameral elections, but we had in every area in '83, '84 a fair amount of organisation, so in '81 the sad thing was that we weren't able to do house visits all the time, and sometimes we would like just put the pamphlets in the post box, pos - post boxes, because we were sort of - didn't have the necessary workforce to sustain full-scale house visits, so I mean that - that is not to say that there was absolutely no house visits, but there was, but it was limited - usually as it got closer to the election itself, it was rushed, you know.

And on the days of the elections we would like go up to the polling booths and - and just like ask questions and - and try to arouse as much, you know, protest as possible, but there will be lots of policemen around, so we had to be careful how we did that, so it would be done like, you know, just raising questions as if we were supporting one candidate or the other, and this is '81 elections....

J.F. Was LAC (.....)

K.N. Ja, I remember in the LAC election of '81 our local - in our local election in the area where I lived, I had gone there and I had this argument with the - with an LAC person (Laugh) who was returned unopposed in another constituency who had come to give support to the guy that was standing in our constituency there.

- K.N. And I was 19 that time - no, I was 16, and he - he was basically - I mean it was weird, I mean he wasn't able to give any real good arguments as to why they should participate in that structure - I mean he was - everything that we - that we were saying he was basically (.... ..) and you know, he'd say - he would like criticise personalities on the NIC, you know, as the response, and that was like the major kind of rationalisation for his pas - participation, and this fairly common with many of the collaborators from the Indian community - I mean they exploit what they perceive as sort of weaknesses within certain leadership people, or certain people that they might know of from within the NIC.
- J.F. What did you start out to say the one thing that was good about LACs and SAICs?
- K.N. Oh, that they had discredited themselves already, so that the response from the community was very good, and the poll (?) was like fairly very low - I mean the SAIC was eight (?) percent, the - the poll in the SAIC elections of '81 was either eight percent or 12 percent, I'm not 100 percent sure, and the LAC election was lower than that, so - and those houses that we had done sort of general house visits, the response was very good, whereas - and it was like a ready made good response because the LAC people had - had already alienated themselves from the people, so it wasn't like you were starting afresh, as you in a sense in some ways the - the tricameral election, it wasn't so straightforward because some of the people were new - in some cases one or two of the people that stood for elections were anti-SAIC people in the past.
- Like in Chatsworth one of the persons that spoke at our anti-SAIC rally in 1981 was a candidate in the tricameral parliament in '84....
- J.F. Then moved away?
- K.N. Ja, so - so it was like not so clear cut in '84, you see.
- J.F. I guess what I'm getting at is a much bigger issue, which is - maybe I should kind of take it from some of the other questions I wanted to ask, which is how basically you moved from the apartheid consciousness of being Indian and being concerned with those issues and to a large extent accepting those structures, and moving up in those structures to better your own position to kind of not only (?) rejecting those structures but accepting and embracing the idea of being black and oppressed and now just Indian relating to other groups. That's a huge issue. I'm interested on the personal level how you yourself moved.
- K.N. In fact I - I can - quite honestly, I can't pinpoint the exact point at which it happened, but I can say that like, you know, in '81 when we were expelled from the - from school we - we clearly saw ourselves as black people then, you know, as....
- J.F. Why, where did that come from?
- K.N. Like I mean one of the slogans in 1980, right, was black power, white bums, right....
- J.F. Black power, white?
- K.N. Black power, white bums - b u m s - it was a silly slogan, now on - on reflection, but it was a slogan that people used to shout, and I mean you know (?) in '80 I mean the one Azania, one nation was a - quite a popular slogan at that point in '80.
- J.F. And with you also?

K.N. With - with everybody - I mean on UDW as well....

J.F. What's white bums?

K.N. I - don't ask me, but (Laugh) - but - but it was like a rejection of what was white, you know, and I don't know how (Laugh) - how far - how far spread that slogan was, but I know that there was a group of people that used to shout that, you know, in - in - in Chatsworth in those three schools that I mentioned, and it was a slogan that we all - that we would all shout, you know, black power, white bums - ja, so by 1980 people saw themselves as black....

J.F. Not just your basic BC consciousness that?

K.N. It's probably because, you see, even the pamphlets that - a few pamphlets that used to come out from the universities would - would speak of the black struggle - you know, the struggle of black people and - and would - would infer (?) or sometimes I - if I recall correctly, there were pamphlets that would - would - would explain, you know, that when we speak of the black community we speak of Indian, African and Coloured people, right, so in 1980 the idea that you were simply Indian was already challenged, right, and in '81 when we were expelled I know like there was still - I mean ja, there was still a kind of vague BCness, you know, like I know there was this song this one guy had composed about like - we were expelled from school, so there was a song (.....) poor little black boys they all got expelled, they're going to join the ANC and bombard the whites - they will drive the whites into the sea, then they will get victory - and it was like just - I mean this was just like one grouping of people, you know - they weren't ja, so....

J.F. Who were those people, were they colleagues of yours?

K.N. Ja, they were colleagues of mine and ja, so I mean I - I can't say exactly what it was that - that helped make that shift, but like, you see, in 198 - 1980 there was a release Mandela campaign as well, right, and - and Mandela - identification with Mandela meant that you had shifted from - from simply looking at things from an kind of narrow Indian perspective, and plus myself, I had the opportunity to go and - I sat on a structure - I went for at least two meetings of something known as NATSAC, the Natal Schools Action Committee, in 1980, which was coordinating the boycott campaign in Natal, and that committee was made up of like all the schools in Natal, so like by my going to those two meetings I went to represent my school, so like we came into contact with white students from the Natal University and all (?) other black students, so - so you know, it - you know, you clearly could see that it was much broader than simply a struggle by group of Indian students in Chatsworth.

J.F. But it didn't come through you being in BC. Did you read Biko or read BC literature, read anything that was called the Azanian, anything AZ-APU, or were you exposed to those?

K.N. No, not really.

J.F. You didn't have - would you say you went through any BC experience?

K.N. No, I mean the - at that point as well I mean we didn't understand the difference, and there wasn't between sort of BC and ANC and sort of Freedom Charters or anything - I - you know, I - why - I was like 14 the year before, and who needs (?) sort of real politicisation who's (?) consciously reading the newspapers and - and that was - you not really going to get BC in the newspapers, so I - and I hadn't read any Biko, and all I knew about Biko was that he had been killed by the police and there was this inquest that was taking place, and we used to try to follow the inquest basically, so -

K.N. Ja, so I wouldn't say it was like any sort of BC literature, and it - it was a kind of - even Azania I mean we didn't really understand what it really meant or anything, you know - it was like basic sloganising - I mean we knew it was an alternative to - to the given, you know - to the status quo, and that's why it was attractive - this - this was like 1980, but like by 1981 I mean we had got to know the Freedom Charter because we were going to have a Freedom Charter - well, there was going to be a commemoration - George Sewpersadh got banned in '81, and on 26th. June they had planned a sort of solidarity meeting with George Sewpersadh to coincide with 26th. June, and then - see, '81 we made contact with - with the NIC people and, you know, from the point that we were expelled....

J.F. Made contact with?

K.N. NIC activists - 1980 not really - we hadn't really met anybody, and in '8 - like I mean the first time that we met NIC activists was when we called this little meeting that I told you about, you know, at my house and NIC people came to the meeting, you know, when we were expelled.

J.F. What was it like to meet them for the first time? Do you know who they were (.....)

K.N. No, it was quite funny actually because they were I - I think some of the people that came were wary of us because here's a meeting being called and they knew nothing about it, and they were asking like the most difficult questions because some people were saying that - like some parents were saying that if your - if the principal says I can go back to school tomorrow, well I'll (?) go back - and my response was no, no, we can't do that because it would be against our principles because we - we boycotted because other children got expelled and if they're not reinstated, then how we going to go back - and then this one guy on the NIC, who I now know very well, he said - ask me this question - he says : Do you regard the boycott as a principle or a tactic (Laugh) and - and I was about like (?) - I was - I was 15 years old that time, you know, and I didn't know what to say, I said : Well (Laugh) - I think I said the boy - the boycott is a - is a tactic based on the principle (Laugh) - something like that.

But like there was like the suspicion of because ja, and one of the guys was a senior NIC person - do you know Roy Padayachee - anyway it was quite a joke, like he's a senior NIC person, and some of us thought he was a spy by some of the questions he had asked, and ja - no, but after that meeting then people came and introduce themselves and - and we got to know, and we worked together after that on all the campaigns.

J.F. Had you heard of NIC before then?

K.N. Oh, ja, ja - no, I had - I'd heard, but you see, NIC wasn't particularly active '79 - you see, 1980 the NIC people were arrested, whole range of - during the boycotts, and I'd gone - there were NIC meetings in 1980 which I had gone for - I - I did some pamphleteering for as well - you know, people used to just give us pamphlets and we used to - so in 1980 I'd come into contact with NIC as a big organisation, but not with the local NIC people.

J.F. When you did get to meet them what was your impression of them, when they came up after the meeting? How come they were - it wasn't just parents, other people were allowed to come?

K.N. Ja, well, you know, it - I mean altogether there would have been only about like 40 to 50 people there.

J.F. So you kind of wondered who they were?

K.N. Well, ja, and plus, you see, the other thing was we didn't know about the meeting, the contravention of the - of the overall meeting, right, but we knew that any meetings are like dangerous, so my father's involved in some religious organisation, and like we had all the literature of that religious organisation there, so we thought like, you know, this'll be our cover, very naively, and we were - we were concerned, you know, that what if the police came, because the police were around in school obviously, you know, trying to find out who were - who were organising things and stuff like that, so we were quite - and - and plus I mean we were still looking at ways in which we were going to get the students to come out of - out of school, you know, those students that were still at school - I mean we were still looking at the question of how we were going to find ways in getting the students to boycott classes to support our expulsion.

So we were still - so we were particularly concerned that the cops knew that and that there would - any meeting that we would have they would think that we are planning to further the protest in the school itself, and we had some like heavy experiences in '81 I mean, the stinkbombs - you know stinkbombs - ja, there's some people that were involved in the whole boycott movement were like threw stinkbombs at the principal and stuff like that, and it became quite - at certain points became quite - ja, quite wild and - and some of us were afraid that the cops were going to follow that up and - and trace a few of us, you know, which they didn't do.

J.F. Let me take it way back - what work does your father do?

K.N. Our father is a bookkeeper at a factory known as Republic Umbrella Manufacturers - it's a umbrella factory that's owned by two Jewish people - I used to work in this factory on my holidays actually, and that actually was a important lesson for me because ja - and ja, now that I speak about it, the - the factory had sort of African, so-called Coloured and Indian staff, right, and obviously a few white managerial people, but they had separate canteens for the - the African and - African and Indian men they were separate - separate....

J.F. They were separate from each other or they were together (?)

K.N. Ja, they were separate from each other, and I when I went the - I think the - some of the Indian guys opted to eat in a different place, you know, so when I got - used to work there I used to eat with the African guys because I used to work with them in the factory, the work that I was being was (?) - and they found it a bit strange that I had come, and some of the Indian guys used to say : Why are you going to eat with those guys - then I said : No, they're my friends, you know - and this was like 12, 13 years, you know, early into high school, and like I made like good friends with the - with these guys that I worked with, and I think that was like one of my sort of good lessons in kind of non-racialism, because I worked as a - I did odd jobs in the factory, like packing boxes and things like that, so I always worked with - with the African guys who were - who be - became my friends, you know, because like I worked with them and - and so like they were the people I got on best with because I spent most time sort of working with them, so - so, ja, that was like important I think, because you know how it is - I mean you live so sort of compartmentalised that even that kind of contact is a luxury in a sense, you know.

J.F. Why do you think you responded so positively to it? Why - wouldn't there have been other Indian boys who would have thought, no, together they've just been brought up in (.....)

K.N. Ja, I - I think my parents, even though they weren't political, they - they weren't like I mean heavy, you know, they - I won't say they had any African trends, right, but the African people that they related to they related to with respect, you know.

- K.N. If it was somebody who came and begged at the door, somebody who came and wanted occasional work or whatever, you know, he'd - they would relate to - to them with respect, you know, and my father had a few friends at work who he - he brought - who he used to bring over for weekends when they didn't have - when they wanted a place to stay and stuff and - and also like if he had some work at home that we wanted to do, he would bring a friend or so home, and somebody who worked with him, and there was that kind of contact that we had had, but it was like very minimal....
- J.F. You mean manual labouring (.....)
- K.N. Ja, usually if he was painting or something, right, and I mean this would be like once in a while I mean, maybe once in a year, but - but it was like some kind of contact that we had, but the way he related would be - I mean where they related was with respect, so I don't know, that might have had something to do with it, but beyond that I can't really say exactly, you know, what it was, but it - it was just the guys that I met were really nice guys - I mean the - they were nice people and - and....
- J.F. At the factory?
- K.N. Ja, and - and they liked me and I liked them - it just sort of - and like I remember one guy's name was Robinson, who was like a guy who had a very good sense of humour, and I enjoyed him the most, you know, in the sense that I could laugh with him and I didn't really - at that stage really consider, you know - and ja, I can't really say, you know, particularly what encouraged the process, but I can say that it - I was - that some of the older Indian men in the factory found it a bit strange, and I mean they would every now and then say, you know, you must come and spend more time with us and stuff like that, but - and - and I used to spend time with them, not to say that I shouldn't, so - but otherwise it - it - I don't know, that time it seemed more or less natural.
- J.F. What work did you do? Was it factory (.....)
- K.N. Just like packing boxes and stuff and drilling umbrella handles and stuff like that.
- J.F. But your father never did that manual labour?
- K.N. No, no, my father was working in the office.
- J.F. So that gave you some sense of what it was like to be a worker (.....
.....) - your father had a kind of poor middle class?
- K.N. Ja.
- K.N. (.....) or not?
- K.N. Well, my father's own background was that he lived on a farm and he went for night - night - night classes and stuff, and well, he would say that he had it like very rough, you know.
- J.F. Was he a farm labourer?
- K.N. No....
- J.F. What do you mean he was on a farm?
- K.N. Well, I don't know exactly actually, but his sort of father lived on the farm and he was born on the farm, that kind of thing.

J.F. A white farm?

K.N. No, no.

J.F. Their own farm?

K.N. I'm not certain actually, but I - I think it probably would have been owned by some other Indian people, but I don't think they had owned the farm itself - I think maybe it was a kind of family kind of thing....

J.F. Kind of sharecropping (.....)

K.N. Ja, ja.

J.F. But did actual farming?

K.N. Ja - like I mean I - I know that he can - I know that he can milk a cow and stuff like that, so - I don't know whether he can still do it, but.

J.F. So he feels he pulled himself out of that (.....)

K.N. Ja, ja, and - ja, but I mean I would say he's fairly middle class in a sense that I mean he - we've got a, you know, fairly adequate house and he's managed to have a car.

J.F. Did anyone ever work for you, or did your mother work, or was she....

K.N. My mother worked at home, ja.

J.F. She was a housewife?

K.N. Ja, but she - she - she used to sew and things like that, you know.

J.F. So she - was there ever anyone employed in the house?

K.N. Occasionally, but not on a sort of permanent basis like - like maybe if people came looking for ironing (?) or something - oh, and plus like he extended the house in 1970, and so - added like a couple of rooms to - two rooms and extended it a bit, so that like costed a lot of money, so like my mother used to sew and - and that was like a way of trying to get the house done, so - but thereafter occasionally after the house was built around 19 - 1978, around then, occasionally my mother would get somebody to come and iron or something - you know, that's usually if somebody came looking for work, but never on a, you know, ongoing basis.

J.F. How many kids are in the family?

K.N. There's an elder sister with two kids, and I'm sort of second, and there's a brother who's a year younger than me, and a younger sister.

J.F. Were you brought up with a religious?

K.N. Ja, a normal Hindu kind of background, went for all the festivals and prayers, and we had most of the things at home, and I used to go for vernacular classes as well in Tamil - went for quite some time actually, for about right until I was Standard Four.

J.F. So can you still speak it?

K.N. No, no, I never - I never could - I can write and I can understand a little and - and I can say a few things, but can't really speak it.

- J.F. And so (.....) of your Tamil classes and you were quite keen to then (?) they were instilling an Indian identity?
- K.N. Oh, ja, ja, definitely in that sense, ja.
- J.F. So then how did you get past that, that's what I'm interested in (.....)
- K.N. Well, ja, that - that - that was - I mean even though I got involved in '80, I was still like I mean kind of - I mean I saw my political involvement as being compatible with that religious background, not - not so much the kind of Indian background, but the kind of religious teachings that we had - we had probably what we understood to be religion, you know, and that we saw that what was happening was unjust and that the religion, the way we understood it, was to be for justice, you know, and - and I mean up to now I mean I - I can if I - like last year I was invited to speak at a meeting of a Hindu religious organisation and - in the community, in Chatsworth - and I went and I like read the book that I know is like their important book, and I prepared a speech with like 50 percent of what I said was quotations from the speeches - from the book, and I like just adapted it to suit like the arguments that we would want to put forward, but like I've - I mean I - if you ask me now whether I'm a Hindu, I'd say no, you know, because I - I've like in a sense grown out of it and - but - but - but I'll actually, you know, if - if there's a prayer or something taking place, like if my auntie - one of my aunties are to invite me (?) I would go to it simply because it would - it helps to have access to people by sort of cutting - I mean the reality is that maybe I do not identify with it in a deep sincere way with - with the festivals and what have you, but if one hopes to work within a community that has certain sense of tradition etc., in a sense if you hope to make an impact on the community, you have to not disrespect that - I mean you have to respect it to a point and - and if - if you choose to totally reject it in a strong overt way, then you just - what chances you have of winning those kinds of people over to your political position I think is lost, so up to now even though I don't have any sort of Hindu consciousness at all, I would still go for the festivals if - if they presented themselves, you know, so as to just keep access to certain family members or certain other people in the community.
- J.F. What did it mean to be Hindu (.....) Muslim, did that have any political implications, or did that have any kind of social implication?
- K.N. (Laugh) Does (?) to my brother, but no, not really - I knew there was - you knew there was a difference, right, but I mean there wasn't a deep kind of difference - I mean there was - in fact I - if I recall, I mean there were debates around religion that used to take place at school when I was in primary school, and those debates were usually with - somehow with Christian people, usually newly converts, you know, and this was when I was very young and primary school and still that - that time fairly seeing myself as an Hindu person still in primary school, and - but I mean - I mean you just knew that that was a different religion and that there was different customs and different sort of way of life, but I don't think it had like profound political significance in any way.
- J.F. Was there discrimination, the Muslims not want their kids to (.....)
- K.N. No, not really.
- J.F. You can have friends and families mixed?
- K.N. Ja, my - oh, I mean now it's quite common, the mixing, you know, across religious barriers, but I'd say like ten years back it wasn't that - that common - it was still - and I mean to now you - you'll have certain couples who have problems because of religious reasons.

