

- J.F. ... racialism, but I'm just wondering what those people that you worked with in Hambanati - did they ever say : Look, what's the story here - isn't this an organisation for blacks or did they ever seem a bit confused or negative about the idea that it would include other race groups?
- L.T. I think what I understand - what I really understood about these people is that they were following quite well. It's just that, as I say, we were coming very well with these people, because they accepted - we were quite a very happy society. We've got a very healthy society in that place. For instance, our youth could get together with the Indian youth, could get together with white youth and - I mean sort of - there were no hassles, and I think, as I say, the system must have discovered a bit late that we were doing, perhaps more than we should, and that we were perhaps spoiling their policy of ~~racialism : Correction :~~ racial discrimination and so on, and some or other just found ourselves being victimised later, because they were quite more - now we were - what we did of late - as I say, we were not interested in the '70's but - at the time we know, and we were building up towards this until we had to get into the community councils in 1979, and after seeing that these community councils in the '80's - at the beginning of the 80's that it was useless for us, because I remember at some stage when they tried to raise - during the time of the rent hikes, so we opposed this - when we opposed this and we discovered that it was useless, because these people had already taken the decision, so what we did was to ask our friends and say : Guys, look, we are just being used as stooges - let's just move out of this as a defiance.
- J.F. Let me take it back - there's parts I want to ask questions about. In 1979 the Government started the what - the black local authorities, and then did you discuss it - how did you decide : Let's get involved?
- L.T. What we call the - we organised - we sort of mobilised the - we called the people to the meetings, and we sort of introduced them - the policy of these community councils which were going to be introduced and - in the townships ...
- J.F. And what did the people say?
- L.T. Well, the people were - had confidence I should say - they had confidence in us, and although there was a bit of - because there were those elderly ones who wanted to - who wished to take over and the councillors themselves, and we sort of - because the people had confidence - we had built more confident on people and they sort of - they sort of followed us, and they voted for us and we won the elections.
- J.F. But I'm saying - did the people not say : Wait a minute - is this a good idea - can we work within the system - did you debate (You're a bit far from the mike) can we get involved or ...
- L.T. There wasn't much debate although we did debate - there was a bit of a debate but there wasn't much because - you see

- L.T. what should I say. Say you have got an organisation, and you have leaders there, you, at times if these people come out with constructive ideas or convincing ideas about something, you are bound - you can argue, but at the same time you are bound to also - because you've got to listen because they tell you about - they explain everything to you, and you you are bound to be convinced at some stage, that at least we - let's give it a try.
- J.F. No, I'm saying, where I lived in Johannesburg, in Soweto it was a big issue - it was just debated and debated and - should you get involved and it was hot.
- L.T. It was hot - we - it was hot because I remember at one stage we were asking ourselves questions like - who is going to finance this township - these townships - where are you going to get this money to finance these townships, and it was clear - we were aware of the fact that at some stage these community councils will have to dig money from the people to be able to run the township - the cost of the township, but it was said that - at that time the Government - the central Government said that they were going to finance everything, so we said : If they are going to finance everything, then it's all the better, but not if people have got to support themselves by - well, of course the only way for the people to support themselves would be by increasing the rents and doing all this and that and that, which was going to cause a lot of chaos in the community.
- J.F. And what about - were there any young people who were too radical for this and said : No, this is no good - did you get any of that from the youth?
- L.T. No, not much - not much from the youth, although - well, of course they were quite cautious of the - but there wasn't - there couldn't be that much, as I say to you, when we got to Tongaat, Tongaat was a very sort of a remote area, and everything that came about - every change that was brought about in that area was brought about by our presence there. Otherwise it was just a dead place. People were living on - what do you call this thing where people - they were given free food, and they were given free supplies, and this and that and that, and they were convinced that they were all right with that, even if there are - they were not trained to be self supporting. We started the whole - we sort of started the whole - revolutionised the whole area when we got there - conscientised the people by the whole thing.
- J.F. And you - there was you and Ian and some other people ...
- L.T. Some other people.
- J.F. If you looked at it objectively, would you say that you all had - did have better jobs than the people who you were leading - as leaders were you all in the professional class?

- L.T.
- J.F. Were there any kind of (.....) 064 and the workers?
- L.T. Well, we had. As I say, Ian and (.....) 064 they had organised the trade unions and the Tongaat crew, so we - amongst the community councils we had people were just labourers - I think three or four of them, because they were seven in number, so about three or four of them - I think about four of them - only three were professionals. The others - the other four were just ordinary labourers. They were recruited from the trade unions.
- J.F. So you stood for election, and was there much of a turn out - what was the turn out like?
- L.T. The turn out was - I think we really had quite a good - we had about 80% of support from the township and well, the other 20% went to the losers.
- J.F. Do you remember, like in Soweto it was 10% for ...
- L.T. Well, the latest one - that was the latest ...
- J.F. No, but even back - you remember the old guy Tabahabi they always used to say Mr. Six Percent and everything?
- L.T. Yes. Well, I don't think - you wouldn't compare the community of Umbanazi with Soweto. Like you'll here in Durban and places like Lamontville, where these elections took place, people there were quite aware of the fact that - most of the councillors there were never elected, or the one that was elected by the people, because they knew he was going to go in there and destroy this thing ..
- J.F. Who was that?
- L.T. That was - the one was Muzelto - one was assassinated.
- J.F. Dube.
- L.T. Dube.
- J.F. Harrison
- L.T. Harrison Msezwe Dube.
- J.F. So when you went in did you have high hopes, or were you at all cynical.
- L.T. You mean ...
- J.F. Going in in '79 did - to the community council.
- L.T. In actual fact we had high hopes that, at least we'll be able to achieve most of the things which we could not. Prior to that we could not even put up a - everything that we had. For instance, the first structure that we put up was a creche for the working mothers and all that. We all worked for it. We had street collections, this and that. We worked from nothing, organising funds and all that, to put up the structure, so we were told that it is - whatever money or allocations of money that we get, perhaps we were going to be able to

- L.T. plough back into the township and develop, and make it certainly much more admirable and so on, or a better place to live in, but it was a - it was a fake, I should say, fake belief or what - another, if there's an expression like that, because nothing ever came out right.
- J.F. How soon did it take you to figure out that it was not going to be working?
- L.T. I think immediately, because I remember, at some stage, we had tabulated some of the - some of the needs - the first needs for the township - things like electricity in the township. Things like improving the houses there - the existing houses which had cracks and others were old, and also increase the number of housing, or expanding the township - all those things. Roads, and so on and so on, which were bad - completely bad, but those things were so hard to come by. None of them was done until very late, and until up to today the electricity has not been supplied in that township.
- J.F. So was this a matter of a year or so, or was it a few months?
- L.T. It was a matter of a few months, because when these guys got in they just went in (wanted the) (101) the job straight away. They went for a push straight away. They introduced their resolutions - they put their resolutions forward and said: This is what we are intending doing.
- J.F. So you didn't actually stand for election.
- L.T. No, I didn't stand for election.
- J.F. Your wife did?
- L.T. My wife did.
- J.F. And so you were following it that way.
- L.T. Because I was following it that way, but - well, I I'd regretted (104) from there - I didn't like it, I should say. I didn't want to accept the nomination as being one of the community councils - I didn't want to - I just didn't like it from the - but I had to for the sake of the majority of - because we were trying to win the hearts of these people and - but otherwise I - like - it's just like this INKATHA thing - they - it's - you'll find right now that there are people who joined to be - who did join to for the INKATHA, not simply because they were INKATHA people. They just joined because they were thinking that was something revival, and only to find that it's a - it's just a fake.
- J.F. And - so then what happened - just briefly how did the whole thing crumble - did ...
- L.T. The crux of the matter came in when the time - when there was these rent hikes, in 1973.
- J.F. '73?
- L.T. Yes, I think it was '73 - was it '73 or '72 - somewhere there ...

