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**"VOICES OF RESISTANCE"**

INTERVIEWEE: DR DILLY NAIDOO  
INTERVIEWER: D. SHONGWE  
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PLACE: DR NAIDOO'S HOME

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DS: Good afternoon and welcome. My name is Dimagatso Shongwe. Today we are interviewing Dr. Dilly Naidoo, at his home. Dr Dilly Naidoo, welcome and thank you for time.

DN: Thank you for having me.

DS: It's a pleasure. Dr Dilly Naidoo, could you please tell us a little bit about yourself, where and when you were born?

DN: Oh, it's a long time ago, hey? I was born in Durban but my home-town is Port Shepstone, which was about a hundred miles south, in those days. I came to Durban to do my high school education then went back to Port Shepstone after having qualified as a doctor at Natal [Medical School] and came back to Durban and studied for a post-graduate degree, and I've been in Durban working since the '80s, late '80s.

DS: Okay, I just want to take you a little bit back. Would you like to tell us about your schooling first, higher primary or ...?

DN: Okay, I come from a farm, and we went to a farm school up to standard six. Then we had no high schools there, so we had to either go to Umzinto or Durban. Fortunately, I had family in Durban and I

had to get a place over here, and it was at a premium. Somehow I managed to get into Sastri College. I did my high school education at Sastri College. Boarding was a tough thing, you know, unless you had relatives, you had to rough it and so on, it was like a squatter, in many respects, with a different family, but fortunately for me I got "adopted" by a very rich family. I don't know if you knew - I stayed in Greenwood Park with the Pillays, a well-to-do family, and they had links with my father in Port Shepstone. They had a farm there, so the old man Pillay, took me in and he treated me like his own son, and they kept me there for two years; standard seven and standard eight, and after that I moved to Clairwood, and I stayed with my family there as well. Matriculated, and then eventually got into medical school, and thereafter I stayed at the hostel in medical school.

DS: Now I don't know whether it will be fine for me to call you Dr Dilly?

DN: Just call me Dilly.

DS: Okay, I just want to know, why were you adopted? Was there any particular reason?

DN: Okay, well it was like a - when I came to Durban, my father left me with three and six in my pocket, so I had to battle for the first two weeks with bus fare and things. I was staying with my aunt. Then I went to the principal and I told him look, I'm going home, I've got no more money. But luckily there was a kind of a bursary and so on. But when I was staying with my aunt; Mr Pillay was in Port Shepstone over a weekend; and my dad sent him a parcel for me. So when he came there, we were

living, you know, in a big house, but all the rooms were rented to different families, so my aunt and uncle were renting in one room and I was sleeping on the floor there, and they were sleeping on the bed and I was doing my homework on the floor with a primus stove, and so on. So he came; and he wanted to know where we were staying, you know? So he asked where I was staying, and in fact, the old man didn't say anything, he just left. But then on that Saturday he came back and he said he had spoken to my dad; and my dad had agreed for him to take me in. So they took me in and stayed with him for two years, until I was on my feet again.

DS: Oh, that was nice.

DN: Ja, looked after me like their own son; and an old family, it was an extended family and they all just took to me. Probably I was a good boy, I don't know.

DS: You are so fortunate.

DN: Very fortunate; very, very fortunate.

DS: Okay, would you like to - where were your parents born? In South Africa?

DN: My father was a son of an indentured labourer, and he worked in the sugar mill in Port Shepstone but eventually he managed to move out of there and he started his own little market garden after they bought some land, and so on. So, it was a struggle basically, growing bananas and paw paws and bringing it to Durban and selling it. He was basically a hawker.

DS: Okay.

DN: And it was really a struggle to - there were only two of us; my brother and myself, but it was a struggle

to keep me at - especially being away from home, because you had to get boarding and things like that. So that was a problem really and subsequently when I qualified I went back home and all that but in those times it was difficult, you know, home and ...

DS: And being away.

DN: Well I was a little fellow; I was fourteen only when I came to Durban.

DS: Okay.

DN: Fourteen, and it was difficult for them because I used to help them in the market when he used to come when I was in high school selling bananas, try and take some pocket money and things like that but it was tough. But staying with Mr Pillay ...

DS: It was much better?

DN: Ja, because on the farm we had no lights, no toilets, nothing.

DS: Okay, I see.

DN: It was a different ball game in Durban.

DS: So your grandparents?

DN: My grandparents; my paternal grandfather worked in the sugar mill. My grandmother worked as a domestic for one of the whites in the sugar mill, and my maternal grandparents are from Durban. He was a Tamil scholar, teacher - he was a priest really.

DS: Okay, were they born here in South Africa?

DN: No, he was born in India; my granny was born in South Africa.

DS: Okay. So after finishing your matric was it hard even to get a matric or you managed - you didn't have a problem?

DN: Studies weren't really a problem because, I think, we worked hard and managed to pass, but getting in medical school, you know, we were fortunate that we got in because of our passes and so on, I think. And in those days, they were taking limited number of students, but we managed to get in, and from my matric class; there were 30 in our class, but 23 got into medical school so it was a competitive class and I think, that helped us also because the competition started in high school and it helped us to get into medical school.

DS: So the community you lived with, were they okay?

DN: In high school?

DS: Ja.

DN: In Greenwood Park; where I stayed for the first few years, it was a more affluent community, middle class Indians and so on, but when I moved to Clairwood; it was a working class family and basically it's the old Clairwood that we see where, you know, housing problems and sanitation and things like that. So the communities were very, very united, very – there was a communal spirit, in a sense, because Clairwood was a hive of activities in those days, it was the biggest concentration of Indians outside India, in Clairwood.

DS: In Clairwood.

DN: And there was a good community spirit and religious groups, welfare organisations, political organisations and especially sporting bodies. So I was very active in sport as well so I just assimilated into the communities there.

DS: Okay, you said you only had one brother?

DN: Yes.

DS: Okay, did he also...?

DN: No he didn't - the problem with him was that he couldn't stay away from home.

DS: Okay, he loved ...

DN: He loved to be with his parents, so when he came to high school, he spent six months and he said, 'no ways.' For him it was too - so he went back home.

DS: Okay.

DN: And he helped my father. He worked and he stayed on the farm.

DS: So after completing your medical studies, you did practice?

DN: Ja.

DS: Okay?

DN: Well probably we need to say something about medical school because medical school was the - it was the '60s, and at that stage, when I got to medical school, things were very, very quiet. When I did matric and so on, there were a few campaigns, which we probably got involved as students because some of our teachers are very politically minded or conscious and active. But when we got to medical school, at that stage, they were opening up the Tribal Colleges, so Salisbury Island was just started, and we had colleagues who were friends there as well, and medical school was just - it was mostly African students at the hostel, and they were very politically conscious, so I got initiated into this kind of set up, and in the early '60s Madiba, remember, was just - it was the Rivonia Trial; so there were a lot of political consciousness about, and also the movement was banned, the ANC got banned then, but we had some of our leaders who

were coming up; like M.D. and people like that, M.D. Naidoo and so on, were coming to medical school and having meetings with students, and the fortunate thing about Natal Medical School, now known as Nelson Mandela Medical School, was that, the students were not only medical students, you had students doing law and art students and so on living on the campus and there was a strong camaraderie that existed amongst the students. They might have belonged to different political affiliations or whatever persuasions, but there was strong student movement and in the early '60s, there was a strong link also because that was the only university, Black university, sort of department linked to the White side. So you had Howard College, although our seniors were first two years at Wentworth, the next year spent at medical school down here in Umbilo Road. So you had separate SRC's and in the '60s also the Indian students were beginning to get involved - were admitted to the Arts section, that's behind Sastri College. So there was this sort of mixing of medical students with Black Arts students who were also interacting with White students. So the White students, in those days, were affiliated to NUSAS, National Union of Students of South Africa, and that was the national body, which may well - where Natal, Wits and Cape Town were affiliated to, and that was a national student union for South Africa. So we were active in that as well. Some of our leaders were there who were now overseas, or still would come back. For instance, Baldwin Ngubane was Vice-President of

NUSAS, so you see, it was a union of Black and White students.