K.N. I mean you have it, but just in terms of like having - having friends and relating with people - I mean I had friends from all different religious backgrounds - in fact I used to go to church as well, you know, periodically, because I had a few friends who were Christians, and I used to go to - with them to Sunday school and things like that, so there was no like - like my parents knew that we were doing that, but never said no, don't do it or anything.

J.F. I guess what I'm interested in asking you is that how you managed to.....

END OF SIDE TWO.

J.F. Would you ever reject being called Indian, say no, I'm black, or was it when you were quite young that you - were you ever surprised when someone called himself black and not Indian, or were your parents - I'm just wondering how you get out of going to vernacular classes and religious classes and even the dress, and yet going beyond that, what that process is about - because of the interest in non-racialism how that actually works on the ground?

K.N. I think blackness has a, you know, when it - when one now says I'm black, you know, it's very political - it means that you identify with the - with the - with a particular kind of philosophy in a sense, and so when one says like I mean - once I got involved in 1980, and then you saw that it was a struggle of black people as we understand (?) like in a progressive sense - then, you know, it's more like you making a political statement, right, and I think in a sense it - in that way it is fairly easy to, you know - you - you have a kind of political vision and then you say in terms of this political programme vision or path (?) or whatever, the way I will define myself is black, and then in a personal sense I think it becomes sort of easier to do it.

But I - I would say occasionally I mean, like when you do field work and when you go and knock on people's houses and they tell you what guarant - what guarantee do we Indians have that when the blacks take over things won't be - you know, we won't get booted out, and then when you talking to them, you can't talk as a black person I mean from your own consciousness - you have to like then sort of connect with people at - at the level that - at which they are thinking, right, so every - I mean all the time during the anti-election campaign or whatever campaign that you waging, you know, in the community, you find that you have to when - when relating to ordinary working class people, you have to, you know, talk in terms of - of Indian and Coloured etc., because that is how I mean - that - that is why in a sense it's necessary to have an NIC, because that's how people perceive themselves, and I mean I would do it and I'd have no, you know - I'll have no sort of qualms about doing it, you know, if - if somebody asked me, you know, what guarantees do we have as - as Indians, then I would like proceed to say, you know, these are how you - how we going to guarantee the position of Indians.....

J.F. But how do you say that? Say it is a woman in a sari who says to you how do you answer me as an Indian person? Just tell me what you'd say?

K.N. O.K., I would say.....

J.F. Just even the terminology, pretend that that's (.....)

K.N. O.K., I'll explain that firstly like we used to (?) just say around the Indian - around the tricameral elections, right, I would say that the reason why it's important that we support the UDF or whichever organisation and not vote is because Indian, African and Coloured people together are oppressed in this country, and we are all fighting against this government to try and change things, and from the three oppressed groupings the African people are in the majority and they are most oppressed, and historically this land actually belongs to African people, and it is important that we acknowledge that and stand alongside African people because it - it is just to do that, you know.

And on the question of guarantees, you'll say that you have a choice - you can now say that you want to side with the oppress - with the oppressor and maybe you can have a guarantee for five years, but it is clear that whether you like it or I like it or whether government likes it, it's just a matter of time before there's justice and there'll be one person one vote and everybody will have a chance, and there will be a government that will be dominated by the African majority and - and the only guarantee is to from now when (?) you have the chance is to side with the African people and fight with them because it is not only that it guarantees your position, but it's also that which you by - you know, that which is the correct thing to do because it is the just thing to do, you know.

And, you know, it's not something that, you know, people just relate to like that I mean - it - it takes like, you know - I used to make a point of like in house visits, I'd rather spend like 45 minutes in one house and don't do the rest of the road than like doing the whole road and like spending ten minutes or five minutes per house, because you never able to get through to people because I mean the sophistication of the ideological state apparatus I mean is - I mean this - the whole way the everything operates - I mean the fact that people live in separate areas is so important, I think, to people not really having any clear perception of other people and - and I mean the fact that your documents you - you constantly writing Indian wherever (?) you know, any application, when there's a race there you have to write Indian or whatever - this school you go to is Indian - I mean everything - every small thing, you know, in isolation when it's all brought together collectively, I mean it just has such an impact on people's way of thinking, and it would be, I think, almost inhuman for people not to have that initial kind of Indian, African, Coloured or white consciousness.

I think it - if somebody didn't have that - that they'd in a sense be almost abnormal, because the controlling forces in society - in South African society are - and I mean it's not amateurish in any way, it's really sophisticated, I think - I mean every - I mean every - O.K., I mean you take a thing like now they - they've got a special radio programme for Indian people, something called Radio Lotus, right, and O.K., at the surface one will just look at Radio Lotus and say well, it's just another radio station, but it's such an important thing in terms of this whole move by the state by using Indian people to develop this kind of Indian consc - and - and it's like a thing that, because it has a certain kind of appeal, you know, the songs and stuff like that, that I mean a large number of Indian people would listen to that radio station before they would listen to - especially older people - you know, younger people for music and things they - they'll listen to more sort of Capital Radio, Radio Five or whatever, but I think there's a kind of easy - but you know, all those things collectively have a tremendous impact, I think, in shaping the way people think of themselves and the way they think of others as well, so -

I mean I'll tell you the most difficult thing that I've - that I think in my short history as a activist in the struggle has been winning over people at a grassroots level, and it has to - and it - it takes like time, and if you think that you can just knock at somebody's door and - and go in there, give them a pamphlet and leave in five minutes and expect to have won them over, then you just like completely wrong.

K.N. I mean you - you just kidding yourself basically - you have to go in, make sure you (Laugh) - you can get a chance to sit down and - and when you sitting down with people, then try to like - and it's good for people to say things in the crude way they - they see it like, you know, but what happened in 1949, you know, won't it happen again, or what happened in 1985 in Inanda and - and you have to like - I think it's - it's better when people say those things to you directly, and then you can start at that point and - and I mean very often I mean when, you know, I mean - if a particular thing happens, there's about 10 different ways it can be presented, O.K., and people present - perceive things and present it from in terms of their own particular way of seeing things or (?) also for their own interests, so I mean the whole 1949 situation I mean it can be presented in a - in a way which - which argues that it was a whole lot of state (?) especially in 1985 Inanda, I mean you can use that to show the way the - the government actually played a - a very divicive role there and - and aided and abetted everything that happened, and then you have to make like in the Natal context make the distinction between Inkatha and the UDF.

And now the - the - the existence of Inkatha and UDF in a sense - and - and the tensions - I don't know now - now it'll be much stronger and I - I don't know exactly how people are perceiving it, but I think in some ways it might help to - to - to - and I like to think that in some ways it'll help to win people over to the UDF, because you can see a distinction because Buthelezi quite recently in - in the '70s, late '70s, I think, he made a statement saying remember 1949 - he went to - you (?) pick this up - he went to UDW and he spoke at a meeting and he was booed and placarded - there was a (?) placard demonstration - and he made that statement, so - so people sometimes when you go to - people will refer to what Buthelezi said.

J.F. What did he say exactly?

K.N. He said remember 1949 - he said to the students who were demonstrating - he said remember what happened in 1949 - he subsequently denied it though right, but the newspapers all carried it, but lots of people, when you go to the houses, you know, they'll say - they'll say ja, but you know, Buthelezi what he said, and then you have to try to make the distinction between Buthelezi, which is not very easy to - to - to make because some people, or lots of people are not politically sophisticated and - and plus I mean people not listening on - hearing on the radio or even in the newspapers much about what's UDF and what is Inkatha - I mean the - they might be also getting the feedback on Inkatha, but UDF they'd know very little about, so then you have to set a - set aside to like explain the distinction, but I don't know the whole - the sad thing about the - one of the many sad things about the UDF/Inkatha conflict now is that I mean I think there are people within the Indian community that have a normal kind of colonial stereotypes about African people that, you know, tribalistic and that kind of thing, and the fear have that (?) - that might sort of reinforce it in some ways.

J.F. So what did they say (.....)

K.N. Oh, ja, like I mean I don't want - they'll ask you : So you're fighting for your sisters to marry African fellows, you know....

J.F. They'll say that's what you're fighting for?

K.N. Like I mean some (?) - sometimes you - you choose the wrong day to do field work, like a Friday or a Saturday, when people are generally drunk or - or just sort of drinking days, and you connect with somebody who's had like one too many to drink, and he's saying to you before you can even start talking, if he knows you from the NIC or whatever - he's saying : Well, do you want the African chaps to marry your sisters, tell me now, you know - and then you have to -

K.N. And also like I mean some people say you're (?) fighting for the Africans or (?) you're fighting for the blacks, as they would say, and I mean that is not the situation - one is not fighting - one is fighting for South Africa and one is fighting for all the people in South Africa and - but to explain it you have to be very gentle, and it's not easy usually I mean - sometimes I would say if - if people - you suppose (?) a pers - person (?) are you fighting for the blacks - so tell me, are you fighting for the blacks, you know, and I'd say : No, I'm fighting for myself and - and - and explain it in - in that way, that I feel that I'd like to have the right to vote, for example, and I think that all human beings should be given the right to vote, and don't have the right to vote and therefore - and one is not fighting - and I (?) used to say eventually that, you know, we - and also lots of people have the perception that we are fighting against whites, right, and then - like I very often - I would find I used to refer to the fact that there are white people in the UDF, you know, as - as a useful fact to actually get people to see that it wasn't simply, you know, a black/white thing, and I think that was quite useful, you know - it could be used quite progressively because - it's a sad reality though, you know - I mean I almost used to get the feeling that because people had this - in the subconscious they had this notion that - that white people do the right things, or that - that if, ja, a few white people run the UDF, then maybe the UDF is not so bad after all, you know.

I mean I must say that sadly enough I - I used to pick that up sometimes, because I used to use it and then like gauge the - the response - I mean my - my involvement has been mostly at that kind of level, mostly field work and, you know - most of the time I used to be involved in field work, so I did like hundreds of house visits, and I used various sort of methods or - or ways to try to win people over.

J.F. Can you give me an example of - I just think it's so useful, specially since you've had that experience of bringing up real examples and not just speaking theoretically, so I'm just interested in some of the kind of almost quotes from the mediums (?) or actual experiences you've had. Can you give me an example of something you - it doesn't have to be just one, but some of the things you remember where....

K.N. This - this is - well, there was last year this was, the UDF was having some campaign - I can't remember exactly which campaign it was, but I went into this house to do field work because (?) it's not - I mean it - it - it's - it's a good story (.....) - I went and knocked at this door and this man came, opened the door, he says - I told him I'm from the UDF and I've come to explain to you about this particular campaign - can't remember what the campaign was - and then he said : You from the UDF - and I said ja - he said : Come in - makes me sit, and he like tells me how evil the UDF is, how unChristian it is, and like he goes on this long rave (?) and he - and he talks - he's a heavy Christian, this guy now - and then he says : You know, all my children are Christians, they so decent, you are corrupting your life and you corrupting other people's life - and he proceeded to give me this whole story about how corrupt I was, and then he said : Look at my child - he calls his child and he says to his child : Pray for this uncle (Laugh) - and this child comes to me and she puts her hand on my head like this and like she says : Dear God, help this uncle, God, he's corrupt, daddy says he's corrupt, he mustn't do bad things - he's going around and giving these papers, these bad papers he's giving (Laugh) - we were giving pamphlets, but like we're discussing the content of the pamphlets and - and ja - and I mean like the child just proceeded to pray and I like just had to sat there, you know, and I mean I spent like one hour in that house, hoping at the end to get in a word, but I - I never succeeded in getting a word because - you see, the other thing is you have to respect people I mean - you have to -

K.N. And the fact that you (.....) knocked on his door means that you value that person, whoever was behind the door, you know, and that you felt it was a human being who you needed to touch and explain what you were involved in and to get his support, and if you went in and the person was then taking a stick (?) and was arrogant and ill - ill informed and stuff like that, you can't like just dive in in a arrogant way as well, because you not going to even stand so much of a chance, and you have to like - you have to listen to people what they are saying - I think that's like extremely important, and so like if you set out to do that seriously, sometimes you can spend like one hour and not getting a word in if that person is opinionated and has lots of ideas and lots of strong views, you know - you like -

So I mean you can try to get in, but this guy (Laugh) - funny thing was after a while he called his son and he give his son his money (?) and he said he must go to the (?) bottle store and buy him a drink and (... ..) very - and he professed to be like a ultra-disciplined Christian, but anyway - but like the - this religious overtones are very important - I think it's not peculiar to the Indian community - I think it - it - it's a - a thing within the working class communities sort of generally, like I mean the question of conversion to Christianity like is fairly, fairly rampant, you know, like I mean just in the area where I lived - 1984, '85 I lived in a children's home, which was like surrounded by - it was like immersed in a very, very lower working class community, you know - lots of people were unemployed and stuff like that, but on Sunday these buses used to pitch up there, you know, church buses, and you'll see people with the best clothes they could find, you know, the - they'll be going to church, and then in the community itself there'll be five tent churches, you know, small kind of tents used to be pitched up, and this were only blocks of flats, you know - it's a pathetic place.

It's like, you know - it's - I mean it's - it - it looks sort of - many parts of Soweto look much better than this place, you know - that's not saying much, but - but like it's, you know, lots of - there's like no lights in many of the places, you know - people have been living for three, you know - three, four years without lights sometimes, and people are unemployed, lots of theft and lots of alcoholism and stuff like that and - but like on Sunday like church time, and if there's a meeting - like and I remember we were organising around a campaign - there was this unjust water fines that were levied against the residents in the flats in '83 - the city council had imposed water fines on everybody in Natal - if you used more than 400 litres of water you'd get a fine.

Now people in the flats, blocks of flats, there was only one communal water meter, and there's no way of gauging which family in those different units were using, so the city council used to arbitrarily just like divide it and charge everybody, so what should - it was like obviously is a recipe for conflict, right - people used to fight with each other and - and also it was very unjust - I mean the pipes were burst and stuff and water was, you know - water was getting wasted and people were getting charged, even though people weren't over-using.

And plus like you had situations where a woman would be in hospital for an entire month, didn't use a drop of - you know, where she's a widow living alone - she comes out of hospital - she was in hospital one month, didn't use a drop of water, and it's like a 500 rand fine waiting for her, so we're organising people around - this is a burning issue in the community, but if you organise a meeting on Sunday earlier in the morning time, you know, or even if you don't give people enough time to get back from church, then you were cooking your goose (Laugh) because you'd never ever get people to make a - a choice.

K.N. A church-goer from that community would never sacrifice his church for that meeting - that meeting would have been clearly in his interest to go to - is our (?) interest to go to, but they wouldn't because that's the kind of ja - the other amusing incidents or the other - I mean I had enough doors being slammed in my face, many, many doors - you just say UDF, NIC, they say : Fuck off from here....

J.F. Because it symbolises what to them?

K.N. Fear - I mean people are - you see, the other thing is I mean people are afraid, you know, especially - I don't want to exaggerate this - I'm not saying that most people slam the doors when we go there, but what I'm saying collectively in - in the six and a half years that I've been involved in struggle I've had a fair amount of doors shut in my face, right - I mean I'd say maybe 50 doors, right, which is not good for one's (Laugh) welfare, you know, to have doors shut in your face, but - but I think primarily, because people fear people might disagree vehemently with you, right, but I think it's also people - you see, like assuming a person lives in a house, they have three meals a day, they can pay the rent, they have more or less everything that they think they need, they don't want to - that reality to be disturbed in any way.

And you come now at the door and you say : No, you must look at this now and you must get involved in the UDF and fight the government - in a sense it like disturbs their stability in some way, I think, and I think people sometimes when they chase you away from the door, they don't want their stabil - and I think most people know that what we are doing is a correct thing - I think most people would accept, you know, that it is correct to be involved in the struggle, because I mean, you know, people have - Indian people have suffered under the Group Areas Act quite a bit, and older people, who tend to be more antagonistic sometimes.

You know, younger people, especially those people that have been through the boycotts and things, it's slightly easier to get through to them, but (.....) - younger people tend to be now much more open and - and, you know, receptive to our ideas and stuff - I suppose like young people throughout the world - but the older people ja, the - they have suffered - I mean people - you know, even Chatsworth in - in many ways - which is the largest like Indian area in the township in the whole country, right - in many ways it was like a dumping ground as well, you know - people were - were sort of removed from certain areas and brought to Chatsworth and - and especially like Cato Manor - this was (?) a place where people were forced off Belaire and those areas - I mean people feel still strongly about the land that they lost or, you know, the injustice that was done and they - they know that the system is wrong - they know the Group Areas Act is still there, and they know it is wrong, and I think deep in - in them people know that they should do something, but those very same people also know that how - how people suffered in the '60s in terms of Robben Island, leaving the country, getting banned and all those things, and I think people are afraid.

I mean this - this - I think the - the - the fear is not peculiar to any particular community in South Africa - I think it - whether it is, you know, from Soweto to - to Chatsworth, it is a common factor, though there might be varying degrees of willingness to take the chance, you know - I think in Soweto it would be much greater the level of O.K., there's a chance of bad things happening to us, but we'll take the chance nevertheless - I think in - in Chatsworth it - it would be much less so, you know - people won't be so sort of - won't find it so easy to - to say, you know, let's get involved, and when the repression comes we'd be able to take it on, you know.