- L.T. I've forgotten now, and ...
- J.F. The '70's?
- L.T. Sorry, in 1983. So that's when the whole thing crumbled down.
- J.F. You mean it went from '79 all through the '80's?
- L.T. '79 - it was initiated in 1979. '80, well, the baby was still growing, but we'd a lot of infectious diseases then - it was becoming more weak and weak, and then '81 was - we could see that the child would never live up to another year or so, by '82 when (.....)123 we could see that now it was heading for ... for its last days.
- J.F. Did black people in Hambanati make criticisms, or was it just the people involved?
- L.T. No, the people in Hambanati made the criticism, because we - they - it - the rent hikes, if we think of rent hikes during that time - it was a time of recession in this country. People were being retrenched at their jobs and so on and so on, so it was out of the question to have - and they ran - the way they increased the rents was about 50 - 60% or so, which was too much for the income of the - for the level of the income of the people.
- J.F. So what happened then?
- L.T. Well, we started an organisation for all the townships which were under the urban areas, like - we took a decision (132) with Dube - Harrison Dube - we all joined forces - townships like Lamontville, Chesterville, Hambanati - all the townships/ were under the urban - under the white areas. /which.
- J.F. What was it called?
- L.T. We called our organisation the JODAC John Reid (135) Action Committee, and I was elected the chair of it - my vice was Rev. (.....) (L36) so that is when everything started.
- (This chap is very difficult to understand in places, talks very fast and doesn't finish words or sentences. He also does a lot of stuttering and words seem to get lost, or pile up on top of each other - very difficult to make out - so I'm doing quite a bit of guessing, but trying to get it as near as possible to what I think he's saying!)
- J.F. So when did you start JORAC?
- L.T. We started JORAC in August, 1983 - no, in - it was in April - no, no, not in April - I remember now - that's when Mrs. Dube's mother was killed. I think we started JORAC beginning of - somewhere beginning of 1983 - February or March.
- J.F. And would you say that - did it have a good membership, and can you tell me?

- L.T. Oh yes, we had 100% support. Well, the surveys and everything else shown - the figures have shown that JORAC really did have a majority.
- J.F. Now how does this compare with the community council - was it still going on?
- L.T. It was a campaign against - it was a campaign for the community councils to withdraw from participating as - it was a sort of a - campaigning against the withdrawal of the - it was a sort of a campaign for the community councils to withdraw their services.
- J.F. So JORAC started, and did you right away say : What JORAC wants is community councillors to quit?
- L.T. Quit.
- J.F. Right. As soon as JORAC was founded you said : Stuff (Staff) 150 get out.
- L.T. Get out - this is exploitation want exploitation.
- J.F. And did Dube get out?
- L.T. Well, Dube was just at a verge of that, and they shot him - they killed him. In actual fact, I think the person was involved in A.N.C. and so on. They thought he was the one who initiated the whole thing, because things were pretty bad and you could feel - that is when, in actual fact the uprising started here in Durban.
- J.F. What do you mean the uprising?
- L.T. I mean people reacting against the local authorities - the administration board and so on and so on.
- J.F. And so then you started JORAC and then Dube was killed - did that change JORAC at all.
- L.T. No, never changed at all - it went on until today still as strong.
- J.F. And then
- L.T. Organisation.
- J.F. Did you mount campaigns against rent increases and things like that?
- L.T. Yes, we mounted campaigns against rent increases as much as we had, at some stage had lengthy talks with Dr. Goernhoff was then the Minister of Co-operation and Development, which was the black - black house, I should say, in the parliament, but - the black portfolio in there.
- J.F. Before you said to me Tongaat's quieter than Kwamashu and the others, but when you were the head of - as the head of JORAC - that takes in Lamontville, Chesterville (..... L.T.) townships - what about once you became the head of JORAC which included some of those bigger places, did you find the youth kind of being pressurising - did you find that the youth was quite radical and in their being negative?

- L.T. They were - I think the youth became quite radical, and supporting the idea of the community councils to withdraw their services, and I think that is when they were able to open up and show exactly where they stand when it comes to things of - things of exploitation of some sort.
- Like we find that at Lamontville we had quite a number of uprisings there and people were supporting the community councils had problems. Some of their houses were burned and so on - destroyed and so on.
- J.F. Do you remember the first attack on a community councillor - not Dube because that obviously - but do you remember the first burning or attack or something - do you remember any stage when you thought that these young blacks are turning on the community councillors?
- L.T. The first attack, in actual fact, was only - these people that were - who decided to remain with the community councils, the youth people threatened them and told them : Look, if you don't want to withdraw from this, then we are going to have problems. You are not going to stay with us - go and stay with your counterparts.
- J.F. With your what?
- L.T. White counterparts, I should say, or white - with the ...
- J.F. Sure - and when was that, that the first burnings happened?
- L.T. The first burnings happened in - not quite sure of the dates, but I remember one of the first - one of the burning started in March, I should say ...
- J.F. Before Dube was ...
- L.T. No, no, I'm sorry, I'm making a mistake. Immediately after Dube was shot, but it was inevitable. It was - I should say it was - it was inevitable that the uprising was going to start, and Dube - it was just for Dube's peace, or Dube's power to be able to control the situation then at Lamontville, that : Look, guys wait, let's go through this way, and try this way and that other way, otherwise uprising was there -
- you could feel that the feelings of the - the spirits of the people were very high.
- J.F. And did Dube ...
- L.T. Because I remember Dube died after the - the bus boycott was already in operation.
- J.F. Was he a member of JORAC.
- L.T. Was a member, yes ... of JORAC.
- J.F. But he hadn't resigned yet?
- L.T. He was a member of JORAC. He had not resigned, but he was going to resign. We - in actual - there was - 201 he was already there in the community councils, and he had to move for the - we had to ask him to resign from the community councils, and he said : O.K. I'm going to resign

- L.T. but before I resign, let's make these people, and convince them and make them see that why are we resigning? We're resigning because of this and that - we can't meet our demands. You are still going to present that when they're killed.
- J.F. And then did you have a lot of people resigning, and following what ...
- L.T. Yes, we had quite a number of people resigning from the community council, with the exception of those, of course, that were - you always have people who always like to be - to get a pat at their backs as good boys.
- J.F. And then in '83 then the UDF was formed - did JOR/DAC affiliate to UDF?
- L.T. Yes, JOR/DAC affiliated with the UDF.
- J.F. So can you just tell me briefly what happen then for the rest of '83 up to the present time?
- L.T. From then, I should say - well, after seeing that - because at Hambanati there were some - also some pressure - people were - although there was, nothing really broke up loose, but the atmosphere was also tense there, but that is when, up till the time when these people decided to attack us and destroy our houses ...
- J.F. You see, I don't know anything - I'm asking you to tell me what happened from '83 - in '83 I don't know the history, so if you can just tell me - in '83 special that happened or what happened in '84.
- L.T. In 1983 we had the boycott of buses. We had burning of the houses - all the people who were supporting the system, and then , in 1984 it continued again - school boycotts and all that, and in 1985 - I mean in 1984, when all those pressures were applied - when the situation was becoming more - getting more worse and out of hand and we found ourselves also being victimised. Our houses were burned by people - by the organisation which called itself INKAT/A.
- J.F. So INKAT/A burned your house when?
- L.T. They started burning our houses in September last year.
- J.F. Your own house?
- L.T. My house, Ian's house - about six of them - they burned about six families.
- J.F. And were you totally burned out?
- L.T. Completely burned out - even our cars.
- J.F. So then what did you do?
- L.T. Well, we moved out as refugees and (.....) (234) Priory for about five, six months. We returned home in January, after the insurance : Correction : assurance by the association board that we're going to be safe ...