DS: Okay, you said earlier on you had separate SRC? Was it separate - medical school had its?

DN: Well the medical school had its own Medical Students' Council. In terms of SRCs, the Black students had their own SRC, so all the students, medical and non-medical, were part of the SRC, the Black section and then the Whites, had their own SRC. So if you met, it was only the leadership that kind of met. You voted for separate reps, you had two separate organizations, but affiliated to NUSAS. We affiliated separately as well, and I think this was a turning point in '67, '68. In 1967/68 we were fortunate, we had Steve Biko with us and Steve was in second or - first or second year, and we all went to conference at Grahamstown, and over there what happened there was that, you know, there was excitement and everybody going to NUSAS conference but suddenly when you have to - couldn't find a place to sleep they were sending us, Black students, to the township, the African township there. So that's what made us begin to think now. Steve was in the forefront and other people from the other universities as well were, you know, the tribal universities. We began to ask the question, "If we're part of NUSAS, then why are we treated separately?" And that's the thing that really got us going under Steve's leadership, and other guys who were saying that we need to start our own student movement. So that was the seed that gave rise to SASO, South African Students' Organisation.

DS: Okay. Would you like to maybe discuss about the conditions you lived in?

DN: At Wentworth?

DS: Ja, at Wentworth and also at medical school?

DN: Okay, the medical school – possibly, let me just go back into the history of the medical school. It was formed for the Black community to send their students, and at that stage, they put students at Wentworth, which was next to the oil refinery and it was convenient because - for them, for the authorities because that was an old army barracks, you know, barracks, so it was just an open field with buildings scattered around where army people were housed and there they converted that into a hostel for students. So in terms of that it was comfortable, in terms of where we had come from because some of us had come from very poor homes, and so on. So in terms of that it was comfortable, but in comparison to what the Whites were having at Howard College it was chalk and cheese, you know. We had separate meals or whenever, we had our own meals it was indigenous kind of food that they gave us, but enough.

DS: Okay.

DN: But the rooms were comfortable, you had a single bed, it was - now, you know, you wouldn't want to stay in such rooms, but in the beginning they put you up six in a room, or four in a room the first year and then after that, as you went up, you got your own room.

DS: As you went up you got a better room, okay.

DN: Ja, you get your single rooms. The single rooms were very small, nothing to write about and cold

and sometimes damp. But notwithstanding that, the guys managed. But compared to Howard College, it was totally different, and I think the way we were taught, it was still like a modified high school or extension of high school - the first two years at Wentworth because they treated you like kids, you know, and they abused you and shouted at you and treated you like high school kids.

DS: Can you give some examples for that?

DN: Oh, I won't mention names but there's one famous lecturer in chemistry who would abuse - I don't know whether he liked the girls or not but he just treated them like dirt, you know, especially girls. In the laboratory he'd - you know, there was no dignity, he'd shout at you in front of everybody and throw the chalk at you and call you all funny names, or just embarrass you in front of everybody and if you couldn't get things right because, remember, we came from high school, we didn't have laboratories and so on, and if you had to break something there he'd fine you, he'd tease you, he'd shout at you and you know, just ridicule you and say you'll never make it as a doctor, and you should go and do something else. You know, things like that.

DS: Okay.

DN: There were some good guys, you know, who treated you reasonably okay, but for a university atmosphere it was totally - but that was also over here at medical school, when you came you found some of them too. There was a lot of this indignity that you had to suffer and then some of the admin people also, you know, the White women in medical school, would treat you like dirt when you go for

your bursary money and so on. They'd make as if it's coming out of their pockets and things like that.

So it wasn't ...

DS: A conducive environment.

DN: Ja.

DS: Okay, so have you ever experienced it yourself, maybe?

DN: Ja, when you go to - well over there, the lecturers used to always, you know? But it developed - one developed a kind of psyche where you - like now, when I compare it to my kids and so on, you know, they go into town and they will not let anybody tell them you can't do this or can't do that. Not even in the supermarket or whatever, but in those days we were sort of acclimatised, we compromised our dignity, we compromised our self-respect by just accepting whatever they said, you know? If you go to a laboratory sometimes, at medical school they'd expect you to come on time, you know, to take your microscope out and put it - and the guys will come and -well, ridicule, shout "why are you ...?" - If you're two minutes late or something.

DS: It's an issue?

DN: Ja, ja. It's not like you should - and we were in our late, you know, 22, 23, we were adults, man, but they treated you like kids. And even in the wards. Sometimes, you haven't got a tie or something, they say -you know? For simple things. But then we could see the difference. If White students came from overseas and they were here on exchange things, whatever, they were treated with great ...

DS: Dignity?

DN: Ja, respect and, you know, they were treated like human beings. But there were some lecturers that – well, lots of them who we interacted with and we got on with and so on, but notwithstanding that we still felt like outcasts.

DS: Okay. I just want to take you a little bit back, about the conference. Would you like to expand on it?

DN: Okay, you know, the normal thing is that you - in those days we didn't have the computers and typewriters and all that, so you had to share this. So when you're going to a conference you need to take reports and things like that. So this was all done last minute and so on. But when you got to Grahamstown, you're also looking forward to interacting with people and things like that. So the interaction is good on the campus, but suddenly when it's late now, you have to go back and you say where you're staying. Then you realise that this - I explained to you what the digs were like for the Whites and so on?

DS: Ja.

DN: Now in Grahamstown, they didn't have a separate campus for Blacks so they were expecting - well, they had farmed the Black students out into the township, not Madadeni - but I can't recollect the name of the township, but then we sat and we said well, - I think we debated that long, you know, whether we should go or just squat over there and so on, but I think because it was new days, you must remember historically, at that particular political juncture, we were coming from a period where people were really silenced. After Madiba went to jail and the Rivonia Trial, the townships were dead,

dead, dead. It was only the students that were beginning to awake in '67, and it was a big step forward because now we didn't know, there was a lot of uncertainty what was going to happen, and so on. You're going to get locked up, most likely, but could we afford it and at that particular time, was that the right - you know, we hadn't mobilised enough, at that stage, it was just a seed that we had, you know, being toying with and so Steve said, "No, let's just go, and go through this process, but go back home and then we'd take it up." And then when we came back home, immediately the guys started saying we need our own organisation. So that's how we got going with SASO because, over here too we said, "We've got a separate thing, our own SRC, you know, why should we just ...?" So that's when Steve started going out and started investigating this whole thing at the other so-called Black campuses, Westville, UDW at that stage, Salisbury Island, Ngoya, Fort Hare and so on, and that was one of the reasons why Steve failed, really, because that gave them an excuse to throw him out of medical school, when he failed. But his failure wasn't due to anything except that he was going around trying to mobilise student groups and assessing the situation.

DS: Okay.

DN: I don't know if that answers?

DS: Ja, it does. It does. Now after - how old were you by this time?

DN: I was about 24.

DS: 24, okay. Can we pause?

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We are back. So after you came back from the conference you eventually solved the matter or you formed your own organisation?

DN: Well you see at that stage, we were quite organized, at the time. Steve was in the forefront with people like Saths, Strini, people at university, in Med. School. Ben Ngubane was there, but he wasn't really this thing - but you know there are the comrades who were at medical school, Barney Pityana, whom you know, people like that. So the student movement began to grow. So the guys realised that it was the students who had to take the struggle forward, and it was difficult because now you can sit back and the guys took it forward, but at that stage, coming out of the period where all your leaders were imprisoned on Robben Island now, and in town you couldn't even talk, say boo about politics, you couldn't talk anything about ANC, everything was banned and your neighbours in the townships were just saying hey, you know, they'd report you just like that. So for Steve to have come out now - so that is why the guys were saying in SRC we could use NUSAS, so there was a debate as well now because it wasn't just easy to just say - we didn't just come back and say yes, SASO, and everybody agreed. There were debates; but there were a lot of Whites, like Lawrence Schlemmer and people like that who were now lecturers, and so on. They had the pro-SRC and pro-NUSAS thing, who said multi-non-racialism or whatever, multi-racialism; but Steve said look, "Black man, you're on your own now, you need to go back and get your own dignity, reaffirm ourselves and come out." But

luckily, there was a strong group of people in all the universities who did identify with what Steve was saying. But the danger there now was - or the problem there was that there was a fine line between Black power and Black consciousness and that is what had to be debated and clarified, you know? For instance - okay then the student movement grew. SASO became, was launched at Marion Hill and so on, and we had branches at all the universities and it went forward. Then I qualified in 1970 and well, as a student there was a medical section, a medical students, you know, society which was more academic, but also had a political kind of agenda, but not as overt as SASO but we were affiliated to SASO and I was chairman of our Medical Students' Council, then vice-president of the national one. Then in '68 I went overseas to Helsinki to represent the South African Medical Students at a conference there, the World Medical Students, so you just managed to get your viewpoints across, you know, in terms of your health problems, the inequity and the dispensation of service to Blacks, and so on.