- K.N. There will be obviously a leading elements, right, who would say ja, we'd be willing to do that, but I think largely speaking I mean there's a kind of passiveness as well which - which is - which comes from the Mahatma Gandhi days, you know, and in some ways the NIC has perpetuated that as well and....
- J.F. Why do you say that?
- K.N. The - the NIC has perpetuated the - the non-violence - I mean up to now this is like a policy of the NIC, so - and - and like 1981 Gandhi the - and even in '84 around the tricameral elections, you know, there were slogans like from Gandhi to Sewpersadh, you know, things like that, so there is like this kind of, you know, passive resistance or passivity, which I think given the political mood in the country now, is not entirely a positive thing, you know - it - it makes - it puts a kind - I think the Indian community out of touch with the broader reality in the country, which is one of active - actively engaging the system and - and obviously this notion of passive resistance, which I think if people, I mean large numbers of people would still support the passive resistance option now, because I mean it's like a kind of tradition almost, and though I mean the kind of positive thing to - I mean the kind of counter-balancing thing to that is that now there's more activists from within the Indian community that have been convicted of ANC activity in recent years - I mean not - not very many, but like much more than you had in the past.
- J.F. When did you first have that awareness? I was going to ask you when you first heard of Mandela and the Freedom Charter - maybe I should ask that first? And when did you first hear of the ANC, and what was it before to you? Some people said that they heard of the ANC as those people who failed us, the people who tried, that failed and they're now all locked up, and others said they just hadn't heard a thing of the ANC until one day (.....) What was it like for you? Had you heard of it as you grew up (?) did your dad ever mention it?
- K.N. I don't think I heard about it actually - I think the first time I heard about it was in 1980....
- J.F. How did you hear of it in 1980?
- K.N. There was this release Mandela petition that was going round during the boycotts, and then one vaguely heard about, you know, Mandela was the leader of the ANC and that kind of thing and - and then by '81 though, you know, I - you know, I can't trace exactly what it was, but by '81 one was like totally in - in your minds you were totally supportive of the ANC and - and - and also like I mean from '80 once we got involved we - what little we could get to read, you know, we used to read and we used to ask as many questions as possible and, you know, that time I mean there wasn't so much literature around that time 1980, '81, as it's now, you know, '8 - since '84, and ja, but you - I mean you'd find if you were, you know - if you looked hard enough, and even if you -
- In '81, you know, when the - another important thing for me was in May, '81 when the SADF raided Matola in Mozambique the - you see, in 1981....
- J.F. January, '81 - early in '81....
- K.N. Might have been January, '81 - O.K., might have been January, '81, and there was somebody from Meerbank who was killed there, somebody called Krishna Rabilal, and you see, this like was a important thing as well, you know, and....
- J.F. How was it important? Was it a real surprise to you?
- K.N. No, no, just about learning about the ANC - I mean not Rabilal himself, but about the ANC itself, you know, because I mean, you know, even cross-border raids I mean it's not the kind of thing a 15 year old in South Africa is concerned about, you know.

K.N. And then you - you heard of people being killed and somebody that just lived in Meerbank, which is just round the corner, got killed in this, and then it - ja, it - it like sort of put you on the side of the ANC and they were people that were fighting the government, and you are somebody who's fighting the government, so you were in the same camp basically and, ja.

J.F. I'm really interested in tracing this - did it mean something that it was also Krishna that was killed, that it was an Indian that was a guy from an Indian community?

K.N. I think ja, it must have made an impact, you know, because I - I know I - I've quoted that several times in - in trying to recruit people for mass legal organisations, earlier days especially, you know....

J.F. Saying what then?

K.N. Like I mean, you know, if people had to say ah, the ANC are a bunch of people who are terrorists, you know, and then I would say ja, if I was speaking to an Indian person, which would be like nine and a half times out of ten (Laugh) - then I would like explain about Krishna Rabilal, because I made a point of then finding out, you see, his history - so then I'd say ja, but I mean look at this guy, who lives just here in Meerbank, you know, this is his history - he was genuinely fighting for the people, he was involved in the Meerwent ex-student Society, he was involved in the Meerbank, you know - there was a struggle against bus fares and stuff like that - he was engaged in a whole range of community projects that were worthwhile, you know.

And I say well....

J.F. Ex-student society?

K.N. Ja, meaning people who are - who have finished school - ja, so I've - I mean it - it's been very - very, very important thing, you know, but I - I'm sure it - it had an impact, because I think it might be more also geography as well, you know - I mean it's somebody from just round the corner, but I think it would have been - it definitely would have had less impact if it was somebody from Umlazi, I think.

J.F. Is that because people thought maybe well, ja, they say that there's Indians in it, but are there really any or are they really embraced, or it says ANC, do they really want Indians? Was there that fear - when people said : Oh, it's a bunch of terrorists - did anyone ever say : Ja, they're (?) ANC, but do they want us, are we part of it? Was there any - I ask people especially in the Coloured community, because in the Coloured community they can't think of any - they can hardly think of any Krish Rabilals. They've just had so fewer, and neither the Coloureds I've interviewed have never heard of James April and (.....) so I'm always interested how you come to say as an Indian that Mandela's my leader. Were there ever any adults or older people that kind of would say (?) basically Mandela can't (?) be my leader because (?) he's African? It doesn't matter then to you as a young person who's finding out things and (?) there's this Indian guy living with the African people working with them, being a commander or whatever having respect, he just happens to be Indian, he's also - not even (?) he's also black, because there's also whites. It's progressive people. That whole awakening, I'm just wondering how important things like Krish Rabilal were to you and did people actually ever indicate that they had trouble seeing Mandela as their leader, or the ANC as the organisation, because he was African?

- K.N. Ja, I mean definitely I mean all the time you'd come up against people who would - who would say that, but somehow - you see, the other thing about the ANC as well is that some people don't really read it as the African National Congress as such, you know - they read it as the ANC, which - which is a difference in a sense that it is an organisation which stands for certain things, you know, and the - the A in the ANC I'm not so sure that it's - it's so important to people - I'm not saying that it is - is not important, but I'm saying that when people reject the ANC, it's possible that, you know - I think also the question of like the way the government has portrayed the ANC as being violent terrorist, you know, the - the - and I think that for many people is probably a more important....
- J.F. Indian people (.....) passive?
- K.N. Ja, I think that that - that's probably....
- J.F. But did it mean anything to you that after the Kabwe conference - did you hear that Aziz Pahad and....
- K.N. Mac Maharaj.
- J.F. Mac Maharaj, that there were two Indians on the NEC?
- K.N. Ja, I mean....
- J.F. Was it discussed and was it important?
- K.N. Not really - I don't know, but by that stage in '85 it - it wasn't of particular I mean....
- J.F. You didn't use it to talk to other people and say....
- K.N. No, because you - from - from before, you see - from earlier we - we would - we would speak in gen - I mean Yusuf Dadoo was was the vice, chair - vice-chairman of the ANC revolutionary council, right - I mean - I mean we knew that AN - there were Indian people in the ANC and we would like use that fact, and it was just that now we could use two names which were more concrete, you know, and I think it has helped - it has helped to - to - to speak of high profile people because I mean Aziz and Mac now are quite sort of front people and - and the - I mean Mac's had articles in the paper about him, you know, profiles and stuff, and I'm sure Aziz has had in the Transvaal as well, so it has - it has definitely helped organisation, and I would maintain that it's important that it must be exploited to its fullest, because failure to exploit it to its fullest would - would mean that we not taking into account the extent to which the state has managed to in a sense poison the consciousness of our people and - and I don't think there's anything sort of immoral or not nice about actually, you know - I think an ANC pamphlet aimed at so-called Indian areas in - in - in South Africa just highlighting the role of people of Indian backgrounds in the ANC for the last so many years, you know, just highlighting that just in terms of education, because I mean these are people's leadership and they must know their backgrounds and things like that I - you know, I think would be a positive thing, you know, and similarly with James April and Reg September - Reg and - what's the other guy's name?
- J.F. There's only one Coloured on the ANC, it's Reg September.
- K.N. Oh, O.K., well, ja, you know, I - I think it, you know, if - if it can have an impact, and I think it will have an impact because I mean from the point people are born, if they are shaped in a particular way, it must, you know, have an impact - the - people will see it as being closer (close to) home in a sense, so - but -

K.N. But just like in my - in - for my own self I don't think it - it had any special meaning for me, you know, for my own perception of, you know - of the ANC - I don't, you know - what I'm saying - I'm saying that the election of Aziz and Mac wasn't of any particular significance to me, you know - I wouldn't - it would be, you know, if Sonia Bunting and Brian Bunting were more efficient than Mac and Aziz, I'd just as well have them there.

END OF SIDE ONE.

J.F. We were talking about - you said if Sonia and Brian Bunting were on the NEC that would be - if they were more efficient - but I'm saying have you ever had in your experience that it has been a factor? I guess I'm really coming back to....

K.N. No, I - I'd say like - I'd say it was much more a factor when Richma Rabilal got killed in '81, you know, but I - I'd say that by 1985 I mean I'd like to - I think it - you know, by then you've - O.K., on campus, for example, you know, you - you are with student activists of, you know, different backgrounds and I mean you meet some, you know - and then you see things just in terms of efficiency and, you know, in - and I mean where people are coming from in terms of - of race is - is irrelevant, you know, but I'm saying that ja, in '81 it was much more of a factor I think when Krishna Rabilal died than by 1985, plus by then you, you know - you've seen the UDF launch, you've seen at least a few non-racial campaigns and - and I think one develops and - and in a sense it - it's a positive thing that one graduates out of the indoctrination, you know, that - that you've been through, but there's also I think a danger in that that you must not forget where you've come from, you know.

You know, you must not forget from - from what your own consciousness was, you know, because then you unable to relate to other people that still have the consciousness that - from - from where you coming and - and in a sense you can - the - there is I think an inherent danger of leaving people behind, you know, in - in a sense.

J.F. I guess it comes back to the kind of general question I was going to ask, which is why do you need an NIC? Do you think it is necessary? Do you remember the whole debate in '81 when the TIC was founded or re-founded, that there was a lot of criticism - it was about '82 - of why - what's the necessity of having this ethnically based organisation?

K.N. Well, I mean I look forward to the day when there won't be a need for an NIC, and I hope that - that it's like around the corner, you know, and - and I think at very many times I - I've felt that, you know - I've just like felt we should maybe do away with it even at this point, you know, and though I must say that I'm persuaded by the fact that there are lots of people that still at this point - still perceive themselves as - as people with - you know, who are Indians and it - I - I can have sympathy with - with the view that it's important to still retain it for a - a longer period of time, but I must say that at - at times I - I - I wonder - the question always arises I think, how long and - and at which point would we be able to really assess and, you know - and say well, O.K., now we've - we've reached a stage where we can get rid of it, and I - and it concerns me that I don't think there's sort of any clear cut criteria as to what is that situation which would say that ja, we can get rid of the I in NIC and -

- K.N. And I - I think it would be a good thing that, you know - I think it would be better for the cause of non-racialism when in fact eventually we are in a position to do away with the Indian tags, but I think in this period as - so long as there are lots of people, or the majority of the people that still see themselves as being Indian, I think it - it is sort of in a sense necessary to retain the label for a period of time.
- J.F. Can you tell me, do you think there are actually instances where (.....) that people actually wouldn't have been involved except through the NIC? That they wouldn't have come into UDF but they would have come into NIC? I think that's what needs to be emphasised to make (.....) importance.
- K.N. Ja, in fact I - I would think that most people would have still got involved even if it wasn't - the people that eventually got involved - and ja, that's my view - I think the I in the NIC did not really contribute to those people that became actively involved in struggle, but I think where it's supposedly more important is - is for those people that won't - won't necessarily get actively involved in struggle but who would like at least follow the line, for example, don't vote, you know, that - that it's more important for people at a rank and file level rather than those people who get actively involved.
- J.F. But what does that have to do with it? Is it the kind of the trappings and the symbols that make them feel kind of comfortable or....
- K.N. You know, in - in....
- J.F. How can you actually argue it? What is it? What do you mean?
- K.N. In reality, you know, I mean there's no - there's not much difference really - what I'm saying is like there's no distinct UDF Indian branch, so to speak, you know - I mean if an NIC pamphlet comes out, O.K., it would have NIC on it, but I mean it's not - like 80 percent of it would be general, you know - it won't be peculiar to - I mean I think - no, that's probably an exaggeration, but very often they were pamphlets that would come out that - that would not be peculiar to Indian people, you know - it would be like general pamphlets but with like maybe, you know, in terms of which leadership people would be portrayed in it it would be probably, you know, high profile NIC people, for example, and there's no - I think there's no real kind of strong differences like, you know, in terms of symbols or anything, and I mean now like green, black and gold is the same colours and are used in - and (?) the same in terms of the programme of (?) the Freedom Charter in terms of - I mean most of the things are in common with the ANC, so there's no real differences in - in terms of what symbols are used.
- J.F. Let me take it back to what you were talking about, and we got up to you going to university, and then I took you back to these other questions. I actually have a lot of other questions, but why don't we go further and then we can go back at the end again, but - so you were expelled from school, you went back to school, you quit yourself and you got your - you matriculated through night school and then taking the....
- K.N. National Senior Certificate.
- J.F. And then you went to university....
- K.N. '83.
- J.F. Why did you go to university? Where did you go and why and was it - how did you - was it easy to get in?
- K.N. Ja, it was - strangely enough for law there - there's no - the only re-
 quirement is you must have a exemption, you know, matriculation and -

K.N. And it was fairly easy to get in I mean - you just went there and it was sort of quite easy, and my father was able to take alone (?) and - and he paid for the - for the three - three years which I did law and - and at one stage I mean when I - when I finished immediately I was questioning whether I should go to university at all - I felt it was a bit of a luxury and stuff like that, and I mean it wasn't - my natural impulses was to do it, and also there was also the question of us trying to - I mean it was bec - it had become politically important for us to continue with our education because we, you know - because of this whole vibe that was created about the only reason that we were involved in boycotts and stuff was because we weren't keen, but also I was quite keen on - on - on sort of doing law and I thought that that would be politically useful, but there was a - when I had completed initially I wanted to - I was considering like maybe not going to university and working full time, but there was not real sort of options at that point in 1980 for me - '83 - I wasn't very skilled or anything and -

And I mean university turned out to be an extremely important learning experience - I didn't learn much academically, but just in terms of interaction with people from student organisation, from struggles that were waged on campus, one learned a lot of lessons from those things, and 1983 I was largely un - uninvolved on campus itself because by then I was actively involved in the communit - in the community - we were setting up street committees in Chatsworth in the community where I lived

J.F. In '83?

K.N. '83, ja....

J.F. What was the impetus for that?

K.N. Ja, in - in the road that - that - the road above the road I live the LAC member, the local government member lived in, and at that stage in '83 there was only the youth organisation, which I was the president of..

J.F. Which was called?

K.N. Helping Hands - I had, you know, from '80 I was involved - and then the LAC member was harassing people in the street in - in which he lived - kids who were playing soccer and stuff like that, he was calling the cops to get them arrested because it was a hindrance to him the - the ball kept going to his house and things like that, you know, and plus there the LAC guy had like got the city council to come and put a special drainage system on his side of the road (Laugh) and not on the other side of the road, so it was quite blatant for the people in his road about how he was misusing his position and things like that and ja, there was whole range of other things that he had done to antagonise the people in his road.

So those people approached me as a president of the youth organisation to - to take up this issue, and they wanted to come out with a campaign calling for his release - calling - calling for his expulsion, so we saw this as an ideal opportunity for the setting up of a civic structure, because we didn't have a civic structure, so then what we did was the residents from that road and the road in which I lived in, we called a meeting of these two streets and we set a - we formed a committee at that meeting known as the Bayview Residents Association Steering Committee, and Bayview is the section in Chatsworth where I live, and that committee resolved that we would consult with people in every street in Bayview about whether we would form this association or not, and we would set up committees in each street.

K.N. So most of '83 this meeting took place on the 17th. March of '83 and - and this involvement in the civic association and the youth structure then like took up all my time for - I gave that priority, and student organisation on campus, wherever I could fit in I would fit in, you know, but because I was involved in a integral way in both those processes in the youth and the civic structure, I opted not to get involved immediate, you know, in a high profile way on campus.

Ja, but this - unfortunately the street committee I mean it was quite a difficult thing to have done in '83 and in that kind of community, you know - it's not like - but we had - it took us like three months before we launched the Bayview Residents Association - we had meetings in every single street in Bayview, consulted with - with people, and eventually we were able to launch after that process, you know, the Bayview Residents Association, which is one of the strongest civics in the Indian community nationally.

J.F. Is it?

K.N. Ja....

J.F. How big is it?

K.N. Well, in - I mean at the launch we had like about - in terms of reps we had about 102 - about 100 - about 100 reps....

J.F. People?

K.N. Ja, as people who were reps, street reps, but now since then it's - it's fizzled down and - and now I'm not even sure how - how strong it is, but it's still sort of functioning - we now have a advice office as well - somebody's employed and working full time.

J.F. And how do you pay that salary?

K.N. OXFAM I think is funding it (?) - it's off the record - there's something known as NACAA, the Natal Advice Centre Coordinating Association or something, and NACAA funds all these advice centres in Natal and they've got some foreign funding.

J.F. And why do you say it's one of the biggest nationally in the Indian....

K.N. No, at - at one - at - at a point it was like functioning - I mean it was like - like I mean we had about five committees, we had a women's section, which was operative, and we were like - we had - plus Bayview is divided - I mean we divided the area into six zones eventually, right, even as late as last year - beginning of last year we had the area divided into zones, and the zones were - had their own (?) sort of organisational efforts, and unfortunately there were not many areas that were engaged in that work, you know - other areas weren't involved on a day to day level, or anyway I don't know of other areas.

J.F. And that idea of street committees back in 1983, where did that come from? Had you heard of street committees from the Eastern Cape or was it just a group in the street, or was it like the street committees that started coming out?

K.N. Well, it was before the Eastern Cape street committees thing - it was because there were two streets literally, so - so it was like we had these two streets, so it was a street committee, right....

J.F. You called them that?