- J.F. Home to what - to rebuild houses, or
- L.T. They were repaired by the association board - they were repaired by the association board, so ...
- J.F. The what board (Glad you asked that!)
- L.T. The administration board.
- J.F. What's it called - the Hambanati ...
- L.T. No, no, it's called the Port Natal Administration Board - P.N.A.B., so we were asked to return to our homes in January this year, having left them in September when they were - when we were attacked, so after they were repaired we were assured that - we had an assurance that we were going to be safe - they were going to - we were going to be the safety sort of coverage there, and in May again they re-attacked and burned our houses - the same organisation - the same people, so now we moved away again - we moved out - we ran out as refugees now at Ghandi Settlement Centre at Inanda (247) which has recently been also destroyed by ...
- J.F. So you were at the Ghandi Centre when it was attacked?
- L.T. Yes, and they have moved back again to (.....) (249) Priory, but I'm now back at home at the present moment.
- J.F. Where is home?
- L.T. At Kwamashu.
- J.F. Kwamashu? What's home - why do you say home - is your family there?
- L.T. My family.
- J.F. Your parents?
- L.T. My parents.
- J.F. And how many - are you married?
- L.T. I'm married.
- J.F. And how many kids?
- L.T. Two. Both of them, fortunately are at boarding school, and - well, for the time being I'm rushing everything to get myself organised by the time they come back from college at the end of the year.
- J.F. And is the Tongaat company helped you at all with the housing problems?
- L.T. No, no, no, not that I know of - not any - not their society - not any of - not any assisted that I know of.
- J.F. So, now that you've given me that, can I just ask you the questions this way sorry (....) If I could ask you some general questions - what I'm trying to get at is that - I'm talking about non racialism, then the Government says see if they're blacks against blacks - it's tribal -

- J.F. they can't live together - the blacks themselves aren't non racial O.K., so I'd like to kind of ask you some questions that would illuminate your point of view about that situation - who's responsible and this kind of thing. How would you respond if say, someone like P.F.P. or someone from overseas said : Gee, we'd like to support the blacks against this apartheid, but it just seems that there's just - you can't even live together peacefully - you're just killing each other - what would you say about that?
- L.T. I would say I don't think that is true - it's a true statement, because the killings that are happening, you will find that some of them - not even some of them - all the killings that are taking place in the country, you'll find that behind the whole thing, the whites are - do - perpetuate some of the organisations, or some of the things so that the whole thing will appear as if the blacks are fighting to blacks. I'll quote, for instance, an example. At some stage I remember they were saying that the AZAPO is fighting against the UDF in Port Elizabeth. When I got down there, in Port Elizabeth at some stage, I discovered that the people that were - that were so-called the AZAPO organisation, some of them - those people that were so-called the AZAPO organisations - they were in actual fact they were the police (281) people killing people under the name of the AZAPO. And it's not blacks - now you'll see that, from there, you can see that it's not blacks against blacks - it's the system against the blacks.
- J.F. What about in your own area, because I actually did some stories on that very thing in P.E. with people there - if you can talk about in the Hambanati situation, your
- L.T. Here in Kwazulu, for instance, what has happened here in Durban, or where I come from in Hambanati, the people that have been set against us - they are the INCATA organisation, and the INCATA organisation, if thinking (take them) (290) right from the top, they're the collaborators of the system, so now, some or either they are using these people, giving them false information about any person who is anti - was anti Government policies. They used the people and feed them with the wrong information, like saying : These people - they are denouncing the name of the chief - these people - they are - what should I say - they are insulting the name of the chief - they are doing - they know that some of the people in Zululand - they still believe in this chief things and so on and so on - they still respect their chiefs and their kings and so on, but they're not very, very much politically (.....) (302) because right now what they're using - they're just using all these, as you call them the Impis - they call them the Impis, and you'll find that amongst that organisation you'll find that there is a great deal of literacy (illiteracy) (305) amongst those people, and they know - they don't know what they are doing. All they know is just to - if they said that : All right, you go and attack, then they just go and attack there, without even finding the facts - sitting down and finding the facts. That is why you find that the - most of the majority of enlightened group

- L.T. have withdrawn from the INCATA organisation.
- J.F. Is Hambanati supposed to be in Kwazulu?
- L.T. We - that is - we also*thought that they were going to incorporation to Kwazulu - it is not yet incorporation to Kwazulu. We have defended that. *could be fought (311)
- J.F. And what's the population of Hambanati.
- L.T. The population of Hambanati's about 6,000 - 600 - about 600 houses, so the population is about 5,000 I should say.
- J.F. And is there much INCATA there?
- L.T. Not at all, because most of the people that came to attack us - they were coming from far places like - recruited from Kwazulu, Mpangeni, which is about hundred and something kilometers from the place. They arrived in buses, the majority of them.
- J.F. Have you ever joined INCATA?
- L.T. No, I've never joined INCATA.
- J.F. Now, again this is a simplistic question, but why not - I mean you're Zulu - this must have been an organisation to support Zulu pride, nationalism - what do you think of that?
- L.T. In South Africa, as far as I know, the organisation which is really effective is never given any opportunity to survive, and the one that survives is the one that supports the system.

When you come to think of it, that our most effective leaders have left the country, and live in exile, and others are jailed for life, but there are those that enjoy the benefits from the system. Like I would find some of the leaders of the so-called, or like INCATA - the leaders of INCATA - they

move in and out of the country and who finances them? The person who finances them is the Government - is the system - the central Government, and I've no doubt that if - the INCATA as such, as it is referred to - it's not at all the ...
.....(Adjusting something?)

it does not at all represent the black masses in South Africa - it only - it's a sort of a racial, or what should I say - it's not a racial organisation, but it's a tribal organisation. When we speak of sort of the black - the liberation of blacks we speak of all the blacks in South Africa, not only of the Zulus, as INCATA stands for, so when we speak of liberation of blacks, we speak of a multiracial sort of liberation for all the people in South Africa, not for only one tribe, and

what I think is going to happen - what I think - my feeling at the present moment about INCATA is that - and its leader is that they are trying to create some of the Muzorewa type of style Zimbabwe which failed at some stage - where they call it - elect one person as a leader and thinking that

that person was going to get the support of the majority of the people, but it did not work out until they had to release the leaders who were detained or serving sentences

- L.T. in jail to negotiate with them until the country was - came to be rescued from war, I should think so, and that's what's going to happen in South Africa until they negotiate with the real, true leaders in the Country - the country will always be in turmoil as it is now.
- J.F. And another statement just about the community councillors - again just a kind of a response to what is being put out overseas, that if someone'll just say : Look, I can understand about these community councillors - that they're not doing good, but why are they being burned and killed and stabbed and their houses and families killed and all this stuff - this is brutal
- L.T. It's - no - it's because they don't want to identify themselves with the struggle. They are refusing to identify themselves with the struggle. What they want to do - because we know that this - it's a sort of a puppet idea thing - it's more on a - they are creating the Homelands in the rural areas, and in the urban areas they are creating - it's a sort of a, I should say it's a Homeland style in the urban area, so that's what we're trying to stop, so these people, because - well, of course, they are being paid quite a fat cheque for what they're doing, so ... I think the masses can no longer stand to have people sort of exploiting their - what shall I say - exploiting their way of doing things, like you'll find the people are fighting against being discriminated from other - from any others - its sources of - what should I say - what I want to use is the - the country's wealth, I should say - to be excluded from the country's wealth or economy.
- J.F. And you can see why - you're saying that people are against them, but what about the brutal methods of attacking and killing them - how do you feel about that?
- L.T. In the first place, I should say, it's bad - I've experienced the pain and agony you go through when your house is burned - you lose all your valuables - you lose everything. It's bad, but at times it becomes a bit impossible to control the mob sort of spirit. We have seen a lot of things being destroyed because of mob spirit. People tend to lose tendency of sitting down and think - they just run amok and do silly things. I think that's part of the mob spirit that carries them that far.
- J.F. But I think the danger is that some people would listen or read this and think : Well, your house was burned, community councillors sell out, X house was burned - it's a similar situation ...
- L.T. Well, they're taken - the community councillors are taken as sell outs
- J.F. I'm saying you're not saying your house was burned because you're a sell out difference (L.T. can't wait!)
- L.T. The difference is that, with us, we were burned out because, I think, with us, we're victimous because the INCATA

