Interview with Torrester?

Bow'C 55"

A - We have taken a decision to intensify our organization in rural areas in the period after the election.

A It is true to say that we have strong support in the rural areas, to a large part which still has to be converted into formal organization. But if you go into areas like N. Cape we already have organizations like the Huhudi Civic Association which is affiliated to UDP.

A In a sense it is , but in a sense it is really in-between .
We have these townships like Onverwacht which are neither rural nor are they in towns.

In the Border areas, based the Mgwali Residents Association which is based in a rural freehold area, is affiliated to UDF.

In the past, it seems that rural resistance has been around issues like removals and betterment planning, which immediately affect people's economic position. Is it possible to translate this local resistance around immediate issues into long-term rim political organization?

These communities are organising around immediate issues, but these organizations have the potential to carry the struggle far beyond the immediate short term issues. As the bantustan policy matures, the question of additional land for African people is going to become a daily issue. The process of consolidation and the fact that 13% of the land has been set aside for african people, has meant that this small area is literally overflowing. We can't see that the government can calm this situation. These pressures, like the overcrowding in areas like QwaQwa, for instance, are generating so much unhappiness that it is inevitable that organization around these areas will take place. Thesexentering

If you look at communities that are moved, you find that once the removal takes place, organization breaks down. Can this be countered? I think there are many ways to counter this. If you take the removal of the Magopa re referral for instance, the lack of amenities like water supply for instance, were issues around which people can be organised and around which resistance can continue to be generated. We must have the foresight to replies that once the removal is over, this is not the end of the struggle. The failure is in the follow-up. I think we should be wherever the people are moved to.

Do you think that the only reason why people, like those from Magopa, become disorganised, when moved, is because there are no lat elteres structures to channel their dissatisfaction?

Well, the removal of Magopa had a dynamic of its own. There were some sharp tensions within the community. There were some people who were prepared to settle at Pachadrasi and who were prepared to follow the schemes of aparthand. There were others who were more resolute, who would not co-operate and those people moved to Bethanie.

Some people cerriedon, some became disillusioned in that they saw the efforts of a lifetime disappear over night. The type of xardisorgenization that exists, must be understood by the fact that it he sonly been a short time since the community has been moved and that the community is recovering from this disruption.

However it is true to xxx say that in Magopa we did not find the solid type of local organization of the Mgwali Residents ... Association, for instance.

It seems that no one was interfering with them before the removal as they owned to the land. In other words the people were not confronting the types of issues which face the people of Soweto and around which organization can take place high rents for instance. Then the people of lagopa were moved it meant that new forms of organization had to take place. While before the people of Magopa were organizing as landowners, now they must organise as tenants or as landless people.

end the state and are some to make demands around the rent issue which you mentioned. But the people of rural people are unlikely eyen to see the x-agents of Pretorie. What power as these people have to organise themselves?

This is true of these areas, people do not have immediate provocation by the state. This makes for difficult organization. But people still have to pay tax. And if we look back across this century we see the struggles that were waged around hut tax for instance. If we look at Bophutuswana we see dongeys are being killed because it is said that the people have more donkeys then they need— there is immense potential for organization around issues like these. For instance the cuestion of the amount of land allocated to people must have potential for organization. And of course the cuestion of political rights, the fact that rural people are restricted to certain put parts of the country, unemployment in these areas the need for people to challenge influx control by moving to urban areas where there are jobs.

People are going from the Ciskei to the Vestern Cape for instance and then being taken back to the Ciskei. We must not forget that these people are members of unions in the towns and that through this their political consciousness is raised and this leads them to have a critical look at the circumstances in which they have left their children and their wives in the rural areas.

All this is petrol which generates heat and must gnerate action through orgenization.

Q Is it possible to organise in areas where chiefs and tribal authorities exist?

In most cases the chiefs are poid by the state. Therefore it is most likely that they will align themselves with the state. However the institution of chiefs is dying. As the pressures of the capitalist economy penetrate even those rural areas, more and more people are making a break with the tribal ties of loyalty to the chief who are teing seen to be serving not the community but themselves.

What we are going to see is the building of new leaders, not on old traditions. It will be a slow and painful process

But doesn't the type of control that chiefs have over rural areas prevent organization ?

A That may be so in some grees. I have my doubts though , to what extent the chief can prevent people from having meetings if the majority of the people went to attend. This problem when it erises will be surmountable, depending on the strength or weekness of resitence within communties. It is a issue to be considered but I think each situation has its own dynamic. That has been our experience

What efe theafi difficulties for UDF of organising in 

The man difficulty is one of resources. These communities ere located far from cities. Secondly most of the men in these communities are staying in the cities where they work- so it is a destabilised community. Esgopa is a good exemple . Leny of the able-bodied men were working in Johannesburg. Those left behind . were old end children. And even when men could go back they were only there for a day or two .

All the government did , was to wait for thes time to expire end then go beck. The other problem is that those men who do remain are probably the people in the employ of the state of the chief - and therefore the balance of men is kept on the side of ... the chief. It makes it possible for the chiefs for a considerable period of the year to have the area under their own control.

A further problem of rural areas is that they are out of public attention . They are not immediately accessible to the outside world.

In the isolation and desolation of the rural areas , warmented people con be kept out the chiefs and the state can terrorise communities into submission. These are real problems.

UDF seems to havexbeen merely been responding to crises in rural areas; like the removal of the Magopa people. Is it likely that UDF will set up alternative structures in rural areas, before crises 'take place?

We are now contemplating that if we have the resources we will employ rural organisers who will set up structures, monitor what is going on end fresh information to these communities. It is

only through structures that resistance can become ective.

Q Will UDF attempt to organise in the rural areas of the socalled independet bantustens.

These are parts of South Africa and we will organise in these areas as much as in the rest of South Africa. In some of the bantustans we have a very strong following; like in the Ciskei for instance.

raised a storm in which they attacked me for having addressed a meeting in the bantustan, saying that I had come to initiate a battle against apartheid when in fact apartheid was dead in Bophutuswang. We will continue to move in and organise in areas like Mabopane because the condition of the people there makes it imperative that we do so. We not only intend to organise in the homeland, it is our obligation. Those bantustans are a part of apartheid. Part of the strategy to destory apartheids to destroy the bantustan as well.

Do you think that Kwart's more active role in removals is a result of the emergence of the UDF?

A I don't think that Inkatha is even granke genuinely taking up the issue of removals. I think that they are moving in there because they are seeing that we are making ground. Their strategy is simply to try and undermine our campaign. We know that people like Kalalose is travelling in Northern Natal, going to hospitals and talking to groups of nurses, telling them about the UDF, warning them not to sign the million signature campaign; saying that through this they will become members of the ANC. Inkatha has been around for a long time of they really hadthe interests of the people they would have started a long time ago.

Inkatha has control over rural areas in Natal through chiefs and Inkatha leadership, even if they do not have popular support. Do you think it is possible for UDF to organise in theseplaces.

We would not say that Inkethe has a lot of support in rural areas. We would say that many of these people have been harassed into taking Inkethe membership.

But I am sure that the members of Inkatha do not know what is Inkatha is doing. All they have been told is that Inkatha is fighting for freedom.

Professor Ness

Because the UDF has a message for every single person, even in areas where Inkatha has been before us, we will be able to provide a message that is meaningful. There is no way of stopping the messas.

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