DS: So was it your first time to go to an overseas conference? How was it like?

DN: At that stage, we had a passport for Europe only. I didn't have a passport for Helsinki. So Rogers Ragavan had a friend, an elderly couple in Denmark. So they just said - they didn't tell anybody, they just said here's a ticket, go. So I just went, and they picked me up in the evening over there, and they took me and I stayed with them. I stayed with the old couple and then two days later they took me to

Sweden and they got me a passport from South Africa House and then they sent me to Helsinki and Helsinki was only about 300 or 400 kilometres from Russian border, so a lot of students are going that way. We were very tempted to run away; but I had to come back home; but it was a nice experience and then I went to London and because it was a ticket where you had to spend eight weeks away. You know they give you these free tickets.

DS: Okay, alright.

DN: So I met a lot of ANC people and so on and then came back and when I got back, of course, the Special Branch were waiting, and they hadn't known that I was - nobody at Varsity knew that I was away for eight weeks and my friends were signing my lectures.

DS: Oh ja, ja, okay.

DN: Ja, so they came and told the dean. The dean said no, he was at school. And they said no, no, no, they called me and I went up there and I said no, I was overseas.

DS: You said you were overseas?

DN: I had to because they knew they had pictures of you, you see? They saw you going into ANC House; they had everything.

DS: So what did they do with you?

DN: Well, they take you. You know, during that time there were a lot of - because you were starting SASO, you know, they were doing, you know, they just take you for questioning and keep a watch on you and intimidate you, you know, give you a lot of nonsense. They try to buy you off, also.

DS: Okay.

DN: Ja, so - but it was a very trying time.

DS: Did they beat you up or they were just questioning you?

DN: You see, you got pulled in for different things at different times.

DS: Okay.

DN: Sometimes they beat you up, sometimes they just question you, but I think - whether they question you or whether they're beating you up, at some moment it's about the same, you know, the pain is about the same because hey, you're a student, you're naive, you know, you want to do things and so on but when they put their arms on you they just come and touch you, you know, and you feel that pain. So it was harassing times and then after that, of course, they locked us up a couple of times and so on. So when I qualified in '70 - well one of the things probably that should be mentioned was Barney Pityana was at the forefront of this at that stage. SASO had their offices in Beatrice Street, at the church. It was a Methodist Church over there, and one of the things that SASO was trying to do was to politicise health, and to start community development projects. So they were trying to take it out to the communities in Umlazi and so on. But this was one of the reasons also, why they pulled you in and, you know, you were going out to do health work and things like that. The Special Branch didn't like all that so - and there were a lot of publications and you know, students who had to write the - SASO had it's own newspaper, the medical school had it's - so they were writing for all that kind of thing and they pick it up, they come and

they take you in and, you know, what did you mean about this and so on. Initially, I must say, that they were very happy with starting SASO because they thought that it was a very tribal kind of thing that we were starting, Blacks on your own because the Bantustans were strong and they thought this was in favour of Bantustan policy and even Gatsha Buthelezi, at that stage, was quite friendly with Steve Biko and Steve was visiting him and engaging him and so on. It was only after when Steve and SASO opposed the Bantustans and so on that they began to realize, 'hey, this is something else the youngsters are talking about.' Then in '71 when I qualified - after I was doing my internship, Mewa Ramgobin was a student leader as well, and the guys were looking for ways of challenging the establishment and, at that stage, the Natal Indian Congress was defunct. It existed in name only, because it had done a lot of work before that. Then they - Mewa was saying look, let's start to revive it, and also under that auspices, we could also do the Free Mandela Campaign. Now it meant mobilizing, as an activist doctor, you know what I mean? So I came out and then we had a lot of meetings, we had a lot of prominent community people, academics and so on. But the interesting thing probably, is that Mewa had his office CNR House, in Prince Edward Street and you must remember this whole community outreach thing was also developing in many ways and you had - SASO had its offices at Beatrice Street.

DS: Okay.

DN: Now this is just across the bridge, the next street, two streets away, CNR House and in CNR House you had Mewa in one office, next to him you had another old activist, Indian activist; but you had Louis Skweyiya as well in the same building, and then right on the top floor you had SASO also. Now they had a music club going, you know, like a music library where you could borrow records and things like that, but it was all, you know, developed for mobilising people and so on. So people like Jerry Coovadia, and myself, Farouk Meer, Mewa probably, would meet in Mewa's office and Louis would come in, in a little while and get involved. Ric Turner was another guy who was, you know, instrumental in getting this off the ground. So we used to sit over there and chat. Now at that stage, you must remember that it wasn't cut and dried, because on looking back it seems it was cut and dried. You must remember that the government wants to push you into your Bantustans.

DS: Okay.

DN: SASO is balancing, you're doing the balancing act between the Bantustans and Black Consciousness to impress upon people the difference between Black Consciousness and, you know, the Bantustan policy. Now the NIC is going to come out and say Indian Congress is non-racial, there are contradictions, and now you had your separate government, your South African Indian Council, right?

DS: Yes.

DN: Which was pro-apartheid. Now one of the guys would say, you know, why are we starting NIC? So the whole debates would continue. You're either

contest elections in the SAIC or stay out, or work outside the system and things like that. So those are some of the debates that were actively going on.

So every spare minute we had we'd meet in Mewa's office, discuss it. But eventually we went around mobilising, forming branches and so on and we had quite a few branches and we launched the Natal Indian Congress. Now one of the interesting things is that - we were young, okay? Newly qualified, and then we were pro-Black consciousness. So we were finding, each of us, in our own kind of way, to not only articulate and live a kind of aspirations we were moving towards, or to demonstrate our activism. Because of the work I was doing, the guys said okay, you must stand for secretary of the NIC. Now you must also remember Steve and Strini Moodley, Steve and all of us were friends.

DS: Okay.

DN: And we all BC guys but I'm sitting in the Natal Indian Congress now, the future secretary and the thing is going to be launched on the Saturday afternoon. Right up to that Friday evening Steve, Saths, Strini, myself, we were debating - we were not debating, now they were sort of harassing me and saying you're going to go there, you're going to get elected as secretary and you're going to resign. So that was the strategy they wanted me to follow or employ to say that the NIC is a tribal kind of thing. It's not, you know, it was that kind of thing. Then I had my own allegiances because notwithstanding that, I was friendly with guys, we were working together and there was a doctor also, I couldn't just

go and act unethically and say I'm going to be a secretary and you know?

DS: Ja.

DN: Because the guys were working towards - and the NIC could do something, and also Steve and them had their own NIC branch in town, you know? So it was interesting, but the good thing that came out of it was that we still remained friends. There was a kind of searching for the way forward by engaging each other and in probably, you know, we were naive or very not so politically aware, and things like that but that we, you know, adopted this kind of behaviour. But the NIC did play a role and then the Special Branch got onto it and subsequently they came and raided and put you in jail, this, that, for weekends or whatever and then - but it did revive, bring about a kind of consciousness that assisted - in the Indian community, that assisted the BC movement along as well.

DS: Okay, so by this time, your parents - did they support you?

DN: My mother did, not my father. My father wanted me to come home, come home to Port Shepstone.

DS: Okay.