* victimised (414)

- L.T. itself, or the system - the central government is against the UDF, so we were seen as people that were spreading UDF to - further : Correction : to move further into Zululand other than (419)*confining into the urban areas, so we were moving more - there were things - thinking that perhaps we might spread it even more into Zululand than being*confining to the urban areas, so it was just a threat - a threat which, of course I don't believe it could ever happen, because you can't - I mean you can't talk about any - but I - well, you can't say that because I remember at one stage when there was these bus strikes right in Zululand. People were able to stay in and tell the chief himself that : Look, you can't tell us anything - you are travelling with a free car - ZG 1, and you're getting a fat cheque from Pretoria, and you cannot tell us that we are the people who are suffering. That statement alone showed that the people right in the heart of Zululand were a bit conscientised - were aware of the fact of some exploitation somewhere, somehow by these Homeland issues.
- J.F. They said that to Buthelezi?
- L.T. Yes, they said that to him.
- J.F. And what about the idea that a lot of people would like to think that in the areas in a far away place like Tongaat, people just aren't as political - that they must be outside people getting them all - like you came from outside - do you think that the people in that area aren't political - that they you guys to get them going?
- L.T. Not many of them are that political, as I say, but until we came in there, and then, well, the number increased and people were - well, I mean in most cases, like I say, - Tongaat was more of a remote area - people there were on labour migration - coming in just for - just to work in the industry there - Tongaat group industry, and it - somehow either (I think he means somehow or other) needed someone to motivate them.
- (Before I forget, *he says confiding, but I think he means confining - 419, 421)
- J.F. But the Government says : Outside the agitators, you came in and stirred them up.
- L.T. I can't completely agree to that, because I remember at some stage, there's a guy there who at some stage was - during the times of the A.N.C. who was detained, and those people - it just shows that the element was there. It's just that it needed somebody to motivate and that is all, so when we came in and - we just motivated the area and the area responded.
- J.F. How many kids were in your family that you came from - how many brothers and sisters do you have?
- L.T. I've got four brothers and one sister.

- J.F. I guess the last question I'd like to ask is - do you think that in an area like Hambanati in a rural remote place - are the people really non racial - one would think that they don't see many progressive whites and they may just think the struggle is just black against white, finish - do you think that the people in Hambanati are open to Indians and Coloureds and whites being with them in the struggle?
- L.T. I should think so. I should think that they are aware that there are whites who are with them in the struggle. There are Indians who are with them in the struggle. They are aware of that. As I say, we have had organisations - some of the Indian organisations combining us together on certain issues. At times we'll get black - when this thing happened at Hambanati, some of the Indians were the people that came in and helped us - taking the families away and some of the whites coming in there to take the families away, and organising - right now we are having having all these cheques (checks) 483 I'm going to distribute them amongst those refugees, and so on - they are quite aware.
- J.F. And does your wife or your family ever say to you : Sure you should stay out of politics - look what it's costing us?
- L.T. Not at any given moment. My wife is a diehard. She comes from a very, very strong constituency of political area in South Africa - from Transkei to Xobo (492) have you ever heard of that area of Xobo. That is where some of these great leaders came from - whose daughter Koma (496) came from there, and many others came from there (.....) Sekundi (497) himself comes from there and many other political leaders - they come from Xobo. It's one of the constituencies that South Africa had a problem. Up to today Matanzima's got a problem as to how to tackle those people, so she's very much aware, although - well, of course, at some stage she will ask me to play it safe - you're a bit exposed now. She'll probably say - well, she guides me quite well.
- J.F. And do you think that you can play it safe - is JORAC still going?
- L.T. JORAC's still going very strong ...
- J.F. Are you still Chairman?
- L.T. I'm still Chairman. The - JORAC is still going very strong, and it will go on strong as long as the problems and crisis of the townships are never solved.
- J.F. Have you ever been detained?
- L.T. No, but I've been called quite a number of times to be questioned - stupid questions being asked stupidly - silly questions, but during the times of the high -, when the crises were really high, I was - they came and asked me to come and interrogate me at their head office - the security guys, so well, I only told them that : Look, what we need is this and that and that - one plus one plus two plus three, that is all, which was that they should not increase the rentals - that they should provide the housing - houses

- L.T. for people which people can afford to pay rents for, and that they should improve the conditions in the townships, that is all, and people wanted to buy - they want to buy houses - they want to - right now people - you remember that we're not even allowed to buy these houses -
- it's just there is something that this purchasing business :
Correction : it's just a recent thing that this purchasing business have been introduced.
- J.F. Have there ever been any detentions in Hambanati?
- L.T. Have there been any?
- J.F. Detentions.
- L.T. Yes, well, but not very long - from our youth - quite a few of them were picked up and, for about two or three weeks and then released.

END OF TAPE.

- J.F. also not just white/black but black in the other race - in the other groups - tribalism and all that - in your experience, with your father being traditional and everything, did he make you think of yourself as a Tsutu or an African more than black.
- L.T. I think if one looks back at that situation, there wasn't any undue - although he was a traditionalist and would look at things from that perspective in a number of ways, but I don't think I had any point felt, for instance, there was discrimination in how, for instance, you'd (he'd) (012 regard people of other language groups per se. It didn't exist at that level with him, but one has come to - this is what the kind of experience that one has come to recognise, that where you have people being very strongly traditionalist it might have been there. Maybe it's because I hadn't seen my father in different situations to be able to see how he'd respond to different situations, but I think what one has seen is that where people are very strongly traditionalist, often they would have - they're often problems at some levels with discrimination. It's like a latent -
- it's like a group wanting to put one before - above others in some way or another. There is that problem - people are very conscious of - like what has happened as a result, through one's upbringing - one has outgrown - if it was there in any intensity at all, because I don't think I ever had it intensely ..
- J.F. Tribalism?
- L.T. Yes, the feeling of being I'm a ^{Sotho} Tsutu per se, and because I didn't experience it in my family background, I didn't experience very intense feelings about other people of

- L.T. other races. In fact, one's approach was one of - I think that one tended to be much more rationally in the circumstances than perhaps it might have been the situation differently, but where, I think, you don't have sufficient rationale you do have those problems of putting on your tribal background above everything else - that (there are) (036) things - it does often happen.
- J.F. Do you think non racialism means non tribalism ...
- L.T. I think in the final analysis, yes. It means that you - I can't see how you can be non racial and be tribal on the other. I think it's a very - that's a very strong statement for you to have progressed to that position where you accept non racialism. It must in itself reflect a higher understanding of human relationships, and for that matter, I can't see how it can be reconciled with tribalism. There is a saying that you scratch a racist, you find a tribalist, and you find a sexist. I think that that sums it up very well. Of course, it's not a blanket suggestion that people who are non racial are chauvanists, or are not sexists. It will be there, but I don't think it will be intense if it is out of political commitment per se. If it is there it'll be there as a weakness - as a shortcoming that obviously will not be helped - held profoundly, unlike a racist and a heavy traditionalist. Often you find them very strong at that level.
- J.F. And what about coming to Durban - did you find any tribalism, any discrimination against you not being Zulu?
- L.T. I don't think I could describe that as being discrimination. There was - one could say the only problem one had in the early stages was of communication firstly - I didn't know a syllable of Zulu, but people generally were very O.K. - very, very O.K. I didn't feel very discriminated against.
- J.F. So how did you learn Zulu?
- L.T. By (laugh) the pressure of having to live with people who speak Zulu - I just had to learn it one way or another, through talking and those kind of things.
- J.F. Did you ever use a book, or did you just...
- L.T. No, never - never used a book. Even when we were organising, for instance, (.....) (062) I had to go with friends to a meeting, I could hear what was being said, but now the problem was communicating there, so we had questions that I think would be appropriate to ask at such meetings - a piece of paper or any comments I'd give it to a friend of mine to
- J.F. So you wrote them in Tsutu or English (Repeat)
- L.T. I would write them in English because otherwise people wouldn't be able to understand (laugh) Tsutu as well, so it was through that that I managed, with time, to learn Zulu