K.N. We called them street meetings, O.K., but we didn't call them - we - and we called - we had the term street reps, right, because every meeting we would have people who would say that they'll be street reps, O.K., and we had the idea that the street - people in the street will meet as committees, right, but I can't say that the street committees was like how it is known now - I can't - I didn't think it ever was like that, but we had the idea of like consulting with people at the grassroots and people having reps who could - who they could raise issues with and stuff like that, but it I mean - unfortunately it - it - it didn't develop as well as we would have wanted it to and - and there's still lots more work that needs to be done.

J.F. So '83 you were mainly in the....

K.N. In the community - well, Chatsworth, plus I mean I was involved in other things as well, and plus I was - I was also still involved in the youth - in the youth section, and like in '83 we - we - we started a - an athletic club as a means to draw young people into organisation, and that was like - and I also joined SACOS that year, and I was involved in the amateur athletic association of Natal, which is a SACOS affiliate.

J.F. Had you (.....) joined SACOS before?

K.N. I had been sort of involved as a - as a athlete, you know, but not as an activist, or not as an administrator, because in '83 the - I was like one of the reps of the youth organisation at the provincial athletic level, and then I became more sort of involved in - in SACOS structures as such, you know, and then like by '84 I was the vice-president of the amateur athletic association of Natal and I - I like managed - I was a manager of the cross-country team that went up to Paarl - the Natal cross-country team that went up to Paarl and....

J.F. Paarl in the Cape?

K.N. In the Cape, ja - and in 1985 in April I went up to Port Elizabeth for the track and field championships as a manager as well.

J.F. And what was your motivation for getting involved in that?

K.N. Well, we saw sport as an important means of organising in Chatsworth especially, because - and athletics in particular because there was no athletic club in the whole township, and there was lots of people wanting to participate, so the formation of the athletic club was an important thing, and we succeeded in drawing whole lots of people - I mean some of the people that are quite actively involved in - in - in even political struggle now certain - certain people actually came in on the athletics thing - I mean there's - I mean I can - I can think of a lot of people that came in because of athletics, you know - that was the first relation with Helping Hands, the youth organisation, and then the - from there they moved on to more social involvement and then to political involvement, so -

And then the other kind of getting involved in all the other sort of broader athletic things, it was important to do that because at that point I was hoping to try to - I thought we might have the energy to play a role within SACOS itself, but it just was not possible because by '84 I was drawn into the student movement on campus around the 1984 boycotts, and then after that it was like difficult to - to maintain both, and plus 1984, '85 there's a children's home in Chatsworth known as the Lakehaven Youth Centre....

J.F. The what?

K.N. The Lakehaven Youth Centre.

J.F. Lakehaven, is that one word?

K.N. Ja, one word - and I went into - looked after the boys at the home - there were ten boys, and I - I went in in '84, so it was almost like a full time thing - I used to go to university, the boys used to go to school - I used to come back from university, boys come back from school and I used to organise the homework programme and see that they had food to eat and that kind of thing, and it was quite a task actually managing, because it was - when I think about it now it was - I don't know how I managed to keep everything going, because I was at university, I was involved in student struggle, student organisation, and in the community I was still involved in the youth and civic work.

But being in the children's home, which was right in the heart of the community there, you know, the - I was staying the (?) more poorer (?) section of the community was important - was - was good in the sense that I was - had - I was able to have - be able to play a role from an immediate position, you know, because I was there most of the time - what was the question again?

J.F. How did you get into the children thing? Did you just volunteer?

K.N. Well, the - I knew the boys that were - were in the children's home because they were in school with me, and in 1981 when I was expelled one of the boys (Interruption) - ja, so - and - and when I was expelled from school in '81 one of my - one of the boys from the home was expelled with me as well, so I - I knew the home and I knew the place, and then the guy that was running the home was somebody that was involved in - in - was broadly involved in some political work as well, so I knew him, so he was actually leaving the home - he was getting married, I think, and he said I should come and take his place kind of thing, and it wasn't a job that paid - it was like 100 rand a month and it was - initially I went in with somebody else, two people - two of us were running, and eventually the other guy left after a couple of months, and I continued to run it, but I mean the home is administered by the Durban Child Welfare Society, and I had to sort of apply officially and that kind of thing, and I was - I mean one of the boys was older than me actually - I was 19 that time, and Jude (?) who is now in prison, was older than me, three months older than me, and I was there '84, '85.

Ja, it was like sub-committee meetings and stuff, you know, where there's few (?) people - we used to have it at the children's home (?) and which - which made it possible for me to do both things, you know - I could easily keep my eyes on the boys and if we had a meeting in my room, it was sort of quite easy to organise, and plus we don't have access to venues just like that, you know, so it was a consideration.

J.F. And you were left on your own?

K.N. Ja, no, I was in charge of the place, but people used to come like every week and I - the social workers used to come and I had to give them reports and stuff like that, and we used to discuss the boys' progress and - and discipline problems etc.

J.F. The one that's in prison, what's he in prison for?

K.N. ANC activity - he was - on 21st. August, 1984 the police raided the home, children's home, looking for me, and Jude - his name is Jude Francis - that stage Jude was quite politically aware but not very politically active, but he was also - I mean whenever there was a chance he would get in - he used to be - he used to help quite a bit whenever the - - there was a - but he wasn't involved in any structures.

K.N. So the police had behaved quite pathetically when they came in, you know, they were - I think one guy was a bit drunk - they burst into the children's home and the boys were watching A Team on television - just put it off and they started swearing them and asking them where I was and stuff like that, and then Jude tried to - Jude is a very, very quiet and, you know, very, very nice person, but very, very cool person, you know, and you know, when you have people who are very, very cool, when they get angry they really get angry, so like they just like drove Jude to get really angry and they couldn't control him - he like - they tried to arrest him - he just went wild basically - he - apparently he ran for bush knife and stuff like that, and they couldn't even arrest him - they had to call the ordinary SAP - the special branch came and had to call the ordinary SAP to arrest him.

They eventually arrested him and they kept him in prison for two days, and they released him on 300 rand bail, and charged him with abuse of language, assaulting a policeman and resisting arrest - and then when Jude came out he was still - like he used to come for more the like demonstration type things, you know - every demonstration he made sure that he was there, and he used to come for Helping Hands meetings and yes (?) - I remember on his birthday on 28th. November of '84 we were - was it '84 - ja, we were chasing the - there was an LAC election again and we were - we were chasing these guys in - in the cars (Laugh) who were going round and picking up people to vote, you know - we were driving round in the cars, but like ja, he was involved quite a - well, quite a bit, and the next thing just happened when he first got arrested 21st. August, 1984 - the next thing he was arrested on 21st. January, 1986, and he hasn't been out since - he was held under Section 29 for couple of months, and then he was charged with having been recruited into MK and having been in possession of limpet mines and having played a role in the I think bombing of the Chatsworth Courthouse and Rajbansi's house, and he's now serving a six year prison sentence on Robben Island.

J.F. So how long were you with the children's centre?

K.N. Two years.

J.F. '84 to '5?

K.N. Mmm.

J.F. Why did you leave that?

K.N. There's a whole range of reasons - one was that it was difficult to maintain both (.....) - there were demands being made on me in terms of political work, and very often I had to say no because sometimes like the boys had to be put first, you know - sometimes I couldn't do certain things because I had to make sure that the boys - you know, I couldn't like just take off on a conference, for example, and leave the boys, you know, so that was that kind of - but it was a ongoing thing on a day to day level as well, you know - there would be certain meetings that sometimes I couldn't go to because I had to be with the boys - and the other thing was I mean it (?) - but I still used to I mean every now and then make arrangements, get like reliefs and - and get people to cover for me, you know, with the boys, and that in itself was a bit disruptive to the boys, and also I mean the fact that the cops had come there a couple of times by then, you know - '85 I was arrested by (?) cops came home and stuff like that and brought me to search (?) the place and stuff.

K.N. And then one or two boys were - were saying that they were being followed from school by cops and things, and I was just getting a bit concerned about - about that, and in '85 and the cops brought me home they were saying : This place here is like a - a - it's like a beehive and it's going to go up one of these days, you know - and this was in '85 and I left in - I left the place after a couple of months - I mean in fact literally - literally a month - August, September, October - two - ja, well, you can say two months after that I left.

J.F. What were you arrested for in '85 and how long....

K.N. In '85....

J.F. (.....)

K.N. Well, '85 we organised this demonstration on - in central Durban - it was quite a good demonstration - it was like historic - it was the first time in - in I don't know how long actually in centre of town on a Friday - it was UDW, University of Natal Medical School and COSAS, and I got arrested - 21 of us were arrested there - and then I was released on bail - I was out on 200 rand bail, and then - this happened on a Friday, and on the following Tuesday that - the demonstration was a protest against the state of emergency, which wasn't operative in Natal, and also in solidarity with Victoria Mxenge, so we then - ja, then on that Friday I was released on bail, and Tuesday in Chatsworth we organised a very successful demonstration with about 150 people on the highway, you know, on the main sort of highway, and there's this, you know, Black Sash type demonstrations, where people hold placards and stand distance away from each other, which is like legal.

So we had this kind of demonstration like there was like 150 people, and it went on like, you know, for - for quite some time, and even though it was legal, the cops just came and broke it up and - and they took me away - I went to say that it was legal (Laugh) the - I was like the second person in the demonstration, so I went up to them and said no (?) this demonstration's legal - they said : Shut your mouth and get in the car - so then they had me in the police station for couple of hours and then they - they said they were going to keep me for a long time - they said they were looking for me for a long time and stuff, and I told them : Please, you know, if you'll do that you'll be doing me a favour - they said : Why - I said : No, tomorrow there's a meeting on campus to reassess whether the boycott continues or not, and if you'll keep me in the boycott'll definitely continue (Laugh) - they released me, but before they released me they took me to the children's home and they searched the children's home, and they took me to my house and they searched my house, and it was quite nice, you know, the - the boys in the children's home - like the cops took me to the children's home and then they were taking me away, and the boys didn't know that there were - that I was going to be released - I too didn't know that I was going to be released at that stage, but - but like while they were searching, the boys went to cook their (?) like made a bunny chow - you know what's a bunny chow.

They made a bunny chow, and like when I'm going they tell me : Hey (... ..) here's your bunny chow (Laugh) (... ..) boys, they were like really part of - I mean they were deep I mean - I - I was really close to all of them, you know - I mean I had - they were my life really for those two years, and I learned - I mean I learned so much from them, and I also learned to be more tolerant with people and - and I mean they taught me a lot, especially people like Jude and - and some of the sort of older boys, and also they'd been through quite a bit in their short lives, you know, terms of being abused by their parents or being orphaned at a young age and having to cope, and it just sort of - you drew a lot of strength from that and - but it was difficult.

- K.N. It was difficult handling that situation because I mean there were ten boys, different personalities and me (?) and I - I was laaitie myself - I mean I was just about 19, and the boys were like from 13 to 19, you know, but it would've been lovely if it was - if you were able to like have an integrated home in terms of races - I mean it was just like - Billy Nair came and visited.
- J.F. Really?
- K.N. Ja, that was like one of the - one Christmas night he was down the road - (.....) was there when I picked him up and I brought him in and came, and the boys like - that was a big talking point for the boys for some time - this is....
- J.F. Because he was so famous?
- K.N. Ja, like I mean I remember one of the boys, when Billy was gone he said: Hell, our father came (Laugh)
- J.F. How old were the boys?
- K.N. 13 to 19.
- J.F. Were they all orphans?
- K.N. No, in South African children's homes generally only two percent of the children in children's homes are orphans - the rest are there because of alcoholic parents, parents are unable to maintain them like financially, and also because of abuse, you know, just parents unable to - neglect - more like parents have their own problems and just neglect their kids, and also it's used as a sanction to remedy the - the taking - the institutionalisation of kids is sometimes used as a remedy to - to get - sorry, as a sanction to - to get parents to sort of tension up, so to speak.
- J.F. But saying we'll bring the kids and leave them (?) at the home until you get....
- K.N. Ja, when you get right you get your children back.
- J.F. So did any of the kids see their parents?
- K.N. Oh, ja, some of them did, ja.
- J.F. But they were all Indian children?
- K.N. Ja, that's what I was saying, that it would have been better if it was more integrated, because as - I mean it would have been a very good experience in terms of just learning, you know.
- J.F. What was your position?
- K.N. I was referred to as the counsellor.
- J.F. The counsellor, meaning you councelled them?
- K.N. Ja.
- J.F. But you weren't director or anything?
- K.N. No, but you see, this was a - a subsidiary home, like a branch, you know - the head office was about 25 kilometres away, and this was just a - was a wing almost - it was like the youth wing of this children's home - it was like for boys kind of thing.

- K.N. So the director was at the main head office, but I was the only person there, and the only other person was a lady that used to come in and cook during the days, on week days.
- J.F. So you went to UDW, you spent the first year mainly doing the home stuff, and then got into student politics in '84 (.....) '83?
- K.N. Mmm.
- J.F. Were you in any position in student politics?
- K.N. In '84 no - oh, ja, '84 there was this structure that was formed to co-ordinate the - the boycott effort, the anti-election committee....
- J.F. Anti-election committee for the tricameral?
- K.N. Ja, and I was on that committee.
- J.F. As just a member or the executive?
- K.N. Well, I was - it wasn't a formal structure - it was kind of informal, but I was one of the five sort of high profile people involved in it - it was basically the committee that headed the boycott, you know, who led the boycott of 1984.
- J.F. Did you have any trouble academically that year (.....)
- K.N. Ja, I wrote - oh, in '83 though, the year before, one day before I wrote exams the cops started - looked for me on November 2nd., 1983 - it was the day before the referendum for the white election, the cops hit my house down (?) but I was studying at my friend's place, and then I mean I still wrote exams, but I didn't go home for that period, you know, until my exams were over.
- J.F. (.....)
- K.N. No, I said I still wrote my exams, but I didn't go home for that period, you know.
- J.F. To the home?
- K.N. I didn't go to my home - '83 I was still at home - '84 ja - but '84, ja, no, I didn't - oh, but '84 I - I had to go into hiding for a period when they came home, you know, on 21st. August - I think I only hid for one week, and after that I - I just went back.
- J.F. To the boys' home?
- K.N. Ja.
- J.F. Wasn't it difficult to (.....) at the centre?
- K.N. It was very difficult - it meant like running the children's home from not being there, which was almost impossible, so I mean I - I stayed away for about a week - I mean I used to go in, dive in and dive out kind of thing, and then after that I just said hey, it's too difficult (Laugh) I rather just - so I went back and they didn't arrest me - they didn't even come again.....

- J.F. So far with your stuff at high school and then now at UDW and everything you've been talking about, was it just working with other Indian people politically?
- K.N. In the community, ja, definitely - on campus it's predominantly an Indian campus as well, but there were - but on campus there were other people involved - I mean there were lots of - not lots but there were a large - a fair amount of African students....
- J.F. At UDW?
- K.N. Ja.
- J.F. In departments like medicine and where they were allowed?
- K.N. Well, no, some of the other departments as well - I mean they allowed a few - and now it - it's actually on the increase - I mean there's - there's more African students now, but like on the SRC there were - and - and also on AZASO, now SANSCO, there were quite a few African students - in fact I think the majority of the AZASO members were African students at UDW, so - and then in the youth - and plus I - I was involved in youth coordination work in Natal in - in Durban, through Diakonia in the youth forum, and there there were groups that were not from the Indian community - they were groups from Coloured and African communities as well, so there was that kind of involvement as well.
- J.F. Tell me a bit about that kind of situation, both in terms of just relating socially and in terms of organising politically. I remember way back when you were talking about being at the factory where your father worked, they had separate facilities for Africans and Indians and obviously separate for whites, only you didn't mention (.....) but were the Indians and Coloureds supposed to be in the same bathrooms or were there no (?) Coloureds there?
- K.N. There were.
- J.F. So they were together?
- K.N. Ja.
- J.F. What are relations - if you grow up in Chatsworth do you ever mix with Coloured people?
- K.N. Not really I mean, but it's - I mean there is Wentworth, which is the major Coloured area, which is not far, and in - next to Wentworth there's Meerbank and there's quite a bit of interaction there, but otherwise I mean I - I've - my Coloured friends who I met were through political organisation, political work, through whether it was a youth organisation, for example, you know, so that's how I - I - and on campus there were a few students, but really I didn't really - you know, it - it's not something that would happen very easily, because the chances you have to meet are like maybe on campus, right, where there are Coloured students as well as Indian students, and the other chance that I had was on the youth coordinating structure, where there were people from Wentworth and - mostly Wentworth, and like Janet and Greta Apelgren were involved in that....
- J.F. Is that her sister Janet?
- K.N. Ja.
- J.F. So what's it like - I'm just interested because (.....) every area it's different (.....) but what is it like from your experience in the Durban area in terms of relations between Indians and Coloureds? Is there just so little contact? What are the kind of myths about the different groups? Why isn't there more mixing?

J.F. They're both kind of lumped together for practical reasons, and yet - would Indian people feel that they're brought up in a way that they're Indian and that Coloureds very different just as Africans different? What's your experience then?

K.N. Ja, I - I think there's a I mean fair amount of myths I think that exist and I think people see - Indian people I think would see Coloured people as more outgoing and, you know, much more freer and, you know, the - for the Indian people I think there's a greater degree of reservedness generally speaking now and - and also I mean just by the fact there's no interaction, or little interaction, there's bound to be like - because of the absence of interaction, I think there's bound to be misconceptions and myths that - that - that arise - I - I don't - I'm not sure of what (Laugh) - the way Coloured people would perceive (.....) but I think - though I mean if you - if you wanted to ask me whether an Indian person, generally speaking, would find it easier to relate to a Coloured person or an African person, I would say it would - they would find it easier to relate to a Coloured person - I mean one of the main reasons I would think is - or I mean I don't know whether it's the main reason, but a major reason would be language that - that people speak the same language, whether it's I mean - lot of African people do not speak English and a lot of Indian people do not speak Zulu, right, so I think the language barrier is quite a important.