DN: So in '72, when things were really hotting up politically, because that's when the Trade Union thing were beginning to start and because now, you know, you can sit and say, you know, everything is hunky dory, you can go to a meeting and so on. But those days trans - you know just moving from post-Madiba and coming to '70 or even before '76, that lull was beginning to come to the fore and the police really were just, you know, hammering

people and locking them up and so on. So at that stage the guys told me, "Hey, Mewa got banned, put George Sewpersadh in his place", and he got banned and Farouk or Jerry took the chairmanship and so on and then they said - but I didn't want to get banned over here, I said let me get away home. So I went away to Port Shepstone and I couldn't start practice there because I couldn't and that's another struggle because there's no place. The whole town belongs to Whites and there's **only** one street that belonged to Indians because of the **group** areas.

DS: Okay.

DN: So I started practice there and slowly.

DS: Would you like to talk about the impact of the Group Areas Act in your life and your family?

DN: Okay. The Group Areas - I wasn't really personally involved because we had no property, you know, we were on a farm and the farm was - right? But families, I know, friends and families who were uprooted from Cato Manor and Riverside and so on, and in 1960/61 they were pushed to Chatsworth. Now I know families in Chatsworth, because I worked over there as a student doing some research and filling in forms for university and so on, earning some money and then, you know, you interacted with people. But what came out strongly was that families that were strong and cohesive and had support systems, although they were poor from Mayville and Riverside and so on, were now just shunted into new places, where they had to fend for themselves. They didn't even know the neighbours and it was quite harrowing for some of my relatives who were just taken from one place and thrown over

there, and it has taken them years before they developed support mechanisms and that has had tremendous affect on the younger generation of that particular period before the support mechanisms came in and it's now that the support mechanisms are all there in those areas because they had to redevelop them and Clairwood and all would have these things, were just lost to the people and that generation really suffered because they had no - because the Indian community had a very strong brotherhood or communal spirit where your whole street committees, you know, subsequent street committees where similar things that existed in the old Indian communities, in Mayville and Clairwood, and so on.

DS: Okay.

DN: So in terms of that you really affected that particular generation of, you know, Indians, you know, who were uprooted. Subsequently, they managed to - not overcome, but it developed a new kind of - because Clairwood, for instance, was multi-racial, you had African, Coloured and Indian living together. You take the town, where my wife grew up, where African, Coloureds and Indians interacted very, very freely. In Port Shepstone on the farm, you know, we interacted very, very freely. But now to be shunted into one area, only Indians, it has led to a kind of tribal mentality and introverted kind of thing trying to defend your own space and things like that.

DS: Okay, so when did you get married?

DN: That's a hard one, hey? '72. '72, ja.

DS: It was just after you've completed ...?

DN: Ja, I'd known my wife at medical school.

DS: Oh, okay.

DN: So the family had chosen for me, so I had to marry her.

DS: Alright.

DN: No, I'm only joking. No, I knew her at medical school, and in '72 she qualified in '71 and got married in '72.

DS: Okay, she was also ...

DN: A medical student.

DS: Okay, supporting you with your political activities?

DN: Yes, no she's been very supportive.

DS: Okay.

DN: And then, even when we went back to Port Shepstone and started practice and so on. After I started practice I - with this whole thing about clinics and community development and so on, I started quite a few clinics outside in the rural areas but it was difficult to really get it going because the funds, you know, you have to work and most of the time you're dishing out muti and you realise it's just curative care. So you didn't have infrastructure to really develop a kind of community development, health care initiative. So the alternative was to try and get to workers. So I managed to talk to some employers of clothing factories and so on and the transport company and the Lion Company to start clinics for the workers and their families. So what I did was, Rand Clinics worked for the company on a part time basis to see their workers and also allow them to bring their families and so on. So that was one of the - nearest we could do but I also held a part time job at the hospital.

DS: Okay, can we pause?

We are back. You were still telling me about how you got involved in terms of organising some clinics for workers and would you like to ...?

DN: Okay, can I just go back. You know when we were doing the Natal Indian Congress thing, probably interesting thing would be for the young people is that we used to organise meetings in Newcastle, Ladysmith, Stanger, Port Shepstone and so on and there was Omar Badsha and myself, Mewa [Ramgobin], [George] Sewpersadh, and Jerry [Coovadia] and Farouk [Meer], and all that. But inevitably we had to work. So in the afternoon - so we'll have our meetings in the evenings. So we go there and have our meetings with this committee and usually about ten, fifteen people or twenty people, but on the way back we put the lights on and we're making our press statements, you know? The guys are dictating, writing the press statements, give it to the press, tell them what a big number of people we had and you know, that kind of thing, just to get things across. That's just as an aside. And then, at one stage, we were really battling for money and then Jerry said he had some friends in Pretoria that we had to go to and we went up with Zubie [Hamid, Jerry's wife], Jerry and myself, spent the night there in Pretoria but the next day they formed the BCP.

DS: What year was that?

DN: '71.

DS: Okay.

DN: And funnily enough it was launched in Lenasia, the BCP was launched in Lenasia. The first meeting

was held there and so we attended that and then we came back home and so on. But there's a strong link between Black Consciousness and the NIC and that stage and so on and there were people who didn't see, you know, BC as such and so on, but I think was one of the things that sustained the struggle for a very long time.

DS: Okay.

DN: To go back to Port Shepstone, what we did over there was to - we wanted to dispense health care. We couldn't do it in the hospitals. We did it in the hospitals; we worked in there.

DS: Okay, this was when?

DN: '72 onwards until about '84.

DS: Okay.

DN: We had different community groups and so on. We started clinics outside. We tried to mobilise communities and funnily enough ...

#### INTERVIEW INTERRUPTED BY TELEPHONE CALL

DS: We are back.

DS: So, you know, at that period, in the '70s, the movement was getting stronger and stronger elsewhere and in the rural areas we had to try and do something and just thinking back now, I remember in 1976 the IFP were getting strong and they had that thing, we had the NIC going and my work in the community was taking me to the rural areas and so on, and I had a lot of links with teachers and Black teachers, African teachers and so on, and we were trying to get the little clinics going, assisted because in 1976 I phoned Fatima [Meer] and I said look, we're having a big meeting over here, can you get us a speaker, we would like

to get Winnie Mandela down and, at that stage, she had just been released from Free State and she was going back to Jo'burg. Fatima said ja, fine, she'll try and get her and she got her for us. So in '76 Winnie Mandela came to Port Shepstone and she spoke at a hall, busses brought people in from the African townships, the Indian community. It wasn't a hell of a big crowd but at least we had at least three to four hundred people and at that stage, you know, it just gives you an indication of the kind of consciousness that existed even in a small town like that and then from that people began to - I remember what she said over there, "Gatsha Buthelezi is my brother, you know, we must grasp hands together and move forward." So it was the thing that we tried to do through health care, establish communities, committees, work with individuals, try and get these things going. So we had housing committees, we had education committees and all that. But growing out of that, I must say that those people were working towards their own development but the consciousness towards the politics of the day began to grow which we least expect in a rural area. So subsequently the Natal Indian Congress had a very strong branch in Port Shepstone, and so on. In '84, medical school was starting up a community health course and we were one of the first groups that said, 'you know, we'll come and do it.' So they were offering a master's degree and I came up and enrolled and I spent three years doing it, part time, doing the master's in community health. Then after that - what happened? During that period, being in Port

Shepstone and in Durban, '84 to '86, we were quite active at the hospital in Port Shepstone with the health workers. At that stage, if you remember, there was SAHWS, South African Health Workers Society or something, right? It was a forerunner to NAMDA and we were bringing - coming to meetings at medical school and trying to mobilise people around a health organisation. That didn't really work out properly for various reasons and then in - the Diliza Mji and people, Jerry Coovadia and people like that, were beginning to start talking about our own medical association in opposition to medical association, MASA, Medical Association of South Africa.

DS: Why were you starting to talk along that line?

DN: Well it was a similar kind of thing that occurred between SASO and NUSAS.

DS: Okay.