- J.F. ... get that thing in the international community - the burning of the tyre and the killing of the corporal at the (.....) (002) funeral - I'm just wondering if there's something you can say about that - you're talking about how whites can be involved in the struggle but do you think at a certain point there is a distance in terms of whites - what would you say about this violence - would you say: Look, I wouldn't do it - it's terrible, but it's these young boys, it's thugs, or would you say: Look, you don't understand - what would you say about it?
- L.T. What I've seen, the people who have that kind of problem - the people in whom the moral abhorrence of violence so clouds their perceptions that they are unable actually to see beyond just that violence. I think there's one guy who one journalist who was very perceptive in an article which was saying that over the years people have made demands, say on the Government, and this is in general terms, and their response, for example the State of Emergency is an example of that response. In other words - and it is increasingly becoming that. For example, before the State of Emergency, what you were already beginning to see was the insistence of the state to - the tricameral parliament, I remember when we were doing house to house visits, we were saying to people one of the fundamental problems with the new deal is that it is exacerbating the problems, and it is dangerous in that it is going to increase the hostility, not only against the state per se, but against those who are going to participate - to facilitate for the state the realisation of its structures within these communities, because what is happening is, where people feel that they are not heard by the other side to which they are perhaps addressing themselves to, then what happens is that those - the strength of that feeling then turns inward. In other words, to clear within our own - to clear within the community those who make it possible for the state to operate in the way in which it operates now. What one is saying about the violence is that it is because people have not experience - they experience it from a distance, if that's experience at all. They're not so close to it that they feel how - the strength of the feeling against the doings of those characters because the politicisation that is taking place, as a result of the state use of the S.A.D.F. and the police in the township, has led to far more - this is the kind of feeling which is - which one can only ascribe to people who see the possibilities that it is actually possible for these people to change, but they're not doing so, and the reason for that is that they are - there's (.....) 034 Just to give an example, it has not happened in Natal to that extent, but what was happening over a period of time is that community councillors all over were resigning - left right and centre, for a number of reasons. What happened here is that, where community councillors resigned, INKATA put in its men - they went into the system and actually made these structures survive. For example, in Lamontville, you've got three community councillors there who were not elected - they were literally installed, and they continue

L.T.

.... to function, officially. They hold no public meetings, there is nowhere in - even in the community itself they hold no public meetings. You have a similar thing in most other areas, where you have these guys - they have been installed there, and one immediate thing that always

happens is that they get enriched in a number of ways. I know one guy very closely. He was a chairman of a burial club in the area, and he stayed in a three room. He was an ordinary worker, basically - very traditionalist and so on. Suddenly this guy, because he was persuaded by INCATA

TO JOIN THE COMMUNITY COUNCILLORS. Now he's got a bottle store, and this we pick up from these things - the Hansards of the new parliament when these guys were asked : What are you doing about the bottle stores, the administration boards, and they were saying : No, we've sold them. For instance,

the one in the hostels who sold to Mr. So-and-so-and-so-and-so. Where the hell does that guy get the money from? You see, this is where people won't come and tell you : No, we want facts and so on. They'll say : That money comes about because the person has decided he's going to participate in

that. There is no way in which anybody else would participate there without those kind of - without so much money and inducements being given to them. They wouldn't participate, and what one is saying is that we cannot undermine

the perceptions of people, or their recognising - peoples' ability to recognise that, in fact, that is what is happening, and this is what increases the frustration. Now there is no way in which, for instance, people can express themselves in any way. We use churches, where we can, but where they have had a chance, they've closed those avenues altogether.

People are unable to meet. For example, in Kwazulu, [this is why I maintain the] violence became so pitched and it went so heavy in - in a short space of time, because people are not allowed to hold meetings. In other words, they are unable to express their grievances, so you've got a lot of people with a lot of feeling who do not have a single

opportunity to express themselves,) or who do not have any opportunity to express themselves, (and where they do, what almost always happens, where you want to express that feeling very strongly - demonstrations or anything like that, they get cruelly bashed up] (065) INCATA was having a stupid

demonstration there - I know that's a biased sort of remark, but they were having a stupid demonstration here about Durban's beaches and things, that it is being opened to all, and that went on - you didn't see a single cop. They went Correction, I think : They weren't unwieldy (068) and there was no incident. They recently went to protest, demonstrate

in favour of investment as against disinvestment, and nothing happened. Now the first demonstration people at the - at this place here - American Embassy - they were messed up - rugby tackled, the works, by police ...

J.F.

Who - INCATA?

L.T. Students.

J.F. Oh, students, yes.

L.T. Rugby tackled and there was teargas and all those kind of things by police, and this is what happened. [What I'm saying is that that's how people want to express themselves very strongly, through a demonstration - a march, or anything like that. Even within a township, that one gets broken down promptly, immediately and harshly, so I - what

one will then ask is : How do you expect persons with that kind of experience to respond to those within the community who are perceived as facilitating that very process? This is my problem. What one hates is to - I think one person

made a very interesting comment about the question of violence that why - what they want is that people should condemn violence, but when I look at the - what is going to be the effect of my condemning violence in the first place? I'm trying to put myself in the boots of someone else out there, and look at the experience, you see. When Bishop

Tutu said that he's going to pack his bags and go, he was told to go - Go, you actually missed your flight, and that does not mean that people do not respect Bishop Tutu, but they take strong exception to talking about what they are doing, as a response to what is being done on them, because

it's only going to be the removal of conditions that, or it is going to be only when these guys begin to stop their violence, which is the exercise in a number of ways. It's not only the brutal one that we often see here often - of guns and so on, because if you bottle up people they're bound to explode, and you don't often are able to control

explosions, unless you are some supernatural thing which you haven't seen yet, and we are saying it is - they are responsible for those explosions that are taking place there, and I'm not going to get involved in condemning them. Whether I support or do not support violence, it's a stupid thing, and to call for condemnation of violence is negative,

because what you are having is that there are many more people outside there who are not even in our organisation, who are the ones who actually often take decisions to mess up, and use those kind of methods there - who are not even in our organisation, and this is one thing that often these

people do (don't) (100) know, because they must have control over that kind of thing. It's like - it's political, but I think it's a phenomenon that can be understood even in terms of - look at the mine workers' strike in Britain. The frustration which they got from people who went on to

scab (104) - it's like stabbing in the back. They are involved in trying to put pressure on say, management, on an issue which, in their perception, is just, and then someone else comes around and actually make it possible those guys to function. It shouldn't be surprising ~~to those guys because~~ . Correction : It shouldn't be surprising if those guys go to stand up and mess up that guy. The same thing

L.T. happened here in Natal whole week (all week) (108)
 There's some call - dismissal of workers there. The same
 thing happened there. Some of the guys who weren't there ^{scabbing}
 *~~escaped~~ there - who went and scabbed there. Some of them
 were waylaid and killed, because I - one can almost feel
 that feeling of - what's the word - of betrayal, because
 that's what it is in a sense, really, and it's not something
 that people - people at the - at the moment people begin to
 focus on that, the only thing they're going to get from the
 community, or from the people is - they'll be rejected, man.
 There's no doubt about that. They'll be rejected. This
 is why, and what is interesting is that the state itself -
 the way, for instance, it is using violence, like the ~~ex-~~ ^{Koevoet}
 perience of Namibia and (.....) (117) ~~Kufati~~ in Namibia -
 brutality with which these guys are handling, shows they -
 it's a phenomenon which is - which can be attributed to
 people when in conditions of desperateness (..... laugh -
 at someone on the 'phone, I think - who is also hindering
 my hearing process - he says he's going to kill someone,
 but if he doesn't go away soon) ~~*scabbing.~~
 and it's - that's the extent of the frustration.