And then in terms of political restrictions African people suffer much more than both the Indian and Coloured communities suffer - I mean there's I mean pretty much a similar kind of political realities for the Indian and Coloured communities at local government level, at central government, and though I mean it's argued that the Indian community's kind of second class and Coloured community's third class, because if you look at expenditure on education, for example, it's like, you know, little more for Indian people than it is for Coloureds, so I think for those that's another factor that would make interaction between - or - or - or kind of common - an area of sort of commonness as such, you know, the - the fact that politically they're restricted to more or less the same level or - or the political realities are more or less the same.

And the third factor I think that in a sense is - is common is both the Indian and Coloured communities are in a sense in the Natal context are in a sense minorities, as compared to the African community and - and I think the Coloured community in that sense won't be perceived in general terms by Indian people as being a threat as such - and the fourth kind of historical reason is that I mean this 1949 thing I mean is a important thing in - in especially the older people's whole (?) kind of thinking and consciousness and ja, so it wasn't - I mean they see (?) 1949 thing as simply a question of problems with the African community and - or sections within the African community and - and that didn't happen with Coloured people, so that's another reason why they would be able to, I think, find it easier to relate to Coloured people.

So I mean what I'm - what I've been doing for the last couple of minutes is just looking at and developing this argument as to why I think that it would be easier for Indian and Coloured people - or - or Indian people to see them - will (?) find it easier to relate to Coloured people than they would to African people, but the - I must like say that I'm not saying then that the question of the relationship between Indian and (?) Coloured people is roughly (?) given and it's - it's - it's easy and it - it happens - I think by and large I mean the basis (?) I can think of there is still a very minimal degree of interaction - I mean it happens in certain - I mean there's socials - in social circles, ja, right - I mean some people who work together - you see, work - place of work is a important point of kind of intersection - in many cases it's the only point of intersection because I mean people work in the communities, right.

K.N. They take a bus from Chatsworth to town where they work and - and they take a bus from Chatsworth back, I mean that's it for them, right, and when they there at work, depending who they work with - if they work with African people and they make friends, then that is their connection, right - that's the only chance they really have to make that connection - I mean how many people go to university really from the Indian community - not - I mean by far a minority, right, and so - and then again it depends as well the nature of the jobs, I think, that people have - I mean if somebody's a foreman and lives in Chatsworth, his relationship with people from other communities would be one of dominance, you know, one where he'd be a dominating factor, and I suppose there the relationship would be an unfavourable one, but I think there are - I mean there are various instances, but what I'm saying is - or there are various instances where people meet at the factory and - and develop relationships, you know, with Coloureds and -

And what I said was that it was easier to do it with Coloured people because of the language and all these other things, so - so it happens, but I think it - it's not something that happens easy, and plus I mean there's a whole lot of like practical impediments to the development of good relationships, because if you look at it, right - let's say somebody from Wentworth and somebody from Chatsworth, two working class people, they intersect at the factory and develop the relationship, right - they probably not getting paid much, they probably don't possess a car - Wentworth and Chatsworth is like - there's no direct bus service, right, and you probably have to catch two buses either way, and bus service are not good and stuff like that.

I'm not saying that there are not instances where people do that - ja, people do that, and it's slightly easier with middle class type people, you know, and also, you know, I think with middle class people there would - they'd probably interact at a more different level almost, you know, the lecturers or - or whatever, and they'll have cars and stuff, so there's a different kind of reality operating for them, I would think, but they - they not in the majority, so -

Ja, so there's a whole lot of practical impediments - I mean even if you look at activists I think nationally I mean - a student from the States who - who's living in my house at the moment - his name is Michael Barr - he was at Yale University - he was part of a delegation with Cyrus Vance and some other big names who went to South Africa as part of Yale University to look at the situation there and - and to decide whether they were going to divest, you know, Yale University's this thing (?) and he was saying to me that he met like all progressive types of people and then he said what he found very striking was he had this meal in Johannesburg or Cape Town, I'm not sure - it was a white activist's home and there were all white people there, and he said for him it was like really striking - he knew that he was going to a activist's home, he knew the activist was white, but when he went there somehow it - he found it diffie - difficult to like accept that or - or not accept, but like to kind of assimilate this - this fact, you know, to - to digest it and - and - and there were just like all white people.

And I mean, you know, there again I mean it's very often not - not out of necessarily an - a conscious choice bec - I'm sure that the person there might have had a few black friends, right, who were in the UDF, right, but if he had to issue an invitation, that guy probably lives in a township way, way off where it will be very difficult for him to come to this white suburb and have this meal and - and go all the way back, you know.

- K.N. So I think those practical impediments to the development of genuine social relations across the race divide is an important factor - I think it - it's probably not taken into account, you know, sufficiently but - but it - it's almost like a just a (?) you know - it - it's a big barrier, I think, because I mean it's only natural I mean if you live in - in Chatsworth, which is a massive place as - as - as I live - I mean it's a massive place - I don't know the people who live at the other end of Chatsworth, you know, but it would be natural for you to relate to the people that you can easily visit and the people, you know, you have easy access to, the people that you've grown up, the people you went to school with, that kind of thing, so - and - and - and if you meet somebody outside that - outside that - that context, then you would want to - who you like very much, you would like to relate to the person, but then you come across a whole lot of like different kinds of - of - of impediments to (too) and I - I wouldn't be too surprised that the system had this whole thing in mind, you know, when they planned it - they might not have had it, but it - I think it's a important factor, you know, undermining the genuine chances because ja.
- J.F. So how did you get to know the people you did know, like Greta Apelgren? Was that through....
- K.N. Greta and Janet were on the youth forum, which was a coordinating structure for youth organisations in the early stages in '82, '83 - I was involved in it and they were also, ja - and then again too I mean it wasn't, you know - you'd meet more at meetings, that kind of thing, you know, and usually activists I mean not really - I mean most activists I think were (.....) not really heavy into socialising or don't really have too much of time, you know, so - so you'd meet like at - at meetings or maybe there'd be a - a gumba or something like that, you know.
- J.F. A what?
- K.N. A gumba - a gumba is a kind of a disco kind of thing - it's - it's a different alternative kind of disco (.....) - it's just called a gumba, but people basically do the same thing that other people do at the discos, but it supposed (?) to be progressive (Laugh) - progressive disco - I don't know what's the origination - I think it's a reggae something - I think it's a kind of way where people dance in a circle.
- J.F. Because that's the criticism of non-racialism, that its the leadership, that the TIC and the RNC (?) and the UCC might all come together at an executive committee meeting, but when do they actually mix, but who - what about the (.....) people or (?) the grassroots people, do they ever mix with anyone from out of their (?) race group?
- K.N. I think like, you know, in a progressive way people have - have mixed at rallies, you know, but I mean a rally is like a five hour thing at the most, and then people are forced back, I'll say, into the various compartments, and I mean how can you break out of that with the Group Areas Act really, you know - and I mean if you have - if you want to break out of that, you must have the resources to do it, and O.K., the leadership, you say, are the people that - that are able to do it, ja, that's true because usually the leadership would maybe have access to cars and - and things like that, right, and - and I mean....
- J.F. What about from your perspective from youth, was there - do you think you have a different view? Is there a kind of different view now than ten years ago, or when you see older people, say older NIC leadership in a more - 20 or 30 years older than you, is there any difference, or is it just as compartmentalised as it was?

K.N. I think it's much less so now because if you take like the whole youth section, right, I mean organisationally now we have a non-racial youth organisation, which is South African Youth Congress in Natal, Natal Youth Congress, and - but here again, you see, it - it's not necessarily entire youth community from the Indian section - it would be your politicised elements for sure, who would see things in a much broader context, but I think also I mean the stereotypes that - that people would have, young people, who are not politicised, would be less moulded on - or less sort of ingrained than the parents would have.

I mean, you know (Laugh) sometimes people will say : Some of our parents are far gone, you know, they (Laugh) a dead loss case (?) you may see your (.....) - you may see your (.....) there, there's no hope like, you know, some people would - some people say - and I mean though that's an incorrect position I think to take - I mean you must never turn your back on people, you must try and try, but I think with the youth you definitely can't say that, for sure, because the I mean youth are receptive to new - and that is why it is so important to - to have a strong youth organisation or - or, you know, because if - if youth can be organised early into structures which are able to put across, or inculcate in the youth an alternative set of values, then that being meted out by the state, then there is - I think then a chance at genuine interaction.

This structure I mentioned, the youth forum, I first came in touch with it - it was something that was linked to Diakonia's black development programme, and one of the - the first things - contact I had with - with it was a workshop that I went for, a weekend workshop, and this was expressive - expressly to - one of the main objectives was to break down racial barriers it was called (?) - and you spent this weekend with Indian, African and Coloured youth, and for most of us it was the first time that we slept in beds, where like there was a Coloured person here and a African person here, because - or - or likewise for - for him it was, you know - it was the first time really, because that opportunity doesn't, you know - you know, you don't have that chance all the time.

And then if you involved, you know, at a - as a - as a - you know, if you go for conferences and that kind of thing, then you have that opportunity, but then again that's, you know, leadership people that make it to conferences and stuff, so I think the concern really is that at a grassroots level it's not really happening - I mean in 1985, which was International Year of the Youth, there was this idea that we had about having an exchange programme, you know, where youth from an African community would come and live in Chatsworth and that guy would - would go over, you know, but even if that - it didn't materialise, but even if it materialised, it would have been - and it would have been a good thing, I think, right, but it would have (?) been our - I don't think we'd have been really able to maintain it and involve the kinds of numbers that need to be involved to develop a sufficient kind of genuine non-racialism, but - but it was a worthwhile idea, I think, and - but that's what - what needs to happen, you know, as a sort of kind of initial (?) thing, because assuming - O.K., say like different countries, right, people don't know what - what people are until they (....) you know, inter - you know, interact - I mean you have various kinds of stereotypes, and I suppose with us as well now I mean people are - are almost like different planets apart that - that - that the only way the - they'll develop a genuine deep understanding or acceptance is if there's grassroots interaction.

K.N. And I mean, you know, one can like theorise about it, you know, for hours but - but for it to happen there's like whole range of practical steps need to be taken, and clearly those practical steps are not going to be able to be taken, I think, before - before liberation because the kind of resources that will have to go into that kind of project to make it really effective must have the kind of government that sees it as its objective to do that, you know, in the South African context now.

I mean we can have this kinds of projects that I'm telling you about, you know, but they will be so peripheral it'll involve minimal numbers - I'm not saying that it shouldn't be done - I mean where it can be done it's a good thing, I'm sure it should be done, but I'm saying if one is - seriously hopes to engender a genuine kind of non-racialism, you have to have a government that is, through its ideological state apparatus - is like pushing the question of non-racialism, especially when you take into account that we've had a system that has been disseminating the complete opposite, you know, so I think non-racialism, genuine non-racialism at a grassroots level, you know, where non-racialism means genuine interaction amongst people - in a sense I think that will be totally attained only after there is a genuine non-racial government in power which is - which will have to like really plough home, you know, or - or ram home this set of non - you know, alternative non-racial values, because I mean South African people are human just like any other people - if they've been indoctrinated -

I mean the nazis during the Second World War were - succeeded in indoctrinating the people in a particular way, you know - it wasn't easy for them to break out of that - it took whole Second World War and then only - I mean ja, there were sections of the people that - that - that rejected it, but they were, you know, I mean by and large I mean the nazis had large - I mean the masses of people behind them, otherwise they wouldn't have survived really.

So what I'm saying is that, you know, it's liberation for South Africa (Laugh) or (?) you know, the attainment of one person one vote in a unitary South Africa is the first step really, you know - that that will just in a sense be the commencement of a long process, which I think will take many, many years.

J.F. But given all that you've said - that's almost the kind of point of departure of this project - from whence does this commitment to non-racialism arise? I'm interested in your view because of your age. If I interview Murphy Marobe, he'd tell me about how he went through BC (?) and went through a period, walking down the streets of Jo'burg and pushing whites off the pavement, saying the land belongs to us. They were long - a long phase of BC. There was a phase of kicking out (.....) and separation and all that, and you're saying it's still the same South Africa, there's still no real - anything other than a thin layer of experience of other race groups, and yet you would say you're fervently committed to non-racialism. Where does that arise from for you, or for even someone less politically aware and involved as you, yet they'd still say - if I took a kid who just doesn't have your educational background from Umlazi, he might also say to me probably he believes in a non-racial South Africa, a non-racial democratic future - where does that come from, do you think? Or is it a superficial thing? Is it just an aspect? Is it central?

K.N. No, I think - I think it's not superficial - I think it's very deep, and it stems from a rejection of the situation that we find ourselves in - I mean I think it's a sad thing that we have not been able to share each other's experiences in greater detail and learn from each other.

K.N. And the fact that we've been divided - the existing situation, I know, is a bad situation - I know that I would prefer very much more to have grown up in a much more integrated community, because I would be much richer for myself and - and I think my sort of development would have been much more kind of whole as such, you know - I mean you'd have - you'd have - I think you - from my interaction with other people from, you know - by the few people that I got a chance to meet from other communities outside the sort of so-called Indian community, I mean where - I mean I learned a lot from really, and I know that - I know sufficiently - I'm sufficiently convinced within myself to know that the existing situation is one that I detest, you know, sufficiently to be able to say that given that I detest this reality so much, which is an enforced racialism or a enforced racist set-up, that I can easily say ja, I support a non-racial arrangement because it is an alternative to the existing one, and I mean I think non - I mean racism as well simply does not mean people living in different groups and in different areas - it also means deprivation - you know, it means an unjust political and economic system, more so for black people to various degrees, obviously depending on which group within the black community, and - and ja, for all those reasons it - it's fairly easy to - to see that non-racialism at a political and economic level is a better alternative, and also I mean at a social level as well I think many people would - would see it as - as better to have, you know, just in terms of interaction, but I - I would think that the sort of political level and economic linked (?) level it's more important, because people identify their (?) existing predicament define (?) in terms of whether it is influx control, jobs or - or bad housing, you know - all those things are as a result of an absence of non-racialism, the - you know, the existence of problems with the unemployment, problems with the inferior housing, problems with inferior education system - every impediment to development that black communities in South Africa face, people see it as those things existing because of an absence of non-racialism, right, and I think it is fundamentally it is - you know, that is the fundamental reason why people can find it easy to say that I support non-racialism and -

And I - I'm not trying to negate the fact that people also would like to have an urge to relate to people outside their own physical appearances - I think that is there as well, but I think that's probably secondary, you know - it's secondary to the fact that the political implications of racism, you know, people find it easy to simply say ja, I support a non-racial democratic South Africa because non-racialism means a chance at ridding themselves of all those various impediments that the present racist government actually imposes on them.

J.F. What about just on a very crude level, do you think - did you go through any phase of being anti-white yourself?

K.N. Ja, I think I mean when I got involved in 1980 I mean while we supported the ANC, right, and well, we knew vaguely that there were white people in the ANC as well - like I told you that song that we - that we made in '81 said (?) we will join the ANC and bombard the whites, you know, and - and I mean there was I mean strong antagonisms, but the point is that I - well, O.K., let me preface what I'm saying by saying that definitely I mean when I was 15, 16 there was a strong antagonism - in fact much earlier really, you know, when - like when we used to go to the beach when I was small, you know, there was this place where we couldn't play in the - there was this like funfair where only white kids could go, and I mean it was natural for you to feel (Laugh) bitter about it - I mean you wanted to do it, right - this was like years ago, you know, when I was like a kid, primary school days that I didn't like this - I couldn't understand it, you know, and I can remember my uncle who took us and went there - he was saying - before we got there I can remember him saying : How do we explain it to these kids - I was quite small but I can remember, you know, he -

K.N. Like he was saying : How we going to explain it to the kids that they can't play in it, and do we take them there, you know - they were debating this thing and - ja, and it - well, it's changed now, but ja, it was like I think I might have been seven or eight that time, but it was like this rejection of, you know, you - you saw that you were being deprived of certain things, and also I mean you drive past schools, man, who - which - I tell you the primary school I went to was like a really bad one - it was one of the worst within the Indian community, and the - there's lots of schools even I think within the African community that looked - which were much better - it was like ten classrooms, wood and iron (?).

J.F. What?

K.N. Wood and iron, not - not brick, you know, not brick walls, and had like - it had wooden floors with like big holes all over the place - it had like - it - you know, blackboards like you've seen in the pictures, and the teachers were not very good, and the - like the sportsground was basically about a playing field, which was like about five times the size of this room, which had like stones and stuff in it, and you had like your yearly school sports on that like, you know, and then you'd drive past like - and I mean there was no electricity in the school, and I mean I was in the school for six years, right, and - but all the time you'll drive past schools, like when you go to town - you'd drive past and you'll see schools that were like, you know, but four (?) green playing fields and stuff, and I mean you'll ask, you know, who goes to that school, and always whites - you know, all the good things you - you'd associate with white people and - and, ja, there was that kind of thing, but by -

And I mean as late as '83 I was asking myself questions as well, you know, when the UDF well, you know, Freedom Charter AZAPO split was taking place....

J.F. Freedom Charter what?

K.N. AZAPO, you know - I mean on campus at UDW I mean I was clearly involved in AZASO or a member of AZASO, but you know, you - you had a nagging doubt behind your mind about whether it was worthwhile us having this split amongst ourselves, you know, at the, you know - just for the accommodation of white people and stuff like that - I mean I'm not saying that I was convinced with AZAPO line, I wasn't, but like it wasn't uncommon for one in '8 - you know, as late as '83 for me, which I'm very involved then by three years (?) you know, to - to ask these questions, and I used to ask these questions to people in - in leadership, you know - I used to say, you know, was - is it worth it us, you know - these divisions taking place within the ranks of the black people simply for the accommodation of white.