DN: You know, they were not representing our political aspirations. The majority of the doctors belonging to that were Whites and they are in the majority. We were outnumbered, outvoted and you know, we couldn't articulate any of our political aspirations over there, and they were verkrampt, really, and NAMDA was formed, and then Diliza Mji was president and we had a lot of young doctors from King Edward [Hospital] who had got involved in this thing. I served then as - in '85 I was a executive, I was elected in Jo'burg at one of the meetings there, I think it was '85 and it was basically to try and address - well, to politicise health, because between '85 and '89, it was a short period, and we managed to do that because we were

saying that you can't divorce health care, you know, from the politics of the country and NAMDA was all for nationalised health care and lots of research and things were done under the auspices of NAMDA. NAMDA began to get into national recognition for its work, supported the anti-apartheid campaign and it went bigger and bigger.

DS: So why did you - like you're faced, you can't divorce health services from politics? Why?

DN: You've got, you know, your budgets for health care are decided by a parliament where you've got no representation.

DS: Okay.

DN: Now hospitals and health care itself; your services are dictated to by the resources that are voted for you and 80% of the population had to live on 20% of the budget in terms of health care. So this gross inequity had to be addressed, and in the past nobody was beginning to see it this way, so now we had to argue, and you know, being professors amongst the Blacks and so on, academics and we had people who were beginning to be heard politically, so we said that we needed to try and do this and then we went on campaigns to argue this whole question of separate health care services for different groups and so on, and the government was very, very worried about this.

DS: Okay, can I interrupt you just for a while? I just want to get a clarity. Like I believed when I read some books, are saying that for education Whites were catered and Indians were also given a certain amount. I don't know about Coloureds but Blacks, I believe, they were not catered, they had to do it

themselves. So was it a similar situation with health?

DN: Okay, let me just explain this whole - in one of the policies that government had always been to try and win over the groups of people. So one of the communities that had tried to win over, they started, if you look, they went with the Coloureds long ago, even the Nationalist Party. Subsequently they went for the Indian community. So in 1983/84 they came up with this whole question of the tri-cam strategy where you had your own parliament. So now the Indians were falling for this and that's where the NIC played a key role. Well, NAMDA and everybody were on the committee because you had your, you know, network of organisations and the MDM and so on which came up and started fighting against this whole tri-cam business. But out of the good, tri-cam was basically a politics of patronage and they said right, they - I know in Chatsworth and so on, now there must be about 75 schools and 75 high schools and they were all built during that period because they spent millions of, billions of rands trying to win over, you know, the Indians. So in terms of that, yes they did give better schooling for the Indian, and possibly the Coloured, through the House of Reps, that there were free books, so that generation of Indian students or children was definitely patronised in a much better way than - well, second only to Whites in terms of resources for education. Yes, you're absolutely right. The other thing, also, which is not recognised also, one must understand, if you're going to compare it to today, that the houses that they gave the Indians in

Chatsworth, we complain about uprooting, the whole, you know, apartheid system, what Act was this - the Group Areas Act and so on, but when they gave you a house, they gave you a house and even if they sold you a house they gave you a house. A teacher got a house for R12 000 or whatever. The Blacks didn't get anything like that. The Blacks had to work for seven years for one boss before he got a house in Umlazi, he traded the whole thing. Now in terms of that - that was in '60. In 1983/84, the Indian students were produced by the thousands, finishing matric. They had to go to university. But the house that you inherited or you were living in now became a kind of property that you could raise money on to educate your child. So it was, indirectly, one of the reasons also why so many Indian kids could end up in university because parents could take loans against these houses - security, you know, that the house has provided and send the children to university. So there were direct and indirect benefits that accrued to the Indian community. There's no doubt about that.

DS: Okay. So talking about health, was it a similar situation?

DN: Well you have, yes. You know, you take RK Khan Hospital and places like that, they built bigger hospitals for your community. They did give you because only now Prince Mashieni came up long after that so - but in the rural areas and so on, it was all the same. But in the big cities like Lenasia and over here, because even Lenasia, they didn't have a big hospital, but mainly in Chatsworth they had a - and subsequent to that they built in Phoenix.

But in Chatsworth, yes, they did give you a bigger hospital for yourself and so on.

DS: So that's why you tend to be politicised, health also?

DN: Well health had to be politicised because the people didn't see it as a thing that they had to fight for, you know?

DS: Okay.

DN: And then one of the things was, you know, we said there are so many hospitals that are sitting idle, there are beds that are vacant in Addington and so on, why can't our people go there? So that was part of the campaign to open up the thing and also to make it ungovernable. Also one of the things was if there was a definite campaign to NAMDA and SASO and so on, to mobilise health care workers who would meet at Addington Hospital and also mobilise patients from Umlazi, KwaMashu and everywhere and we brought them by the busloads and put them into Addington and we treated them ourselves. You know, now the doctors treated them. So it was breaking the law deliberately.

DS: Okay, so the government didn't do anything?

DN: Well at that stage they couldn't, because you know, the world's eyes were focused on South Africa. NAMDA was a world force. Diliza Mji, subsequently, won a big award in America. Some of the academics in NAMDA were big people, you know, who took up the fight against Steve Biko's death and so on, who were all members of NAMDA and also the struggle was coming out and where young, you know, activists were jailed and there was this whole thing about rehabilitation and mental

health and so on and NAMDA was in the forefront of trying to treat these people who were coming out with mental problems, who were know detained and so on. So in terms of that the world's eyes were focused on NAMDA and South Africa. So whatever NAMDA did, the South African government, although they jailed our leadership and so on, they would dare not - although when NAMDA contributed to the ungovernability of this country. We broke the laws and on a just purely humanitarian viewpoint where you're not taking everything that are used, you're taking unused services and redeploying it for people who needed it more.

DS: Okay, talking about Steve Biko's death. I know you worked together and all that stuff. How did it impact on you when you first heard about the death of Steve Biko?

DN: Look, with Steve, it was a particularly hurtful and very emotional and so on, but I think, in all fairness, you know, any activist that was taken in and clobbered and came out and harassed and detained and butchered or tortured had a similar kind of affect on us every time somebody went in.

DS: Okay.

DN: Initially it would make us - well, it broke us. I'm being honest because it really broke us, you know, not all of us were that strong that we can keep taking it. But when Steve went, it was really, really harrowing because it was somebody that we were so close to in terms of your mind, you know, you had connected with somebody that was true leadership material, who got through to you, who made you see things, and you began to see things together, you

worked together, and then somebody that you were looking up to and saying this is the way forward, and we're going to work together, expecting big things and suddenly for them to go - because it was a very short period that he went over. You know, we couldn't believe it. We said no, it can't be, you know? Subsequently, when we met Ntsiki and so on, his wife, it becomes - how does one explain it? I don't know, it just gets you down.

DS: Okay.

DN: You know we were ... It brings back things that, you know, you don't want to think about because at varsity you were close, after that you were close and like just to give you - like, you know, we had this guy from - Adam Small, was it? He was a leading Black Consciousness academic in the Cape. In 1972, I think it was. We had a symposium in Durban and Adam Small was going to come and speak and he was expected at the airport and he was late and suddenly we realised he wasn't coming, and we were all sitting in the hall, at Bolton Hall, and Steve Meer was speaking; I was presenting a paper; somebody else; and Adam Small. So when Adam Small didn't come, the guys said, "Hey, man, we must get Steve to speak." So the guys went up to Steve and he said no, and then he said okay. And Steve used to smoke Consulate or Viceroy or Consulate, like a green box, and we were sitting at the table and I had prepared something that night for, you know, hey - and Steve was sitting there with nothing, and as people are talking, he's making notes at the back of his cigarette box, and when it

came for him to speak, fine, this man just went to town, you know? I don't know where it was coming from. He just got - the people were eating out of his hands. Now that's the kind of a person, you know, such a brilliant academic, who had no degree or anything like that, sitting next to you and you see him sending it and then suddenly, you know, all these come up in your mind when you hear, you know, all the other - for instance he took Pat Poovalingam and them to town and Wentworth where they used to fight, also, when he didn't want me to stand as chairperson of the Medical Students' Council and eventually he did, he said no, it was okay and then - I don't know what to say.