J.F. Let me just pursue it a bit further with some crude questions -
 think that that's - I think you've stated it quite el-
 oquently, but I'm going to challenge you a bit on just a ...
 ... level which is - how do you respond if someone would say :
 Look, if you were standing in Ciskei in King when the col-
 onel Bliss of the Ciskei defence force came by in his car
 and people pulled him out and said : The necklace, the neck-
 lace, and wanted to kill him - what would you do as a comm-
 unity leader?

L.T. You see, there's one example that I will respond to in that.
 There was an informer in a funeral somewhere in Pietermar-
 itzburg, and the president of the UDF, Archie Gumede was
 there, in front there, and he intervened and, in a sense,
 prevented people from doing that. I have done that myself.

I tried - I remember when INCATA was - the INCATA people
 came there and they were - they had actually been involved
 in provoking people in a number of ways, and suddenly - we
 tried to intervene - they said : Uka, wait a minute. Don't
 do it, and they said - I described to you the kind of people

we are dealing with there, that : O.K., you guys have been
 talking too much. You have just seen how these guys are
 responding here, on the other hand - you have seen how they
 are responding, and we are not going to tolerate it - you
 move aside, and (laugh) we've done that before. It's not

like we are saying that those are the kind of things that
 we wouldn't prevent if you can, but where you dare do it,
 and you don't respond quickly enough, you get it yourself.

J.F. Sorry, I missed that example - what happened to you - just
 say

L.T. What I'm saying is that we try to do that, and one guys ...
 To save people from being beaten?

- L.T. Yes, and what happens is that, you have been talking too much. We've been standing there and watching you, and hearing you talk to these guys, and they've refused to cooperate. What do you want now.
- J.F. Who said that?
- L.T. These are the people who are on the other side of the fence, and they said : You move aside. I remember I was standing with one friend of mine, who was having a loud hailer, and we couldn't do otherwise because, even as they were saying : Move aside, already stones and things were flying all over us, and we had to get out of the place quickly.
- J.F. So you're saying you can make an effort, but the people may just overrule.
- L.T. Me and you might not draw (153) those kind of things. We might dislike them, no matter how much we can do, but it might be because of our own experiences, personal experiences, we are not like the other people there who do not have other channels, like - I may be in a position to express myself in a number of ways, unlike the other person there, because of the status, because of the office, or whatever that kind of thing. I might be in a position to do that, but there are people there who do not have the chance to come out strong like that, and who depend on us to push across that, and when they see our efforts being frustrated, that's what they resort to.
- J.F. So you're saying it's actually a result of seeing your ineffectiveness with talking, talking peace, trying to negotiate, trying ...
- L.T. And those efforts being frustrated. Even those people who support those people who are doing that get frustrated. They get even more angry, you see. In other words they have been held for too much, for too long.
- J.F. Held back?
- L.T. Yes, held back, and this is a phenomenon that is natural it is there. You look at the history of the A.N.C. and the N.I.C. in the forties. The way in which the youth league went into there and pushed aside the old guard from those two organisations, because they - their perceptions were - of the situation, from the sidelines there, was that those guys there are not seeing beyond that kind of thing, which is not - and it must not be understood to mean, as they would like to do that, it therefore means that these guys had no - how did they put it - political support, or anything like that. The question of the methods you are going to use to solve the problems, in the final end, is going to come about because the majority of people feel that it is high time that these guys must be moved from there, so one example that I've often cited is that, it must not be surprising if, at some stage, they want to crush the UDF.
- Let's say they succeed. Now what they're going to have to deal with (laugh) are going to be people who are not going to be tuning along (a lot) (175) They are going to have

- L.T. to deal with far more stronger people than perhaps the UDF is, which is a front which is hamstrung by - in a number of ways by being a front, and by that example I mean that they are unable to see beyond their - the issues about which they are stubborn. In other words, they are
- J.F. (Can't hear) (181)
- L.T. Yes, and the reason is that there is no line of communication between themselves and the genuine representative of this community here. What you have are the Gatchas (183) there, and those guys are removed from the reality of the experience of the people on the ground floor there, and these guys - they listen to them, you see, and what happens, they work out their programmes based on assumptions, not that comes from the reality of the experience on the ground floor there, and that's where they are - this is why their solutions are fundamentally flawed, because they are not dealing with people who come from there - who has absolute support from there, from the ground floor.
- J.F. Do you think that a lot of what your - O.K., there's one thing of the Government, but if I'm talking about critiques - you know, the violence decrying and that - do you think that's a black/white thing, or do you think that it's just an experiential thing -
- L.T. I think it's ridiculous to call it a black - to try and put colour to it - like the example I made earlier on about the mine workers in Britain, you see. This is what they have often said here, that Gatcha likes talking about black on black conflict. I don't understand why they seem to think ~~that we think~~ ~~Correction:~~ that within the black community, of necessity, there must be coherence. One does not doubt that, for instance, if you look at the situation from a distance, there has to be all Africans, of necessity, must see that the importance of them coming together, but that's overlooking, or ignoring the reality that you see there - the state as it stands - it's not operating in a vacuum, or whatever progressive forces are operating within the black community are not operating in a vacuum. There are forces within the black community which are operating to ensure that, in fact, that does not take place. The state, for example, is going to do everything in its power to ensure that you've got your different Bantustans that do not agree with one another, and you've got the so-called urban blacks, who see themselves as different from the rural, you've got - within the urban you've got your middle class that does not see quite eye to eye with the working class in that area, and you've got your working class terribly

- L.T. undermined by the thousands of people that you force into the Bantustans - what you have there - you are building a lot of checks and blocks towards the unity that otherwise would mean doom for (.....) (213) Government. I mean, this is just one example, and you've got the exchange programmes between these countries, where people are taken out there to be given a taste of the juices of the most free country in the world, America, and they come back here with their perceptions (laugh) and all those kind of things are a definite premium for divisions in the community. This is why - and also those people within the community ~~who, are~~ ~~correction~~ who agree completely with the Government, because they are, like the example I gave you of the bottle stores they have - the shops, the supermarkets, the what - those kind of things.
- J.F. Do you - when I actually asked the question about (.....) 222 thing - do you think that the people who are saying: Oh, but violence, this isn't the way - is it a black/white thing, or are there also blacks who don't understand it -
- L.T. No, again there - even there it does come across. There are people within the community who don't understand it, and the reason is because they are cushioned - they are hardly aware of what is taking place around them - around their noses. That's what happens.
- J.F. So it's a question of experience - that if you're there you'll understand
- L.T. Question of experience definitely, yes - definitely. Like you'd be surprised - you talk to some of the top guys - top - I mean the educated elite and so on from the community ... ask them what is taking place about their area, and you'd be surprised by the amount of ignorance of what is taking place in their community. I mean, just yesterday here, we were disappointed by one of the activists from one of the areas. For the first time they went on a house to visiting the area. He was saying he's seeing for the first time the extent to which people are poor, because, for the first time, he stepped into the homes of the people there - in the neighbourhood around there, and you can't get out of that place unscathed, man, but at the level and the extent of - it sounds ridiculous to say that you thought (239) people who are living twenty in a three roomed house - you can't imagine it until you see it there, and what I'm saying, it is that experience which, in the final end, will begin to make people aware of why people respond like the way in which they are responding, so it is even there - one is not saying that the creation of a black middle class is succeeding per se, or that it's going to succeed, but you have, amongst those people, that level of ignorance and complete support of your so-called free market system - free enterprise, and the works, and for understandable reasons.