But by '84, or by the end of '83 I mean I've totally gone beyond the stage of seeing things in terms of - and plus I mean I recognised that - like I mean in Oxford now I meet a whole range of white South Africans - I mean there's like literally tens of white South Africans there - every corner you go you bump into a white South African and - and some of them are progressive - they have been involved a bit back home - others have not been involved at all, and some of them are reactionary, right, and I've clashed with one or two of them at meetings, public meetings in Oxford, but like my guiding principle in relating to them is like - I mean one of the things that I bear in my mind is that these guys have suffered the same policy of indoctrination that all of us have suffered, right, and - and - and I -

K.N. I take that into account with relating to people I mean - I try to, you know - I always accept that there is a - I mean just as it's difficult for other people to break out of their sort of whatever categories they've been put into, I mean it - it's also just as difficult for - for - for white South Afr - I mean in many ways white South Africans are as oppressed psychologically as black South Africans in the sense that they are within them - I mean - I mean they not free in any sense really - they are - O.K., maybe they have material benefits and that kind of thing, but they don't really have any peace of mind whatsoever, I think, or well, most of them don't, I think - I think they always - they have what - what some people call siege mentality or whatever, but - but you know, it - it - it's not easy always though to - to remember that, you know - I mean I think - I think very often that black people have been really really kind to white people, and really patient as well.

I mean I think the ANC has been extremely patient and - and - and too trusting as well, you know - if you take the ANC's from 1912, you know, I mean especially in the earlier period I mean I think the ANC's extremely trusting and - but - ja, I'm just saying now I mean when I relate to - to white South Africans I mean irrespective of whether - you know, I don't usually say where do you stand politically, you know, before I start talking to them - I mean you have to like suss it out obviously, right, but I mean those that I've met who - who are clearly anti or - or not UDF, right, I mean I've - I've - I've - I mean things that they've said which are like anti-UDF or anti-ANC, I mean I don't like immediately want to lash out at them - I mean I take into account what they've been through in terms of their socialisation process, but I mean here again I - I just say that I don't think it's sort of easy to do that all the time.

J.F. To be?

K.N. I mean you can - it takes a lot of energy to - you know, for it to come just spontaneously, you know - I mean what I'm saying is that I - I take that into account all the time by - when relating to people, but I mean you always meet - I mean you come across sometimes (?) real dogmatic, you know, patronising types, you know, who sometimes it's quite difficult to handle - I mean I - I have not got angry or lost my cool with anybody at this stage - I mean I tell you, strangely enough, I've met most number of (Laugh) white South Africans in Oxford, you know, and - and - and I've got a chance to like really relate to them, you know, and I've met some really nice people, you know, some really good people and - and like, you know, there's really a chance (Laugh) in the (?) Oxford is a diff - I mean it's like in a sense a kind of community, and it's like the first chance that I've had to relate outside, you know - live in a really integrated kind of set-up, and ja, but I'm saying that there are as well I think - I have sympathy with - with people that find it difficult to have utmost patience with certain - maybe not necessarily overtly racist, but certain kind of, you know, patronising kind of types, you know, who - who'd like, you know, say ja, no, the government is bad and all that, but - but what you all are doing is like, you know - but, you know, who - who'd be destructive in the kinds of criticisms that they raise of like UDF or ANC or whatever.

J.F. Have you actually - is this the first time for you that you've related to white South Africans.....

- K.N. I've, you know - I've - I've not really had much contact back home - I had one good friend, Afrikaaner guy, Walter Goldenhuys - I met him at - at the - in the back of a police van (Laugh) 21st. March, 1986, last year, ja - we got arrested together in the Sharpeville demonstration - anyway ja, no.....
- J.F. He's a progressive guy?
- K.N. Ja, he - he's progressive - no, I mean like he was one of the persons that helped me when I was on the van and stuff, and like he knew I was hiding and stuff like that, and then there was a few academics on campus, you know, that were really good people, but.....
- J.F. UDW?
- K.N. Ja, there was one guy really (.....)ja - I mean there were - let's see - I mean I can count them really, you know, quite honestly I mean - and there was this guy called Evan - Evangelos Mantsaris, a Greek guy who's (.....) - Evan.....
- J.F. How do you spell his first name?
- K.N. E v a n.
- J.F. He's written on the Coloureds or something?
- K.N. Ja, he's written a couple of things - he's written on the Greeks in South Africa - he did his MA and his doctorate on the Greeks, and anyway like he's a good friend of mine - I mean he's somebody I trust as well I mean to, ja, and he was one of the chaps that like I could borrow his car, for example, you know.
- J.F. Is that a test?
- K.N. No (Laugh) - no, no, what I'm saying (Laugh) - no, I mean like it's not - you have to be sufficiently close to somebody to just say : Can I take your car - he had a terrible car anyway (Laugh) - once I went to pick up Themba Nxumalo (.....) Chesterville - I - I go in - I go into one entrance now - Chesterville has like there's two entrances which have army on both sides, right - I enter this one entrance, the guy asks us where we going - we say no, we going in for Zoll, so guy say : O.K., go in, fetch the Zoll, but make sure you'll come and give us some here - and they let us through, right, myself and another guy, Zandile (?) - so we go in, pick up Themba, when we coming out we go through the other entrance and we get stopped(?) and we like stripped this car (Laugh) and this car had a gear lever that - that didn't have a knob on it and stuff, you know - it was like really a terrible car, but anyway.
- J.F. Is that how you get through roadblocks, you tell the white policemen you'll give them a Zoll?
- K.N. Yes, well, I mean.....
- J.F. And they say O.K.?
- K.N. Well, that - that one time it worked, ja.
- J.F. But you wouldn't worry that they'd try to bust you for that?
- K.N. No, this guy who I was with joked and said, you know, he says why (where) you going, I (?) said : No, I'm going to see a friend, plus I'm going to get some Zoll and stuff and - and you know, if - if they got heavy you could say : No, I was just joking, you know - that's the way it was said.

- J.F. Tell me - you're saying it's basically pretty rare, there weren't many whites that - it wasn't like you were convinced of non-racialism because of the mass of political work you were doing with whites....
- K.N. Oh, no, no, no - ja....
- J.F. And these whites that you got to know, was that after you accepted the non-racialism and....
- K.N. Ja, ja (Interruption)
- J.F. It wasn't that you saw these nice white people or you....
- K.N. No.
- J.F. You'd seen Joe Slovo or something, but it's just - maybe I can ask what answer did you get, or what answer did you arrive at about that is it worth it thing? You were kind of saying : Well, why don't we just merge with AZAPO, what's the point, who needs to push an issue with the whites?
- K.N. Ja - no, I mean then I've also I mean - the question of class as well, you see - I mean I think if one over-focuses on the question of race, you undermine the question of the whole class, the dynamic of the nature of the exploitation, and I mean plus at that point I was beginning to understand a little bit more about the - the whole sort of kind of race/class debate in a sense, and I also got to a point where I felt that - that - that was one thing right, and the second thing was also I felt I mean where you (?) I mean two wrongs don't make a right, and that we weren't struggling to replace one kind of racism with another kind of racism and - and I mean it became clear - and you see, the thing is I mean I might not personally have related to white people, but there were certain figures that you could draw from internally as well - I mean Helen Joseph, Beyers and I - I mean other sort of lower profile people, you know, and I mean clearly this I mean the - the conflict - I mean the good (?) side won out in the conflict was the one which said that clearly we should not make the same mistakes that the white ruling government has made in - and also, you know, the AZAPO position was that no, we not racist or anything - the whites must work within their own community and - which I think is a good thing, right - I'm not saying that is a bad thing in itself - I mean I think it's important that white people must organise in their community, but also they were arguing for the absence of interaction, right, and they would - they said that at the point of liberation we'll all be Azanians and the problem will be solved, right - I've -

At that point I mean I - I felt that unless there's interaction and non-racialism in the way the struggle is waged, I don't think there's even a chance of non-racialism after liberation - I think I mean even - even - I think I mean even after there is one person one vote I mean genuine non-racialism, genuine interaction amongst people of - is not going to be kind of ipso facto obvious kind of situation, you know - I think the hard realities are that there - it's going to be something that we'll have to struggle for, you know, and - and ja, I mean what I felt was that it is important that in the build up of the struggle, in the waging of the struggle, that as far as possible it should be waged in a non-racial manner, so that it'll help the process of liberation along and then at the point of liberation it would facilitate the process of greater non-racialism, you know, afterwards, and that it would be impossible to have a situation where - like I mean if you had to take the argument a little further, assuming that we say that Indian, African, Coloured, white people organise in the separate communities and wage separate battles now, right, and then we'll sieze power and then the four communities will just merge together, I think that's, you know - it - it's not going to happen that way - it - it wouldn't happen.

K.N. I mean even as it is I mean with the UDF preaching a genuine non-racial position, you know, people quite legit - legitimately point out that the interaction, given the peculiarities of South African way of life now with the Group Areas etc., that I mean the interaction very often is - is restricted to the, you know, high profile leadership or - or - or leadership people.

J.F. How do you find that the youth - that young people deal with that? Do they - do you hear much these days people saying is it worth it to accommodate whites, why not merge with NACTU and COSATU, or they seem committed to the non-racial line?

K.N. Well, the kind of youth I would have contact with would be broadly the UDF kind of - and I think ja, I mean, you know - I think, you know, every major political funeral, for example, or - or most of the political funerals and stuff, you find that youth have no problem with - you know, one of the striking things for me was - you know, one of the striking things, for example, was that Cradock funeral, you know, you saw young people carrying Beyers, you know....

J.F. Young black people?

K.N. Ja, and here was this, couple of years ago, Afrikaaner who was in the - well, not couple of years, many years ago, who was in the Broederbond, you know, and here were youth who were accepting him not simply as another white person, but accepting him also as somebody they considered to be part of the leadership in some way or the other, and I think I mean people have developed - I think it's almost amazing really that, you know, people have developed beyond the constraints in which they've been schooled to the point where they've accepted the non-racial position, and I think so long as somebody's known to be somebody who's out to attain a non-racial democratic South Africa, irrespective of whether they white or black, I think they'll be accepted, and I think that's not being questioned really now, and I think by and large it is - it's like a given that somebody who is white and who supports an anti-apartheid position is somebody who'd be regarded as - and you know - you know, plus I mean there's the, you know, this whole question of the people's camp and the enemy's camp, right, and the people's camp is very broad as far as the ANC, UDF identifies it, and I mean somebody like in a sense I mean - IDASA is - is - is - is in a sense being accepted as part of the people's camp almost or - or more or less having half its foot in anyway, right, and I mean IDASA is nowhere near what - what we are about really - I mean they just playing around with the idea of democracy - they've still got to discover it.

And the fact that Eric Molobi can go share a platform with not only IDASA people but also Wynand Malan and other people shows that I mean black people have not in a sense turned - or at least in terms of the UDF leadership or UDF, I mean there's a great amount of patience, I think, and tolerance and - and - and like waiting - like kind of reaching your hand out and saying, you know, can't decide like and - and there's this I think an incredible amount of patience, and if you take the all (?) call to whites campaign, you know, I mean it wasn't as successful as one would have hoped, but the fact that I mean the UDF saw it necessary to have such a campaign I think is a commendable thing and that - that I mean it shows clearly that the UDF regards white people as a constituency and that they're not simply there for individuals from the white community to participate, but white people in general, you know, in an organised way - it - I think ja, it's a fairly - it's fairly clear, I think, that at least from the UDF's point of view the - the genuine endeavours to - to reach out to the white community is definitely there, you know, and I think it's - it's quite sincere and it's sort of now deeply rooted in (?) the fact that people have - have sort of graduated, you know, beyond any form of racism that the state might have indoctrinated in them.

- K.N. You want to hear a - a quick story - I mean this is unrelated - well, this is mostly about (?) what happened during the call to whites campaign, somebody from Johannesburg told me, there was this meeting called in Norwood - you know Norwood....
- J.F. In Jo'burg, ja.
- K.N. And apparently there was like - I mean this is just second hand - the details might be a bit wrong - apparently there was about 300 people attending this meeting, and it was a - a UDF call to whites campaign, UDF meeting in Norwood, and like you had all those people from the platform, UDF people, LACC people, speaking to the people that attended this meeting from Norwood saying well, you know, imagine if it was your children suffering and, you know, having a big focus on children and the problems that they were having with the education, the troops in the township, that kind of thing, but like basically plugging the line like, you know, imagine if it was your children, but it was a very soft approach, you know, and - and the way the meeting was going like people were getting one over - I mean apparently people were saying that - you know, people were shaking their heads, and you could see it was being received in a positive light, but the - apparently at the end of the meeting they called - because there was such a focus on the youth they called a - a speaker from the youth - somebody from the youth to come up and speak, and this guy comes there, he says : I bring you revolutionary greetings from - and he like runs down this whole list of acronyms (?) ECO, SAYCO, SOSCO, SOYCO, and you know, there's a Motlakeng (?) youth congress, Motlakeng students congress - there's a township called Motlakeng - M o h a l a k e n g - and there (their) Mohalakeng students congress apparently spelt itself out to Moscow, and he goes ECO, SAYCO, Moscow (Laugh) and apparently he took these white people there by storm (Laugh) because I mean he - even without Moscow those acronyms would have meant very little to them, given the way people are divided.
- J.F. So you mean he took them by - it kind of....
- K.N. Upset them, I'm sure.
- J.F. What about the kind of line you hear where people who say : Look, that's what you're mouthing now, but Africanism will be - will inevitably re-surge, the brutality of the system will make blacks ultimately want to revenge - carry out revenge on whites, and that there will be an anti-white backlash in the future or you - do you think that's true at all? In the Weekly Mail a while ago Patrick Lawrence had had this whole article about (.....) who wasn't (?) a trade union probably (?) Africanist whatnot, and this was - he was saying the PAC will rise, that ideology has a certain basis in the community. Do you see that at all? Do you hear it talked about at all, Africanism, or do you ever hear among progressive youth anti-white kind of people who've been just detained and badly treated by cops and that kind of thing?
- K.N. I haven't really heard much of it, but you know, people talk of the system, the boers, the - the police, the cops, the Botha, Malan regime, you know - people talk more in those terms now, and the system - you know, people talk about the system as a important kind of categorisation of what they perceive as being the - the force that metes out the injustice and it's - and plus, you see, I mean there's - there's two important things that I think that hope - hopefully militate against that possibility, and that is O.K., the number of white people that have joined the struggle has not been as much as one would have desired, but there have been, in the different regions, a fair amount - or not fair but there've been the presence of certain white individuals that have made a fairly important impact.

K.N. And people I don't think won't forget, you know, Molly Blackburn in the Eastern Cape, Neil Aggett in Transvaal, Rick Turner in Durban, you know, people who've sacrificed their lives, you know, for the struggle, and - and I mean apart from people who have died and there's people who have been involved for a long time, and that - that's one factor, O.K.

I mean now, for example, the role of ECC and also the role of NUSAS I think people won't forget that - I think that - that's one thing that - but I think the second major thing that will militate against that is that I mean what is the system today, if you had to define it - is it simply white people, or is it also a growing number of black people, and the South African state, if one has to sit down and draw a list of what the South African state comprises of, you'll find that it's not simply restricted to whites, right - I mean it's a Indian house of parliament, the Coloured house of parliament, and then you look at all the homeland systems - I mean the whole homelands system, and you find that there's - I mean all those structures are staffed and manned by people who are white, but - sorry, people who are black, but when people talk about the system, people are referring to those black in - black individuals who have collaborate with the system, and then at the local government level the community councillors, and that's a important factor (?) I think, and now (?) given the emergence of the vigilantes as well in a more - and the kitskonstables as a more kind of immediate repressive reality facing - so for ordinary people in the townships is that - that ja, I mean people - you see, I'm saying that assuming that all black people were united, right, and then you had a purely white state and you had a few white people identifying with this monolithic bloc of black people, then (Interruption)

Ja, so what I'm saying, you know, assuming that you had this situation where there was one monolithic bloc of black people and you had a purely white oppressive regime, which with the whole state apparatus purely, you know - everything purely white, and then a handful of white people from that system that supported this grouping of black people, right, in itself it wouldn't, I think, be a kind of guarantee that there won't be what you suggest might happen, but that reality of, you know, in this group of white people that support the struggle, coupled with the fact that I mean there's - when you talk about the South African state you not talking of simply, you know, a - a purely white - I mean it's a grouping that acts in white interests, O.K., but when you - when you - when you do your breakdown, I mean if you look at every homeland and every department there, I mean you find that I mean there's - and we define that as the South African state, and there are clearly part and parcel of the system as it's referred to, and I mean I think that fact - factor, you know, I mean assuming - I think as a person from Natal, I think most youth in Natal would, if they had to take revenge - you know, most of the politically active youth in Natal, UDF youth, if they had to take - if they had to take revenge against like an individual in Natal, it wouldn't be the National Party guys in - in - in Natal - I think it will be Buthelezi.

J.F. When you say they were acting mainly in white interests, would you say - can you even say that any more....

K.N. Ja, well, that in their own....

J.F. ruling class interest, or would you say white interest?

K.N. Well, I'd say they would be acting in the ruling class interest in the, right, but also I mean for themselves, I think, they getting immediate short term gains out of it, right.

- K.N. I mean there's - there's a whole lot of privileges and perks that are open to them by virtue of the collaboration, but....
- J.F. What about that thing when you talked about - or that revenge - there is so much violence going on that gets so much media attention, this black on black violence thing. Do you have any insight from being involved in the youth organisations as to what that's about and would you sanction any of it? You had a situation yourself where you could have been had up on public violence charges. I just wonder if you can say anything about that, because it's just you very rarely get anyone from the perspective of a black youth talking about that. You kind of - when I said take revenge you picked up on it like there is a lot to take revenge about. I was going to ask you earlier did you - why your father was anti-Rajbansi in those early years. He thought that the kind of early vague anti-collaborators that (?) ever translate in the kind of attacks, physical attacks on (.....) that is has in the African community.
- K.N. Ja - O.K., I think, see, firstly degrees of oppression determine diff - see, varying degrees of oppression has determined varying degrees of resistance, you know - within the African community conditions are in terms of oppression is worse, and you have similar kind of corresponding greater degree of resistance within that community, and this again corresponds with, or relates to the extent of anger and bitterness and the willingness to revenge or - or the enthusiasm to revenge, if you want, within that community and, you know, there's a kind of relation, I think - definitely there - there's a relationship - I think within the Indian community it might simply be that people will just talk about it, you know, because the - the oppression is much less - less acute and the resistance is - is less - is to a lesser degree than it is within the Coloured community, and then the willingness or the enthusiasm to take physical action against the people who collaborate from within the community is less there as it would be within the African community, because the situation is much tense - much more tense in the African communities, much more volatile and - and also I think it's coupled with - with the state repression in those particular communities as well, and what you -
- I think my own sort of position is that on - on the question of revenge as such is that I mean I'm not a revengeful person, right, and I would be willing to accept even the National Party people if they would state that they accept what they've been doing is incorrect and they've changed and they willing to share and stuff - I'd accept that, but on - on the question of revenge against collaborators, for example, I mean I - I would - I would apply that as well I mean - I would think that we need to be like very, very patient with, you know, our people and try to understand why people might have collaborated and - like with Inkatha especially, to try to make a distinction between Inkatha leadership and Inkatha rank and file, and try to win people over and have a more sort of gradualist sort of approach to - to people, try to win over people.
- But having said that, I mean I - I must say that I - I can only condone - I can still condone action being taken against people that have collaborated because (Interruption)
- J.F. You were saying you would have to condone them.
- K.N. Ja, I mean - O.K., I'll just tell you my own one experience that I had, right, in March of last year Inkatha attacked the NECC conference, and I was there when the attack took place, and I was part of the kind of security team, and I can tell you I was really terrified I mean, and at that point if I had a gun in my hand I would have used it.