DS: So it was a great loss for ...?

DN: Tremendous loss. Tremendous loss. So, you know, his contributions cannot be measured - well, we still sit and think sometimes what would have been the course of our history had he been alive, you know? We would, like Diliza and Terror Lekota and so on, they were all BC guys, you know? So it was the basic guys, they all looked up and now if you look at the Minister of the Army, or what, right?

DS: Minister of Defence.

DN: Ja, the Minister of Defence and Diliza's a big boy in the, you know, health world and so on and even Nkosazana Zuma was BC, they're all BC. So Steve would have been -he would have changed the course of history, that's for sure.

DS: Okay, can we pause? We are back.

I just want us to just change the - not the topic, but to focus to another area, actually. I just want to

find out the role models in the struggle, your role models in the struggle?

DN: Role model?

DS: Like who were your role models in the struggle?

DN: I want to say the first role model was Che Guevara.

DS: Okay.

DN: Because in 1968 Steve and I were - well, Steve was a student like me and so on but in '68 Che Guevara was the icon and when I went overseas also, you know, it was Che, Che, Che and him being a doctor and you know, what he did and so on so we got to know him very well. So I want to say Che was my - ja.

DS: Your ... okay.

DN: Then of course; Steve, Steve Biko. There is a little bit that I know of Subash Chandra Bose and he's a guy that wanted to fight against Japan - fight for Japan against the Americans and so on, you know? So in the struggle these guys were - Ghandi wasn't my icon, or role model. In South African politics, Madiba, of course.

DS: Okay.

DN: Ahmed Kathrada for some reason, started off at fourteen as a communist and things like that. Notwithstanding what anybody says, I am still a Winnie supporter.

DS: Okay.

DN: Those are, you know, the figures that come to mind immediately.

DS: Oh ja, okay. So I'm going to ask about you. Like I just want to find out what was the hardest about life under apartheid?

DN: For me, I think personally, you know, because some of us are - you know, people ask me always how you survive, how you cope and so on. Maybe it was hard, but then you compare it with, you know, the other people that are working, doing physical work and things like that. The hardest is when you know you have the capacity to help somebody and you haven't got the resources or the means at your disposal to do it. Like I've been, you know, I can quote you so many instances in the country hospital where you're called out to see a patient and then you shout at the nurses and say, you know, the patient is still on the floor, it's a woman and the baby is suckling the breasts. So you ask them why on earth is this patient still on the floor, why is it? Then they look at you and then when you really examine the mother you find that the mother is dead, you know? Where you get a live baby suckling a dead mother's breast where -where I can give you so many instances where a ten year old comes with the mother to hospital - I was at King Edward, then I was an intern and the mother gets admitted for high blood pressure, she is walking around, into bed and then I tell the daughter, look - enquiring about if she can go home on her own on Saturday afternoon. She says ja, so you want to give her some bus fare and so on and suddenly you're called and the nurses say that - you run over there, the mother is dead and what had happened was that she, for some - she had high blood pressure, she vomited and she aspirated and by the time they put the machines and all on, you know, and aspirated. She died for nothing, you know, no reason. Now you have to go and tell the

child that the mother is dead. You know, things like that. Trauma and people, violence and then we had a refugee's camp, as it were, during the 1980's. There was this political violence so you get old people coming out from the rural areas and leading such difficult lives, you know? It's nothing compared to what I went through and what my parents went through, but just seeing people, you know, suffering unnecessarily, that I couldn't ...

DS: It affects you as well?

DN: Ja because, you know, you had the capacity to treat, you had the capacity to do things, but you - it become very frustrating and see other people have to suffer when they don't have to. To me, I think, that's - I'm very blessed, I think, that my family hasn't, you know? You always complain for want of shoes until you meet somebody without any feet? That's the kind of attitude, you know, my suffering is nothing compared to what other people have gone through.

DS: Okay. What do you consider to be the defining moments in your life?

DN: I came from Port Shepstone as a rural youngster, fourteen, fifteen, a very naive - I wasn't, you know, I was an ordinary fellow. But then when I went to medical school, where I began to interact with students and I was very, I was a great sportsman, you know, even though I say so myself. I played a lot of football, big football and so as a sportsman you began to interact. If people take you more, you know, more intimately, you can sit with people and then you engage with other African students and so on and that was the - because I didn't know the

world, you know, my little cloistered world was Port Shepstone and coming here and sitting with the Indian community and then being exposed to African friends now in your class and learning where they come from and so on and then Ben Ngubane, people like Ben Ngubane and Steve Biko and so many others that come to mind. There's another guy, Foxy Fukabai, we would play football together and he was a strong PAC guy and we used to engage each other all the time. But their sufferings and their - the way they lived and you know? Their value systems and so on, that I think - the medical school was a real ...

DS: Turning point for you?

DN: Turning point for me.

DS: Okay.

DN: And that gave - at one stage, I wanted to do medicine, you know, it was a fashion, but also you wanted to be a doctor, you know, but when you got there, you were exposed to this kind of friends and compared your life with theirs, then it gave life a totally different meaning and that I think was the real, real change in my ...

DS: Okay. Now we are moving to - I just want you to discuss about events, which took place somewhere in '87 to '89?

DN: Okay, at that particular stage, you must remember, the UDF came up and the MDM and the anti-tricameral. Okay, we were all involved in that but then suddenly they slapped us with the, you know, emergency. At that stage I was working in Chatsworth as a Welfare Officer in the House of Delegates, so I was in charge of pensions and so on,

and then we started talking and saying, you know, the only way to mobilise now, is to mobilise people around health, education and welfare. So there were over a hundred organisations in Chatsworth so we managed to - and luckily I was a welfare officer and there were over sixteen thousand pensioners in Chatsworth, so around pensioners, we started taking up issues, because before that it was DHAC, Durban Housing Action Committee, and I think the police were really onto them and things like that. So we said now one of the things would be health and welfare. So we managed to get the pensioner groups formed, you know, many of the groups, got them together in different areas and then we formed this organisation for health, welfare and education which was a coordinating body of all the organisations and from there we started mobilising people around issues, and then with that in mind it was anti-tricam.

DS: Okay.

DN: And at that particular stage also, there was the violence and so on in the township, in the rural areas and the poverty, so people - that's when the squatters really started in Durban, the so-called squatters and many of them were there, in Chatsworth. So some of us activists, you must remember, at that stage, you had what you call advice groups, advice committees. Remember that the strategy for the movement of the MDM was to develop advisory groups where you'd help people in the townships and so on and your street committees and things like that, so we started assisting the squatter communities and that's how we started

Siyaka Primary Health Care projects, which is a primary health care thing to address the health care needs of the communities that had left the rural areas, and that developed slowly into developing clinics and developing community health workers, training them, and so eventually we had - Siyaka became a big force where we had nine clinics. Five in Chatsworth, well one in Umlazi, one in Gladlands and one in Inanda and that was started in 1991.

DS: Okay.

DN: Then we managed to get funding from one pharmaceutical company to help us with the training of the health workers and subsequently we managed to get funding from overseas from the European Union and that developed into a big thing where we trained 75 health workers and luckily up to now those health workers are still active in these communities, working for the communities, in terms of development. So, you know, the politics began to change after '91 because now we're talking development, trying to assist the incoming government. The ANC group started, so we started our own ANC branches after '91, and we formed the big branch in Asherville where we had, some of the big names were branch members, now they're all in parliament.

DS: Okay.

DN: So that's how it went.

DS: Alright, so the unbanning of all the political organisations, what did it mean to you?

DN: I still remember it was roundabout February 5th or 4th or something like that. I was sitting at home on Saturday afternoon and they made this

announcement. We were just overjoyed, man, because we realised that with the ungovernability of the State, the sanctions, the MK was beginning to, you know, be seen as a force, so all the things pointed towards unbanning and then in '89 I remember Ahmed Kathrada was released, Ahmed Kathrada and Mlangeni and Walther Sisulu and so on, we were all rushing to Jo'burg for that rally. It was a new kind of spirit that was revived in all of us and we were looking forward to better days now and when the ANC got unbanned we started immediately immobilising, starting our branches and discussing all the different documents that were coming up from head office and everything. So they were good days, hard work but good days. All the rallies and Madiba was released, of course that was another big occasion.