L.T.

Those guys live their posh mansions there, and their super cars - go back to work in spacious offices - air conditioned and so on. They go work, in between they visit another friend in a similar situation - goes and have a drink at Marane Hotel (.....) (254) how the hell is

that guy going to know really what is taking place, and S.J. Smith - does he have an idea of what is taking place in Gliblands Hostel - single mans hostel, or in his neighbourhood, man - just down the street there, couple are homes there, and we had an experience when I was staying

in Claremont there. One of the persons just like we were staying with there (Don't forget I'm still having to guess quite a bit) He's a director of a hotel - at some hotel - it's very - he's working for some of these international

companies in the top brackets there. A neighbour - his neighbour - immediate neighbour, about three houses from him, died, and he didn't know - for a whole week a funeral - hundreds of people were there (laugh) and the guy didn't know, yet he was staying in the area.

For people who are used to living in that sort of cushioned way, you are not aware of what is taking place. You move out. You go away. You don't hear what's happening in the second, third houses. You hardly even endeavour (265) what is taking place there. How can you be expected to

understand, or to come and - actually come with any solution to the problem when you hardly know what is happening in places right next door to you - right behind you, or anything like that, so you have those kind of things -

those people would have very serious problems with - they would... One of their tendencies is to be very prescriptive (270) to want to know - instead of doing this, this is what we should be doing, blah, blah, blah, and those solutions

that are not based on an understanding of really :
Correction : reality can never work.

J.F.

You know, if I interview someone who's a member of the black middle class, and I say : Do you - and really the top class like a very high professional, well paid etc., and I say to them : Do you think that you have more in common with someone who's white middle class, or with someone who's black, very poor black person, they'll always say no, no, no, it's my blackness that transcends everything. Doesn't matter if I make more money, I'll side with the black man, the black unites us. Even an Indian person I interviewed who was in the middle class, who at first said : Oh, totally non racial, no (.....) 281 then suddenly said : Oh, but we have similar customs -*I did with my black brothers and this - what do you think of that?
*I'm united with my black brothers.

L.T.

Yes, you see this is why, when we were saying earlier on, that it does not mean that the creation of black middle class is going to succeed because of that, but in practice, in practice daily, that they would politically side with that, because they obviously also have genuine reasons to

object to the system per se. Even if they side, you look at their interest - the kind of interest that they would go for. Saying I would side with blacks is one thing, but side with them for what? When they ask - when what demands they are making, because that's where the problem lies. That vaguely expressed, yes, it wouldn't be sur-

prising. We know that's what - the kind of thing that we would get, but what one is saying is that, what is the extent to which those people are in tune with what is taking place in their communities, and would be, in fact, in a position to say - to come up with ways out of that situation which would resolve problems there.

What I'm saying is that they would not be in a position to do that. One of the things that we have always said is that, the black middle class definitely is under pressure to be supportive of the status quo, but at the same time they cannot escape the pressure, as well, from the community as well, which is demanding that they remain within (laugh) them, in a number of ways, so that they are caught between

that - the interest - the lifestyles that I'm talking about - that lifestyle, in itself, is a sure - what it does, definitely - that can be said of any place anywhere else - ensures that you - the kind of interest that you are going to feel at home with are not going to be the same as those

of the person - factory worker, or anything like that. It's not going to be the same, and that clouds your perceptions - that's what one would say - it clouds your perceptions of things - the way you interpret why this situation is happening in the community and so on.

Like one nurse was saying to me the other day that : Chiranga, he (she) (312) said : Why this person works throughout his life - he probably started selling tomatoes - he's built a big supermarket and suddenly over-night he's got nothing. He was fuming left, right and centre. This was how she was looking at the whole thing. I'm also in trouble because I've got a big account, borrowed money to build her-

self a house, and she's just looking at the prospects of the house being burned down. This is her major worry, and that's how she thinks - interprets things, and obviously

that person, and, I gather, people there on the other side, who would look at things very differently. They wouldn't look at the question of that person's going to lose his riches or so many thousands of rands over-night as the major consideration, so that's how you have their percept-

ions seriously clouded. Instead of looking at the situation objectively and saying : What could be the reason for doing that, and - or politically, what the hell is taking place.

- J.F. ... just a couple of quick points, and maybe if you answer them with shorter answers it would be better - were you saying when you said that - there was a point earlier - are you saying that blacks actually understand and support concepts like socialism - if you're talking about rural people, and you're saying : Look, it's just the bread and butter issues - it's what affects their lives, do they see it in any kind of framework - would they be able to understand like profits and bosses and just rents are too high
- L.T. No, that would be an over-simplification and too much generalisation. I think what one was saying is that our experience of how people respond to things - responds to acting, for instance, for the - to resolve problems is when they feel particularly strong about those things which affect them on a day to day basis. The framework and things is something that will come about through organisation. It's not there by virtue of the suffering of people, whether it's socialism or whatever - it's not there - it's not going - like what might happen, some people might say the experience of the people to date makes it possible for those kind of framework - for a socialist framework not to be difficult to put across, or to - for it's acceptance, because of the peoples' experiences.
- J.F. When you came from the Freestate to Natal, was it your first encounter with Indians and whites - the non racialism in the Freestate does
- L.T. No, ~~they're only Indian : Correction~~ the only Indian in the Freestate was a doctor (laugh), one family there. I hadn't, except when I said earlier on, I'd been to other places from Bloemfontein. I travelled to other places - conferences and things.
- J.F. But how was it, when you encountered non racialism on that level of non - people who were - they were Zulus and you weren't - there were Indians, there were other people race groups - did you find you're accepted - did you find there was - we left off when you were writing notes at the meeting because you couldn't speak Zulu - remember yesterday you were talking about that. I'm just wondering in a practical level how that meant you dealt with what that kind of non racialism, or that kind of racism.
- L.T. No, in fact, I found very, and I think I've seen it in a number of ways as well, where people are very tolerant of a person who does not understand the language, and actually who tries to talk it or anything like that, but of course, at the level of English speaking people such as Indians and so on, I didn't have problems there. For me there was no hassle. Even the extent to which people - I never felt at any point that there was a bit of rejection or anything like that.