K.N. I was like I mean by that stage I might have been arrested about three, four times or something, you know, and - and I had a little - not much but a little experience of the police and - but I tell you that experience was like really, you know - the fear that I felt I never felt anything like that ever in my life - I mean I, you know - I could see the spears and the things through the buses when the two buses pulled up there, and I can understand that people in those situations can constantly - I mean this was like just one day in the centre of town that we got attacked, right, so it wasn't a thing that I had to live through every day, and I know there are people that have to live through this reality every day, and I can understand why people do it, and I can condone it because I can understand the kind of motivation behind it.

But I - I'm not saying that I still would not encourage people to have a more kind of approach where we try to look at why people are doing what they doing and wherever it is possible to try to win them over and try to enlarge the people's camp, so to speak, and - but - but even though I'd, you know - my natural instincts are in that direction, I still would safely say that I can easily condone - but I don't know whether I've answered your question - I haven't?

J.F. (.....) but I was going to get up to - get back to you talking about your own personal experience, because we kind of left you after '84 - you really didn't say what you did at university in '85, '86 and '87.

K.N. Well, '85 I was elected onto the SRC....

J.F. In what position?

K.N. Initially as the student services coordinator, and then as the vice-president, and ja, well, I was sort of involved in all the major student campaigns, but I was still involved in the community as well in the youth organisation, and in the civic association, and '85 major thing - one of the important things that we were involved in was an attempt which failed, but I was (?) just carrying on to unionise the workers on campus - that was one of the important things that I was involved in, but unfortunately it didn't materialise - on May Day, 1986 we had a successful sit-in - unfortunately it was a student dominated thing - the - the students took over the buildings that the security - sorry, the cleaning services people at the university control and - and we managed to get the people who employ the cleaning workers on campus to give them May Day off, paid as well, and that was the one small victory in '86, but the workers - there's been conflict, you know, as to who should organise the workers, whether it's TGW, Transport and General, or whether CCAWUSA, and it hasn't been resolved, so I think it's going to be CCAWUSA soon, so hopefully that'll help.

And other things - oh, in '86 I was - got a post as a graduate student assistant at the university in the political science department, and I did a bit of lecturing and tutoring....

J.F. That's your degree in political science?

K.N. No, no, no, I was - I was doing an honours degree in political science in '86, and the university employed me as a graduate student assistant, which meant that I did tutorials with the second year political science students, and I lectured the first year political science students on black political organisations, and I - I did marking and lots of administrative things, but it was quite an abnormal situation because they gave me an office and things like that, but I was the vice-president of the SRC, so it was like Interruption)

K.N. Ja, and '86 was....

J.F. Why was it unusual for you to have an office, because they usually not keen on SRC people?

K.N. Ja - no, I mean - ja, it was I mean like I was - I was employed by the university - I mean I wasn't the only person - there were - later on there was somebody else, and in earlier days there might have been a few people (Interruption)

J.F. Can you just tell me (.....) political activity you were doing in '86?

K.N. Ja, but it was mostly related to - oh, well - ja, '86 was a very important year in many ways because it was the year in which the emergency was declared on campus - I'll just tell you the way it affected us on campus and the kind of role we played in it - the emergency was declared on what, 12th. June, and that very first night the cops came looking for three of us in the SRC, myself, somebody called Varsoo and - president of the SRC, and somebody called Ashraf, and we were - we almost got caught actually - we were at the SRC offices and they had the SRC offices bugged, and they came onto campus with like four cars and stuff, and as they were coming onto campus we were leaving, and we like just missed them, and then the emergency was declared - the following day we - we surfaced (?) on campus - there was this major march on campus, and the march led to little damage to security vehicle and security offices of the university, because the security officers and - were collaborating with the state security.

And then we managed to get out of the campus without the police arresting us, but the univers - but the SADF and the police then raided the hostels and they arrested a number of students, and the university authorities closed down the university, and we landed up in hiding - there was about 15 students who were sitting in detention, and the university was closed - and then from hiding we offered to give ourselves up if they would release the students and remove the army off the campus and, you know, certain demands that we set, and eventually they agreed to the demands and we were allowed to have a mass meeting where we consulted with the students - they removed the cops from campus - the troops from campus - they gave an undertaking that they'll allow the normal day to day functioning of the SRC to continue - they -

Ja, so then the mass meeting took place and we were - at the mass meeting a resolution came forward saying that O.K., if you'll give yourselves up, fine, but if you're not released from X number of days, then we will have a meeting again, and the implication was that there will be a boycott, because from hiding we had called on students to return to classes, so we were arrested, five of us on the SRC, and we spent a couple of days in detention and then in - and we were released on 500 rand bail and charged with public violence, and then we operated quite openly, you know, after that - we were out on bail, but we operated openly, normal sort of SRC activity and activity in the community, and then on December 12th.....

J.F. '86?

K.N. '86 - over a year now - the police raided my house looking for me, and luckily I wasn't at home that day, so I knew they were looking for me - I went into hiding.

K.N. And then I heard that they - that all the other people hailed (?) on that December 12th. the raid throughout the country - we were (?) held under Section 29, and that most probably I'd also be held under Section 29, and then I was (.....) for a long - for a couple of months, during which time they detained my younger brother, trying to find out from him whether they - he knew where I was hiding, and eventually as the date for my court appearance came close, I - I - by the - in the meantime I got the scholarship to go to England, and then I - I left six days before the - before the trial on the 11th. March - this was the final court case - and I got to England - I telexed the lawyer and I said : I'm here - I left because I wanted to take up the scholarship, full stop, and I'll be back to stand trial, or they can try me in absentia - so what happened was the magistrate separated my trial from the other comrades, and they were acquitted, so my situation is that when I go back I have to technically stand trial for public violence, and then there's this contempt of court charge because I jumped bail, and presumably one of the reasons (?) they were trying to detain (?) me under Section 29, which I'll have to sort out when I go back, but it's not too - it's not too bad I think, you know, comparatively.

J.F. Have you been detained for (.....)

K.N. No, the - I've never been detained for - the longest was last year - that couple of days under - I was usually quite lucky - never was at home when they came for me and - like that one time the - they arrested me in the demonstration - it was the day before the - the - the meeting to reassess whether the boycott continues or not, and - and on June 12th. it was quite close as well, but it was just lucky.....

END OF SIDE TWO.

J.F. Just go over the public violence thing - I just want to be clear about what the charges arose from?

K.N. O.K., on the 13th. March - 13th. June there was a march on the campus - the march was sort of supposed to be illegal - we were in the march, and they - at the march - during the march a security police, university security police vehicle was damaged and the security building was damaged, and we were charged with having participated in an act of public violence around that because the (Interruption) - ja, so initially when they arrested us they - they - they charged us with three separate things initially, you know - they charged us with something under the Internal Security Act, which was pertaining to illegal gatherings, then secondly they charged us something under Malicious Injury to Property, which was under the Criminal Procedures Act - third thing was under the emergency, which was wanting to do wilful damage to the people that were inside the building, so - but had we got a conviction on any one of those charges, we would have been most probably given a suspended sentence, so the attorney general then, I think, advised them to charge us under public violence because public violence is more serious, and we could have got a - we could have got a serious sentence, so then they charged us with - with - with this public violence, and it was looking like there were three - four things they had to prove, and they had proved three things - the three things that they had proved that we were in the march, because we all admitted that we were present - secondly it had to be an illegal gathering, and it was obviously illegal because it contravened the emergency - thirdly they had to prove that some violence had been done, and it was clear that there was violence.

- K.N. The like fourth thing which they only had to prove was that those of us that they were accusing acted in concert with those students that actually executed the actual act of violence, and that's what they were - they failed to do because the magistrate eventually acquitted the other six comrades, and I expect that I'll be acquitted as well.
- J.F. Let me just ask a whole lot of other things - just to go back - just look at this past year - being on the run when you were on the run, was it only Indian people that helped you when you were on the run?
- K.N. No, actually, it was quite a few white people, and I hid in - I mean the most crucial month or period of my hiding was when I was writing my exams, and I hid with this white family, and they were really wonderful and I mean (Tape off) - ja, so when I needed to get to certain places like she would (?) like take me and, you know, I'd be kind of disguised and she would - and it - it helped having - it was like, as we would say, tactically correct going with a white person because it was less - it raised less questions, you know, in certain places, you know, and - but just I mean creating the - and plus, you know, it's difficult to find a situation to hide, you know, because, there's lots of people that I know who would have wanted to help, you know, but - but people might want to do it but not have the resources, because I mean feeding another mouth, or feeding another stomach, sorry, is - is actually quite a - a thing back home especially, you know - I mean anywhere anyway, you know, and I was there for like a month and I was given - they had like a spare room which they gave me and - and like they would - I still can remember it all, you know.

I had like this room where I'd study and - and the - and it - it was difficult though because in the space that I was hiding I never had a place to hide for the whole period, because I was made offers of places which were like three weeks or, you know, and it was - like the first place that I hid was a basement, quite a nice place, you know, and - but it was like a short term kind of thing and - and I - and then each time I had to move it was quite like difficult because I was prepar - I was studying during that time, and it was quite a difficult situation because I had to pack up my books and I was writing my thesis as well, and I was like basically running around with like tons of things, so each time I moved to another place I had to go and start back from square one reorientating myself.

And then like the major period I - I stayed with this white family, and then I stayed with two white activists as well and - and it was like I mean the - I don't think they would have looked for us there in that area, you know - it was quite a safe area, and it's not like the kind of place they would expect people to hide, I think, and I mean I - I was able to trust now (?) and I fully trusted people that I stayed with, and I mean the - now like, especially after that whole ordeal, they are like people I regard as my very, very good friends, and I'm sure the relationship with (?) - even though I haven't seen them since I've left, it's a important relationship that I can go back to at any point, I think.

- J.F. And it also made sense just in terms of tactically, you're saying, that it just - it was a place that it wouldn't have worked if it was in the Indian community, you're saying?
- K.N. I think it - it would have worked - you see, the thing was - how it really happened was that I was in hiding in one place, right, and then I had to move to another place, and there was a com - you know, some comrades who were making the arrangements, and I said : Organise it, you know, I need to move from this place.

K.N. So they went and made an arrangement, and they came back and they said : Well, we organised this person's place - and they told me who it was, and I had known her, and it wasn't a conscious decision to go to a white family or a white area - the first place I stayed was in an Indian area, but it had to be middle class, I think - it had to be a middle class area because for one, space, you see - like in Chatsworth I had this - I mean there are sections of Chatsworth where the houses are quite big and you could manage, but it would - you know, it had to be a place where you could just like dive into somebody's house and - because I mean, I tell you, being on the run is not as bad as being in detention, but it's not easy I mean - you know, you always feel that you're a burden to people and - and I mean you are a burden to people.

I mean you disrupt - you disrupting other people's lives, right, especially I mean you put - especially if you living with people you put so much of pressure on their life I mean - they just like so concerned about if you get caught while you are there at their house, they won't live - be able to live with themselves, for example, you know - like this place I was staying I mean like every time they say : Hey, whatever happens you mustn't get caught here, you know - they (Laugh) (... ..) because they used to just feel like they would feel responsible like, you know, and I mean just also I mean the way you open the door, how often you keep the door open and - and all those things like, you know, it puts a lot of strain and - and also I mean on yourself I mean it's - I mean it's - it's quite difficult being - having to look over your shoulder all the time and - and then (?) I'm not saying that it's - I mean it's something that you'd (?) be prepared to do for a long time and it - I'm sure it's not as bad as being in detention, but what I'm saying is that I don't think it is an easy thing to live with.

J.F. You didn't feel that those people who happened to be white were worried about their own safety when they said we hope you don't get caught here?

K.N. Well....

J.F. Or their own security?

K.N. Well, I think not only they but everybody who - who - I mean that was my concern - I mean I was like the worst thing that, you know - the main thing that I would - would - would do was to cover up and make sure that I don't get anybody involved, you know, and....

J.F. Was it not hard being in the white area being....

K.N. Well, I never used - I never used to leave the house - I was inside all the time - only used to leave at night and - and plus I was studying, so even at night it used to be very rare - people used to come to see me.

J.F. Do you think that did anything to your non-racialism?

K.N. I don't know, may - like the - I said to somebody (Interruption) - lighty (?)

J.F. Is that how you spell it?

K.N. I don't know, I've never spelt it before, it's just a slang, which means a small boy, young boy.

J.F. Or young girl - could mean a lighty could be.

- K.N. I - I haven't heard it in the context, but it's possible.
- J.F. You're saying somebody was saying?
- K.N. Oh, ja - no, I was saying to somebody you - you asked me how did (?) - did anything for my non-racialism - I said to somebody that I'm glad that I hid in those friends' place because I ate sort of kind of English food, and it helped me to cope with England when I arrived, because the food was like quite different - it was - it was pretty similar to - similar, not the same though, to what you'd get in England, and I said I think it was a good choice of place where to hide because (Laugh) (.....) to cope with the food, because it was like more or less immediately after that, you know, that I - that I left and I - so....
- J.F. But you paused as if to say what, that you'd already were non-racial, it didn't really....
- K.N. Ja, it didn't really - it wasn't really important.
- J.F. But don't you - I'm just asking, but you don't feel that non-racialism gets solidified or eroded? If you had seen - if you'd been with a white family and there'd been someone in the family who obviously felt uncomfortable or a bit nervous, would that have put you off or the fact that they did seem so genuinely concerned, was that a factor, or do you think that once you become non-racial you don't look back?
- K.N. I - I think once you become non-racial (Laugh) you don't look back because plus the other thing is I mean, you know, you - you encounter lots of - I have encountered lots of black people that are racist, right - or that's a bit too strong I think - or - or - or black people who (?) have kind of racial undertones in the way they see things, and in some cases it's sort of inevitable, right, but - and if I had to come across somebody in that white family that was racist, I think it would have been - I mean I would have said well, it's just like another racist person that I met, you know, irrespective of whether white or black race (racist) so I don't think it would have adversely affected, but I think it was an important experience in terms of learning - I mean ja, it - it was an important experience because I think what you learn from living together with people is a deeper understanding, I think - I mean obviously it's a deeper understanding, but I don't think it affected my basic outlook in any way.
- I mean it helped me - it affected my relationship with those particular people, I think, you know - I got to know them well - it wasn't so much about exactly what sort of, you know, colour they were, but it was more I think the significance of that stay with those people was that it helped me to develop a closer relationship with those people, and I mean, you know, I - I've referred to it, you know, at points, like in some of the meetings that I've spoken to - spoken at overseas, and I mean people ask me like, you know, would you ever trust a white person - some people ask that, so I say well, ja, I would, I say - I said like when I was on the run I stayed with white people and - and - and you know - and that obviously means that if you are on the run and you stay it means that you trusted - for me it was those people, but sometimes you have to explain it as those white people - I mean I would prefer to just say when I was on the run I hid with a whole range of people who were people that I trusted, full stop, you know, and - and I - I - I would not place too much of emphasis on saying exactly what race group they were.
- J.F. You were saying also what you were really using was class to your advantage against the system. You dressed up. You dressed up to look middle class, right?

K.N. Ja - upper class (Laugh)

J.F. You wanted to look like an Indian businessman?

K.N. Ja, I - I lived like a real.

J.F. In your politicisation were you ever exposed to any ANC veterans, older people, or was it just this (.....) who talked about it - you didn't....

K.N. It was mostly him, and then in '84 when Billy was released, just having Billy around was inspiration in itself, and I think politically he's probably one of the persons I respect the most, you know, and have the greatest admiration for, and I really like respect him a lot and I think there's a certain like humbleness about him - I mean you - you know, which I really admire and I wish I could like emulate, you know, and - and I mean I think most - the almost all activists in Durban (?) - most activists in Durban anyway, even though we might not have spent like a lot of time with Billy, but just having him there was important.

And then the other person that I also respect a lot is Curnick Ndhlovu, and he's also somebody that we've had access to, you know, in the sense that he was a Durban person and he was always there, and I mean I - I unfortunately didn't spend much time with - as much time as I would have wanted with either of them, but I mean I got very deep respect for both of them, and I mean obviously we all admire the sacrifice they've made for the struggle, and it's a source of strength I mean, and we haven't made any sacrifices in comparison to them, you know, and I mean what little that we can do, you know, and what little problems that we might encounter in terms of repression, I think it's like drawing from people that you might have seen or might have met, you know - it helps tremendously, I think, because in the end I think we all human beings and we all like really afraid of going to prison or getting shot or - or whatever.