DS: Okay. So what do you think the National Party had agreed to a negotiated settlement? Or what it made them to do that?

DN: I think they were smart, hey? I think they were very smart. Although they saw the writing on the wall and they realised that there was an impasse, there was a no easy win situation and the only way was to negotiate and I think Madiba was agreeing to this as well. Their backsides were in the fire, especially economically. They couldn't do anything so it was a saving grace for them to save the economy and they were very smart because in terms of redistribution and keeping the 87% of the land and 90% of the work and so on they somehow out-manoeuvred us in those discussions. At CODESA, notwithstanding the fact that we got everything else, the whole

question of maintaining the wealth in their hands was the thing that forced them to do it and if it was - we mightn't have won the revolution but they would have lost like hell, you know, if we went on fighting.

DS: Okay.

DN: So in terms of that, their strategy to negotiate was smart and some of us coming back together, you know, you had the different groups, the Robben Islanders, the overseas people, the exiles and the MDM people coming together, we all thought that we were all brothers in the struggle but suddenly we began to see things that were a little different and those are the things that affected our strategy as well in terms of negotiations. Just as a case and you know, for instance now in the civil service and I find that we're always talking about improving delivery, the guys that are preventing delivery really are the fellows who have been saved by the sunset clauses, you know? You know, they were very smart, the sunset clause maintained the old civil servants of the day and if you've got to do something you can't do it without them. If they don't want to give it to you, you don't get it, you know? Those were the things that were affecting us. So that is one thing. Then in terms of redistribution, the land - I'm an ANC person but we need more land. We've got no money to buy the land from them, we just have to take some of the land. There can't be absentee landlords and all that. You know, people can't be doing subsistence farming all the time and that stage, also, if you look at it properly, the vineyards and the big - if you're

just take, if you talk about Hullett and so on, these people are buying off the land. The multi-nationals were ahead of us, ten steps ahead of us. They were buying all the land off. So all the big farms and so on are now sitting in the hands of the multi-nationals. So even if you go to Europe and the G8 countries and ask them to remove the restrictions on agriculture and so on, it's only going to benefit the multi-nationals because the majority of our farmers are subsistence farmers, just growing things for themselves over here.

DS: So any possibilities that we may end up in the same situation as Zimbabwe if this thing continues, like if they don't solve the problem of land redistribution?

DN: Look, the conditions in Zimbabwe may have been a little bit different, okay? But my viewpoint is that if the British government had said that the land must be eventually bought off for the people, that should have been stuck to. Mugabe then went and they say bought land and gave it to his cronies. That's something else, but that's a question of governance and the peoples' mandate and so on being eroded. But I think you should go back and say that if the British government had really bought off enough land then there would have been sufficient land for all the people. Now over here, if you look at the way things are going here, most of the land is in the hand of the Whites. If you just take around Durban, even if you're going to do industrial development or tourism or whatever, you have to go buy land from Tongaat Hulett, they're the biggest landlord here in Durban if you want to do

anything. So they are smart enough now, what they've done is they're taking the money from the IDT and taking government money and they are handing over the little bits of chunks of land to African farmers and saying okay, we're developing small business enterprises. But that's not going to solve the thing in the long run. I don't know what the solution is, but I'm very critical of the people who are not handing over land to our people. Now in terms of getting the money to pay for the land and so on, there must be real negotiations over land otherwise our people are not going to be eradicated from the poverty, our people are not going to be really free, no jobs are going to be created in the long term and you know, we're going to get worse.

DS: I just want to find out, looking back in your political involvement, social involvement and all this stuff, is there anything you would have liked to have done differently?

DN: I'm very disappointed, okay? Some of us feel - felt that what other expectations were and where we are now is far from, you know, what we wanted. We thought - I don't think we were naive enough to think oh, you know, heaven was here now or there was real, you know, we did know that things had to come slowly or whatever, but we didn't really see it so difficult where people in the rural areas are suffering. Money is, I said - you know, they've got about R135 000 000 kept aside that hasn't been used for poverty eradication where they say there's no capacity at the ground to do things for people. Now in the struggle when you had people to do it, now you say you haven't got people to utilise that money

effectively, I'm sorry, I can't accept that. There are people out there who are living with nothing, who leave whom and come back at least with something for their kids, whether they steal it or whatever, God knows, but they're doing it. Then to go and accuse them of saying they don't know how to spend money for their own development I think, to me that's not on, it's very contradictory. We must have faith in our people. If we're saying that big people in parliament can make mistakes, I think these people should be allowed to make their mistakes as well.

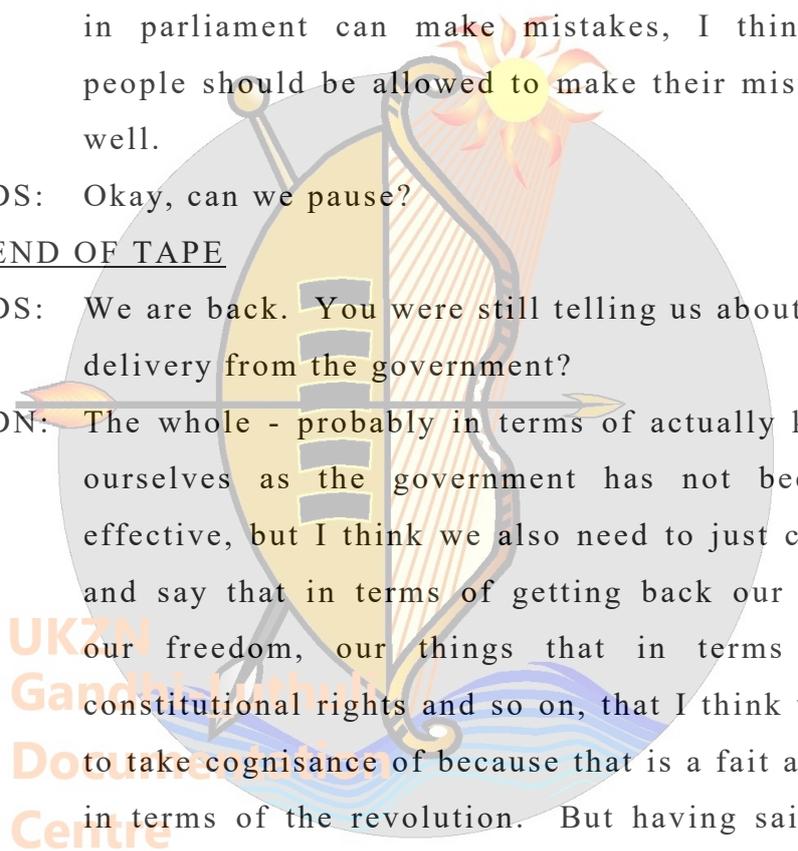
DS: Okay, can we pause?

END OF TAPE

DS: We are back. You were still telling us about lack of delivery from the government?

DN: The whole - probably in terms of actually knowing ourselves as the government has not been very effective, but I think we also need to just comment and say that in terms of getting back our dignity, our freedom, our things that in terms of the constitutional rights and so on, that I think we need to take cognisance of because that is a fait accompli in terms of the revolution. But having said that I think the government, notwithstanding the fact that they're trying to roll out services and so on, they keep coming back and saying that there are no resources. So in terms of the original plan of the RDP, which was a socialist document, it came from the people. Why that was transformed or changed into gear is what I think is a problem.

DS: Okay.