- J.F. Maybe I could just ask it in another way just - again a brief answer, but what do you say about - do you think you can deny the ethnicity factor - talking about non racialism it's a wonderful future, but what's the reality?
- L.T. No, no, no, I can't deny ethnicity - that it's - and the - often its negative express in a number of ways, like I'm telling you that my, for instance, the response of the shopkeeper - the Indian shopkeeper, when I went to buy there in a shop for the first time, for example, I didn't experience any - something that I could have attributed to my being African and him being that. Subsequently, I did come to experience it in a number of ways, but what I'm saying is that those kind of experiences one has come to identify it in every other sector, as well.
- Some of the African shop owners, themselves there - the response you get there, when you are a stranger, for example, they are very negative, but their reasons would be slightly different, but in terms of ethnic rejection, or anything like that, I haven't had experience at that level, except from - I can't recall (.....) (389) really.
- J.F. O.K., but I'm just saying on the level of theoretically or just talking about it as a factor - do you say with non racialism - how do you reconcile non racialism with ethnicity.
- L.T. The point I made earlier on is that I think because of my own experience, I do not - I haven't seen it - I haven't seen a conflict between a person who - like, I had recognised it in others, for example, that some of the people were having very strong feelings, for instance, anti - Indian feeling, but for reasons that, if one looks at them thoroughly, a little deeper, one could understand why, and that is what you could blame on ethnicity, but more than that, I'm of the opinion that where a person goes beyond - the moment a person comes to grips with the root cause of the problem, which is what would move you, in the first place, from being a tribalist. The moment you become to accept the others, that inevitably that, I think that the root - I haven't seen that stopping at being - for slightly different reasons, what has happened is that those who move beyond tribalism, non racialism - some of the B.C. guys would say they can only go as far as blacks, meaning Africans, Coloureds and Indians, and not beyond white. In other words, they would have problems with*that because they would regard them as part of the problem, or part of the enemy, or the enemy per se, *whites. so what I'm saying is that, that too, I think, has to do with a correct understanding of the problem. That's where the experience - experience and a correct interpretation of that experience will lead to - I think that's what makes for non racialism.

J.F. Just the one other area I didn't ask you about was the labour - you've worked as a worker - have you ever thought of getting involved with the trade unions, and what do you think about the trade union movement - the trade union like FOSATU will say the only true non racialism is on the factory floor, UDF is ethnic, Four Nations is ethnic, we are the real people who are working ... workers on the factory floor non racially.

L.T. My response to that would be that, as far as we are concerned - you see, we are in the community, you see. We are involved with people - with workers in a number of ways. I've always been referring to Gliblands Hostel and S.J. Smith Hostels - people with whom we've been working hand in hand, and our working together goes beyond merely talking about community problems per se. It goes even further than that, to say :

you guys are working in this kind of industry. This is the kind of union you should work. This is what we have been doing consistently all along. In other words, we have been in responsible, in this area, for the formation of an unemployed workers' union. We deal very directly with the

problems that workers suffer, as a result of those low wages, in the community, and the ethnic story, I think is almost bullshit, if it is thought that it's only on the factory floor that you actually have that experience, because, and this is very serious, that the experiences of Africans, for

instance, on the factory floor, for instance, against Indians - they're very - the way in which the - for instance, the manipulation of saying : Africans the lowest, Indians, and then this. What happens there on the factory floor, actually, is often responsible for what becomes expressed outside in a hostile kind of fashion, and if anybody has done anything

to encourage, and to interact - to encourage that inter-reaction - by the way, what I haven't mentioned to you is that I'm also a Chairperson of the Natal International Youth Year Committee, and what we have been doing, at that level, has been to try and bring together people across race,

and plan activities jointly, which will maximise inter-reaction across race, politically and otherwise, because what happens, peoples' contact is only, for instance, there, for example on the factory floor, where the relationships are pretty nasty, except, perhaps, maybe where you have a question (472) for people to be organised, or in some way,

which is not so. Like FOSATU talks of organising that level there, proportion of organised - for instance, Indian workers is very, very small - very, almost negligible. There's almost resistance at that level, but what one is saying is

that, outside, in the community, this is where you have much more scope to have people inter-reacting to where you have the myths about one another destroyed in practice. This is why you were hearing of people who stay in Inanda - who were staying in Inanda, for example, Indians and Africans who had actually finally married, who did not even move

during these incidences there, because peoples' experience there - where you interact strongly at - outside in the community, and if you take that further and politically, as well, I think that is what lays the basis for lasting

L.T.

.... foundation, like - because, otherwise what happens is that people keep wondering just what makes this Indian guy, or this African guy tick, because you've got no idea, and the reason is that you are staying in separate entities elsewhere. The only time you interact is at work, where

the one is above the other in status, and as a result of which the one, because of the ambitions or whatever, you can interact badly there at that level. In other words, the situation is not conducive to bringing about true non racialism which, I think, comes about, politically, through experience, and what we are saying is that what we have

been organising all along has been situations in which people are able to experience non racial work, and through working together that is the only area which makes possible for lasting unity, across race and sect as well.

END OF SIDE ONE.

L.T.

.... For example, one of our - I'm sure you - I think we still have some of those things upstairs there..... What we have had, we have had conferences, youth conferences. We've got youth inter-group activity. We have had variety gumbas (595) - by that we mean variety concerts and so on, which are not in the usual kind of merely having unorganised fun, but in a way in which the occasion, politically,

ensures that people are going to go out there, plan activity together, go out and carry it out together, and come together, not only activists, for example, but the rest of the youth, for instance, we would insist that that comes across. They play an active role in the - going through the stages, and some of the people have been shocked by the way in which they came there expecting nasty things to

happen, and went away without those kind of things. Some of the people would ask : Aren't we going to have problems, man, when we go there, because they are not used to interacting at that level, and it is only having gone through

that process, that experience, that people gradually begin to see one another differently. Politically, theoretically, they might express it in some other way, differently, but what often has happened is that some of these people have not actually interacted together sufficiently to be able to

know - I understand Julie - she's this kind of person, and the kind of things that I thought of her are not actually true, because - that was because of distance - your group areas act and things, and - but the security police and the

state has ensured that we have as little of those as possible by - from the very onset. For instance, the activities of the Natal I.Y.Y. committee where - from the national conference that we held here, they messed us up badly - confiscating notes, taking names of everybody else, and subsequently raiding and filming every meeting that we had ...

- L.T. and the one concert that we had planned, where we had invited quite a large grouping of people to come to this sort of conference, they stopped it because we did not have a permit - over a technicality, we were in - we were - a tent that could take say, about five thousand people, had been already put up, and the law says : No, that tent must at least be attached to a wall (laugh) otherwise it becomes an open air gathering, so they smashed it up, and they were excited about it. I remember, we challenged some of those security cops there saying : But what are you guys up to, man. You know this bloody thing is very innocent. You almost know what is going to happen. You've got on the programme there, and for a couple of political five minute input you can do, man, with allowing this thing to go ahead. They said : No, fuck off, just like that.
- J.F. Did you resent that you didn't get to study - did you want to study further and ...
- L.T. No, I don't think I've regretted. I think I - it could have been useful if I had studied and one might do so in future, but I don't regret it at all because I think I have learned far more outside those damn institutions than I could possibly have learned there (laugh) in real life.
- J.F. Do you read on your own (Repeat)
- L.T. Yes, I do - a lot, yes. I've picked up quite a lot, I think, from my association with a number of people who have been politically involved, and I think - that has built me as a person more than any other thing else.
- J.F. And what - I think we did - started it yesterday - what are the organisations that you're an office bearer of - which ...
- L.T. The Natal I.Y.Y. of which I'm the Chairperson. I'm the publicity secretary of the UDF ..
- J.F. For Natal.
- L.T. For Natal region. Well, I am from - although I'm no longer active on a daily basis from the youth group which I was a founder member of MALIYU, which I gave you the name of yesterday.
- J.F. And that's it. And is there any way I can get to see any of these poems that you wrote - are they ...
- L.T. (..... sort of whistle!) Just short pieces, man - I think about two of them. Some of them - those that I didn't publish - they're not here with me - they're in Bloemfontein - a stackful of them.
- J.F. What issue of Staff Writer would they have?
- L.T. I remember the last copy of The Post - Golden City Post - the last issue before it was banned or closed or something like that. They had written a revue of - in their revue of their staff writer issues. They had revued both poems that I had written, but they were in different issues of the staff writer - I don't remember their specific issues really.

- J.F. So am I going to be able to - you don't have any copies, or would you be able, in the next few months, if you went to Bloemfontein do you think you could.
- L.T. Yes, I could organise something.

END OF INTERVIEW.