I mean none of us - I mean we are no less life-loving than anybody else - we might be committed to the struggle, ja, but we value living and life - I mean that's why we involved in the struggle anyway, because we value - we - we aspire towards all people having a good life, not just a life, you know, and - and I mean there - some people have this misconception that people involved in the struggle are sort of cold and hard and really strengthened and they are people who are, you know, hardened to the normal kind of the sort of vices or normal kind of, you know, things that people are, but I mean it - it's a - obviously a fallacy and - and it - like people like us who have just come into the struggle now and are really babies in the struggle, it's like people like Billy and Curnick who, I think, help to give us the strength to continue - I think it - it's imp - it's an important inspiration and I think to those of us who've had the opportunity of, even if it's like just shaking hands with - with them, or just meeting them once, it's been an important experience, and people - most people like would - would value that, you know, quite a bit and ja - and also I mean from - I mean I think most people just from Mandela and other people that have been in prison for a long time as well, I think people derive an immense amount of courage or inspiration from that, and that as well, I think, is - is - is an important kind of factor in - I mean important contribution to people having a greater sense of - or greater (?) willingness to sacrifice, because there's a kind of theory of relativity in operation, you know - if you faced with a particular predicament in terms of maybe a five year jail sentence or whatever, I mean you - I think most people would - would look at - when you have somebody who's suffered much more than you have, you can get a sense of - a weird (?) sense of comfort or - or - or the im - the impact of your own predicament is lessened by the fact that other people have suffered more than you have.

J.F. Was that always the case, because there were people who I've interviewed who've said that - and this is people older than you - that there was a period when they were told oh, the ANC were those people who tried and failed, but you never heard people casting aspersions on the ANC or wondered who are these guys? Before like when you first got involved in 1980 before the Billies and Curnicks came out and people declared themselves as being pro-ANC so openly, you never ever had any negative views?

K.N. You know, in 1980, '81, '82 you barely could hear about the ANC - '83 - I'd say even half of '84 you could barely hear of the ANC, believe me, you know - the ANC that point - it still is for lots of us, but that point it was like you just had this immense awe about it, you know - it was something like way up in the sky because it was banned - I mean you know, even - even in conversations with people you won't like just talk about the ANC openly - I mean I - we were taught this, be careful, you know, you don't just like go around shouting about the ANC because you can get caught for aiding - promoting the aims of a banned organisation and things like that.

I don't know in 1983 when Solomon (.....) - no, when Jerry Mosololi, Marcus Mutanga and Simon (.....) were hanged, those three ANC cadres, and we were at a all night vigil for them and - in Durban, and the - at the start of the vigil there were - two guys carried an ANC flag into the - into the hall, you know, people went oh (?) like that, you know, because they were saying - like some people actually said : Hey, those guys are undisciplined comrades, you know - some people said that because - I mean this is like, you know, when - October, '83, I think, and then all of a sudden, you know, after September, '84 the mood is changed completely after the business when go and visit (?) and all that - I mean there's a new sense - I mean you must have sensed it from '79 if you were there.

I mean all of a sudden almost like, you know, it was like the ANC was everywhere waiting to just burst, you know, and - because I mean there was so little - I don't know, my experience was that, you know, you - even if you had to ask about the ANC, depending who you asked, people would be very caref - you know, would - would - would be very wary in the way they would like, you know - unless you knew them well they would like not like just go on telling you about the ANC did this and this is what the ANC is - but I never had that same experience about the ANC let us down kind of thing.

J.F. Where do you think we ever will - way back in the beginning when you said our people are starving in rural Natal and that's why you would be giving money to the KwaZulu drought fund or whatever, when did it come that some Zulu peasant far away that you - couldn't even speak to you in English was our people? Your mother or father wouldn't have said that, or your granny, would they?

K.N. No, I don't think they would have - you see, this is immediately after the school boycott, and it radicalised our thinking in a - like that.

J.F. Was it the school boycott....

K.N. It was, ja.

J.F. And the very fact that you were inspired by school boycotts where (?) in Cape Town - those were the first....

K.N. Ja, it was the (?) - within a week it was happening in Durban.

J.F. And it didn't matter that those were Coloured kids?

K.N. No, it didn't actually I mean - this was supposed to be a national thing, you know, and - and it - it fizzled out much more quickly in the African schools in Durban, you know - Inkatha smashed it up - that was the first time - well, first time Inkatha really moved in, and you know, in '81 we had problems with our parents as well, certain sections of our parents, because when we were expelled from school we were the only people to be expelled, and like the - some of the parents were saying : Where's the African schools now, and where's the Coloured schools now and - and you know - and it was a difficult thing to handle because, you see, what happened - what had happened was we had the most reactionary education system - well, you know - in terms of the people who were leading it, and they were sharp and they moved in with this legislation which allowed for expulsion, and it was quite a - in some ways I think it was a good thing that - that some of us got expelled, because it made life difficult for us, and we learned from that difficulty, because I can tell you that matric (?) exam that I wrote was the most like difficult thing that I ever did....

J.F. Matric exam?

K.N. Ja, I mean - because it was like politically also quite important that we passed, you know, and - apart from anything else, you know I mean - plus it was important to pass and - and it meant - it meant much - much more almost, you know, having passed it under those conditions.

J.F. And what about when the African policemen were brought in to break up the school boycott, did the students then say : Look at this, where (?) are the blacks?

K.N. No, it was quite funny because some of the guys they brought in were giving us black power salutes, you know, so that was good, and then we - the first day the boycott started we didn't even know Amandla Ngawethu, you know - we didn't even know that slogan, you know, so (Laugh) some - somebody vaguely heard Amandla Ngawethu being shouted, you know, and - and somebody didn't understand really what it was, and it was - sounded to that person as we love Soweto (Laugh) so (.....) (.....) this was the first day (?) - the first time we confront the cops, so he (?) says (.....) the African police (.....) say we love Soweto (Laugh) - it was quite funny, you know, the - that was the way (?) people wanted to say (Laugh) hey, no, like, you know, we won (one) in this thing, and the conflicts with the cops were very good in '80 - I mean every day of that week prior to them baton- charging us we had contact with them - I mean we - we - we came across them, and after every confrontation I think we all sort of became a little bit stronger and like, you know, people - people used to go (?)

But like - you see, the cops used to - and they used to come with the white cops as well - I mean the white cops used to itch for this job, right, and - and they used to be like black cops as well, right - Indian and African guys, but like one of the slogans used to be white man go home like, you know, and it - it was like very much that kind of line, and like the black cops were almost ignored, you know, because some of the Indian guys we knew them - they were like guys who (Laugh) lived round the corner....

J.F. Indian cops?

K.N. Cops, ja.

J.F. There were Indian cops too?

K.N. Ja - some of them like live round the corner, and one guy that was marching with us, his brother was one of the cops, and he said : Hey, don't do anything (Laugh) - he told his brother.

- K.N. Ja, so I mean I - I don't know that time I would say that we didn't, you know, really - like it was more focus on the white cops, you know - there was that kind of distinction made - now I think it would be less - less so, ja, and I remember like it was like quite a good scene at this one school - they had a sort of besieged (?) in the school, but they weren't attacking the schools at that point - they were keeping off the schools, so while we were in the schools we felt we had the protection of the schools and we went for them like with this white man go home, white man....
- J.F. The white cops?
- K.N. White cops, ja, white man - and like it was - I mean you had people who were fairly passive, you know, shouting with like real hang (?) white man fuck off, you know, like that kind of thing, and it had happened within the space of like I mean couple of days people were radicalised.
- J.F. But these days you wouldn't hear it as much....
- K.N. No, now it would be I think more, you know, cops go home or something like that - I mean like some of the songs were I mean - not like we looked at the black cops with any great admiration or anything, you know, because when they attacked eventually on that Friday, this went on for a week, I mean they were - I mean the Indian and - Indian cops especially - I wasn't there myself, I was at a NATSAC meeting, but when the attack took place apparently the Indian cops were frontline.
- J.F. And have you ever had a situation where Indian cops have interrogated you or the Indians....
- K.N. Ja.
- J.F. How is their line? Is it different than a white cop or white SB or what do they say? Do they ever use the race thing?
- K.N. (Laugh) ja, a little, they try to, but not in any major way I think - they - and I - ja, I've been interrogated mostly - a few times - I mean not many times, but the few times that I have been interrogated have been by Indian cops.
- J.F. In what way have they ever raised the race thing?
- K.N. Like hey, you know - in '85 I was being interrogated by Major Benjamin, who is like the chief guy in Natal, and he's a Indian guy, and the In-anda thing started, and I was there - he said : See, you (?) fighting for the Africans, look what they doing there in Inanda - in Phoenix, they - the - there was this sort of van driver had been killed....
- J.F. An Indian?
- K.N. Indian guy, ja - see what they doing there and like hey - he was acting as if he was really concerned over - over this guy, whereas he wasn't, right....
- J.F. But did he say the fucking fighting - I didn't get that - what was he saying?
- K.N. He said : You fucking fighting for the African, see what they doing to our, you know - and he....
- J.F. To our people?

- K.N. Ja, and - and he came out as if he really cared for the guy that got killed - he couldn't care two hoots I'm sure, but that's how he - he came out like, you know, and....
- J.F. It'll be a replay of '49 kind of thing, is that what people were saying about Inanda, it's '49 again?
- K.N. Well, lots of people say that.
- J.F. So was that a tough time for the non-racial line, the Inanda?
- K.N. Oh, it was a tough time, believe me, you know, I tell you - to wear (?) a UDF T-shirt that time, you know, in an Indian area was like being quite heroic.
- J.F. So did you put yours away?
- K.N. I wore mine underneath my other shirt (Laugh)
- J.F. Because why, what did people say?
- K.N. Like I mean hey, you see, the state - the system moved in very cleverly, they just propped up Inkatha and made it like UDF Xhosa (?) shirt, you see, and - hey, that has been a major setback for organisation in - in Natal, the whole - the whole Inanda thing - hey, it's been a - specially for Indian organisations.
- J.F. Do you remember some of the things people said? Who were saying things? What kind of people were saying....
- K.N. Oh, I mean just like ordinary people in where I stay - I mean people were chanting outside my house Kumi, where are you now (Laugh) - you see, there was nobody was attacking - you see, there was like this myth that was build up - I mean the army - you know the army moved into Chatsworth to like protect the people of Chatsworth and stuff like that, you know - they - they were so - they played it up like - I mean they really - and they created panic in people, right, and oh dear, it was like the worst period - one of the worst periods of my life I've lived through, that whole Inanda thing, and there were some poor people having a prayer in the bottom - you see, there's Chatsworth and there's like Umlazi, you know, next to each other, and some people were having a prayer there, and some people - the cops went down and performed there and chased the people away and they came back and they said that those people were trying to attack Chatsworth, and they were just like - they come there every Sunday to do this prayers - and you had people like panicking, running wild, you know, in Chatsworth in that section - I mean the cars - people knocking each other's cars and what have you - I think it was....
- J.F. What do you mean panicked, to what, to get out?
- K.N. No, people came to see because this was at a point where you could see the bottom like, so when people were leaving, you know - and then....
- J.F. (.....) people leaving, fleeing?
- K.N. No, no, people were leaving after that, you know - no, no, nobody left the house and stuff like that, but then that night people - I mean the cops and the other people said : No, we're going to be attacked, prepare and stuff.

K.N. So you had like in the night like people made the bonfires and stuff and like had their knobkerries and the sticks and what have you, and bushknives and what have you, and they were like waiting and - I just went to sleep, right - I'm in the children's home that time - I just went to sleep with the boys - and then the comrades (?) got drunk and about 12 o'clock at night I heard them screaming Kumi, where are you, where (Laugh) - where's (.....) now (.....) youth organisation, and why aren't you here protecting us and all this shit, and where's (.....) where you're helping now (?) where's the help and all that kind of thing, but it was a bad time for non-racialism.

Like I mean we had vigilantes within the Indian areas - there's some pictures in the newspapers - people would like gleaming blades (?) - people would like - people all of a sudden were walking on illegal (?) fire-power, you know.

J.F. What kind of Indians were becoming vigilantes? What kind of people were they in the community? Were they any ones you knew or....

K.N. Well, it wasn't - it wasn't in Chatsworth, it was in Phoenix, because Phoenix was the like frontline, because like mostly middle class people from Duff's Road township, and then there was also people - I mean working class people as well, man - you see, the fear was whipped up in such a way, you know, hey - the whole (?) thing was, as far as I'm concerned, it was a big state ploy because, you see, the - the government wanted to move people out of Inanda anyway, and this was something that was on the cards for a long time and (.....) like I mean when - when the things weren't really bad, you know, in Inanda itself - I mean people asked the cops for escort into the township to bring their stuffs out - the cops said like we haven't got fuel, you know, things like that - they wanted the situation to get sufficiently bad before they did anything, you know, and in when (?) the end Inkatha came out as if they had saved the whole - whole thing, I mean they were given such like - you heard (?) how did your - you must tell me something, how did - how was it perceived like in Johannesburg?

J.F. (.....) - so what saved the non-racial line? Can you think of any discussions you had? Were you able to say to people - you wouldn't say now that the entire community has rejected NIC and UDF or anything. There were steps backward, but there seem to have been steps forward again, right? What - how was it - what was the other side, what was the good news?

K.N. Well, I mean I - I think a lot of people saw the foolishness of their reaction, you know, on reflection, because once before there was a similar thing many years ago in 1975 in Chatsworth - in '76 in Chatsworth there was like this rumour one day, right, I remember, and certain people packed up and stuff, you know, and went to the police stations and stuff....

J.F. What, the Africans are coming?

K.N. Ja, and (Laugh) funny because (?) we - I - I was quite small that time - I was Standard Three, and we all slept (?) through - through it - we didn't know anything - morning when I went to school the - my teacher was saying before the class started - you know, I went to school early and the teacher was there early, he said it was a very silly thing last night, eh - I said : What was a silly thing last night - he said : No, it was such a foolish thing, this rumour - I didn't know what he was talking about, and then when we found out our - my - my father said (?) (Laugh) it was quite funny (?) he said : What kind of neighbours we got (?) would have (?) slept through the whole thing - if it was really a (Laugh) (.....) wouldn't have known what (.....)

K.N. Ja, but anyway - so I think people saw the silliness and - and even that time, you know, people felt quite silly that they reacted, in Chatsworth anyway, and in - in - Chatsworth is a little bit far away from the reality, you know, it was a bit - and then also I mean on reflection, most of the people that died were - there was only one Indian person that died in that whole thing - the rest people who are African people, you know, and - and I mean lots of people in Phoenix, I think, would still refer to the incident and in - even in Chatsworth, but - but I think it was, as you say, it was just a set-back and I mean it's a big set-back, I think, and hopefully it'll be erased from people's memories and more positive images is what will remain with them.

J.F. Were you ever in NIC?

K.N. Ja, all the....

J.F. You remember (?) (you were a member) - you weren't ever any position?

K.N. Well, there's only 15 people on the executive.

J.F. There's no youth league?

K.N. No (.....) - now (?) it's better that the - this - I don't think it's important to have a special NIC youth league - I think it's important that the youth are part of SAYCO, the South African Youth....

J.F. That it's integrated, are you saying?

K.N. Ja, ja.

J.F. So you're saying that its need is not directed towards the youth? Do you think the need, the NICs need to exist is that....

K.N. No - I mentioned this earlier as well, I think it's more towards the older people - I think it's very important that the youth identify directly and integrate directly with the national youth organisation and develop a kind of national, South African national consciousness as such.

J.F. All this talk about non-racialism, is it really worth it? Is it important? Do you feel that look, we all accept it and that it doesn't need as much attention, or you think it does bear some looking at? How do you see it in the grand scheme of things?

K.N. I mean I - I think it is very important both in the short term and in the long term especially, I think, as well - I think in the short term there's the chance of building non-racialism, and there's various factors militating against it, right, and for that reason it is important that one must look at what other possibilities of - given the negative influences that - that - that exist, or the impediments to development of non-racialism in the short term - I think one must still look at and investigate what are the options, you know, what are the avenues of developing non-racialism in the build-up to the struggle, and what, you know, I think - I'm sure there're a whole range of loopholes, a whole range of very practical things that maybe we've overlooked and - and I mean there are things that are being (?) - one can offer (?) and point to, which we haven't done, you know, like organising sort of community swop schemes and that kind of thing, but I think whatever non-racialism that will be built in the short term will have to be built in the context of struggle, you know - it can't really be built outside that, you know, and you can't simply have a kind of let's build a non-racial understanding without having a political understanding, because I think some church organisations are now - are trying to - not necessarily SACC linked church organisations, but - or other groupings are trying to, you know, build kind of -

K.N. I - I've heard of like, you know, certain schemes where people just interact but - but there's no kind of political basis for it, which I think there - I don't know, I'm a bit concerned about those kinds of initiatives, you know, where - where people - because I - I'm going back to my original thing which I said that non-racialism is - is - or the lack of non-racialism is - is - is what people perceive as the result of their suffering, you know, so, you know, it is possible to get a black and a white person to hug each other (?) and call them brothers and like that is as far as both people progress, you know - it is possible and - and that situation does exist with some people - you know, people who can say : Oh, I got friends who are black, you know - and that for some people is the biggest statement they can make and - and that is sufficient - not prepared to say : I've got friends who are black and they don't have the vote and I want to struggle with them until they get the vote - you know what I'm saying, so I think all those issues, all those things are important to be considered in the short term, so I think when people just jump up and say : Ja, no, we got this project to build non-racialism - I think it has to be seen in the context of struggle, it - it must be seen as non-racialism for - for what, you know, just so that - and - and I think genuine non-racialism anyway can't exist without people understanding that black people don't have the vote, you know, and then in - in the long term I think it's important that we start looking at, from now, how when there is a more just government, how then are we going to seriously use the fact that we control the state apparatus to - to help to use the education system and everything else, every other ideological device to really work towards altering the - the situation as it exists now and - and I think to some extent that investigation needs to start not - not later but now in a sense, you know - you know, I think it's better if people have a clear idea that O.K., when - when we attain liberation, you know, then we are going to, in the post-apartheid South Africa on the question of non-racialism, these are the kinds of programmes we can engage into, help to (.....) a genuine non-racialism - I think it's important that those processes, or at least some thinking on exactly how that's going to be done should actually start now, rather than to kind of postpone it for later.

J.F. When did you first start talking about non-racialism? When did you hear it, do you think, for the first time?

END OF SIDE ONE.

? (Chipmunks).....