DN: Now having said that, we know that GEAR is pulling us into the globalisation kind of stuff. The sad part is that while we were in the struggle mode it would have been - I think it was incumbent upon the government or with the movement to have gone in that way and implemented the RDP from a centralised point of view, driven from central position where development takes place, job creation, okay? Redistribution and so on. But now they've gone back - now you're becoming kind of dependant on Western countries for their resources and they're beginning to dictate and even we do it, we're paying a price for opening up markets and you know, for the new liberal strategies that they're imposing upon us. So globalisation, everybody says we need to - we have to respond to it. But I don't think our response to it is a problem, while the people, the majority of the people are still having it hard. They've given us our freedoms but our material things haven't been satisfied. Then in terms of that then, what is the solution? I think no good just pointing fingers, I think whatever literally is gone, take the people into your confidence and roll it out. Now that's not even being done because as I said earlier, they're keeping R135 000 000 in terms of poverty eradication and saying that there's no capacity. We need to develop those capacities on the ground. Now my personal experience is that while the documents in the ANC are excellent, the actual roll out thing is problematic. Middle management and people at government civil service at grassroots may not have the capacity, yes, but not enough is being done to take into the fold of

government the civics and the grassroots people and say in this area this is a problem, let's do it.

DS: Okay. So I always ask question, if I have this problem about the way AIDS issue is being handled especially by the government, so I just want to ask you why do you think the government - what has, you know, it has delayed on the issue of AIDS. Firstly, it was arguing that, you know, HIV doesn't cause AIDS and all this stuff and all of a sudden now that they are agreeing that AIDS is an issue here, it's a problem, does the money from the U.N. - there are problems also in terms of delivering, yet there is money especially for kids. What's your view on that?

DN: You know, from the health point of view we've always been pushing for prevention, okay? Now one needs to understand also that some of the things that we were saying in the '60s, if you take TB, there's no need for TB. TB is a disease of poverty, okay? Even malaria is a disease of poverty really. Now we haven't eradicated TB because of the poverty, because of the lack of the infrastructure and then a lot of money is spent because we are driven towards curative care, dishing out and just treating those who have got it but we're not preventing it. So the source of the disease is not being addressed. Now possibly - I'm just trying to speculate, possibly when our president said that poverty causes AIDS, maybe he was referring to this kind of scenario because poverty does contribute towards AIDS. His mistake then would be not linking AIDS with the HIV virus, okay? Now having said that, where is the cure, okay? Ethically one can go back and say

that - I've always argued that we can save a lot of money by just giving ten cents penicillin in the rural area to prevent a sore throat because if you don't spend the ten cents there, that patients will be forcing you to spend R30 000 in terms of a heart operation that the child is going to get heart problems because of the tonsillitis. Over here one of the things is that ethically we need to treat the people who have got HIV but then one needs to balance the resources which you have. Where do you put it? You put it in prevention or you put it in curative care knowing full that that cure that you are giving there is a doubt. While people are saying that Nevirapine is going to cure it, okay? But there are still doubts that it may just prolong life at a cost, right, and you need to have technology to implement it and so on. These are raging over there but at the same time some of our activists have also been clashing with each other and I think this is one of the problems, that people are beginning to look at certain institutions and say that certain individuals like ... Prof Jerry Coovadia is getting and so on have been doing things over and above what they themselves would want the department to do. So that kind of clash was misdirected in this kind of direction, that I'm convinced of because I can't or I still won't believe that our president can't see that there's a connection between HIV and - right? It was a kind of thing to take on other people and Manto Tshabalala herself has been totally wrong in this kind of thing. But having said that, I do hope that they come to their senses and begin to start forming a ... because I know from experience on the

ground one needs to, even with TB, make sure that you are giving the tablets properly otherwise you're going to develop other problems, resistance and so on. Similarly over here, which is a much bigger thing, just giving the drug alone is not going to cure that patient, you need to give other things. Right? Support mechanisms. Hopefully than can come in but I think the sad part is that while we were saying primary health care, primary health care, we could use this opportunistically to really deliver out true health care and development to all the communities because this money need not only go for Nevirapine.

If you need the other structures or other support mechanisms, you can roll those out in terms of infrastructure. If you home based care you need a house. So that can be rolled out in terms of housing. So one of the problems has been while we've been criticising this whole vertical kind of developmental programmes, right, this would have given us the money and the space or the gap to really get down and do development in the true intersectoral way which would have addressed - and that I see as the thing that would have prevented further AIDS coming up and it is sad that they haven't done it, it's personalities I think that where

Manto Tshabalala wants to keep the control of the 600 000 000 in the hands of SADAC or the National AIDS Council, right? There's no doubt about it that the Nelson Mandela School has seen the programme.

It's the best, that the guys have really gone to town and done a hell of a lot of good work. It's one of the best programmes and that is why the World Health Organisation are really wanting to provide

that money for KwaZulu Natal and it's sad that Mantu has to do this and I think it's the same thing, taking your old connections, you know, because it's NNP/FC - I want to say it openly it's NNP/FC that's apparently there is a preferential kind of - you were NNP/FC before then you are Manto's blue eyed boy or blue eyed girl.

DS: So would you agree with the people who are saying Manto should just leave her position or resign?

DN: I don't want to be judgmental.

DS: Okay.

DN: I think, you know, that's not my nature. I'm saying I can criticise, I'm entitled to. But speaking in terms of her capacity and potential, she can do a lot, you know, she has got the experience, she's got the capacity to do it but I think there's certain things that have to change. But if she's not prepared to change then possibly we need to find like any other department or, you know, management system. You need to replace someone who is inefficient or ineffective but you need to give them a chance because of what they have done before, their contributions in the struggle and so on. I don't think - that doesn't warrant us to treat her with so much of disdain in this respect, she must be given the chance to correct what she thinks is the problem.

DS: Okay. So now we're moving to the questions of the TRC. I just want to find out your perception, your perception on TRC. Their mandate, was it fair?

DN: The TRC. We needed it, you know, you know we needed the Truth and Reconciliation Commission where people could vent and connect and get rid of

all the pent up emotions and so on. But I think it was too much of a - hey, what is the word, it was top dog pushed by people sitting in a particular - with due respects to Tutu and so on - the people were expecting something else out of it and I don't think they even enquired what the people wanted out of it because not everybody wanted money. Some people got emotional kind of - where their problems addressed from that point of view, from the emotional point of view. But I think people wanted more than that and then the duplicity where you extended a kind of thing for one group, you know, where the guys were guilty of certain things you gave them and then the people who suffered, who were the victims, not getting sufficient redress, you know, was a problem. So in terms of that you can't just get away and say Truth and Reconciliation Commission forgiven lots of things. You can forgive, not forget, okay? But there must be some redress and I thought that this would have been a sufficient enough reason to start the redistributive process. There must be some balancing or payback for people who have suffered but they're not getting anything and the sad part is that the people who are benefitting from the whole revolutionary process are not the ones because the Truth and Reconciliation Commission reveals the fact that the people really paid with their lives and so on, not the ones who are really benefitting from this whole process of revolution. So no, it's not sufficient and it's hurtful, it's very hurtful where people who feel so much or have lost so much. They don't want financial gain, I think this is mistake, people think

they want financial gain but in the name of those people things could be erected, things could be done. There could be transformation. It could be that the start of the transformation process in terms of what those people have sacrificed and that's not been - well, hasn't been done really. It was like - it was started to bring the two groups together and the perpetrator is absolutely coming out the winner rather than the victim. That is the problem.

DS: Do you see the AWB leader coming out? I mean there's been a rumour that if he wants to apply for - to go out and he's sentenced to serve in the community. Is it possible for him to?

DN: Just localising it or singling him out I think that's just a symbol or a symptom of what's happening in the general society. Whether he comes out or not, the fact that he's being seen, you know, he's such a perpetrator to be given such big publicity and so on. The guys in the street saying now hah, they think that they have redeemed themselves, that their consciences are clear now and they can go on treating, you know, the Black people, the servants and so on the way they've done before. Do you get what I'm saying? That that must be extended into the general public because it wasn't only him, he did it on a big scale but all his followers and so on, not only his followers but the ordinary, you know, White man, you know, all the oppressors because we have oppressors amongst ourselves also. Those oppressors now are coming out and saying well, we've paid the price because of TRC, you know, what went on in the TRC. So each of us relate to the TRC in our own individual way according to our

experiences. So therefore we can react differently. Now I'm reacting this way because I find that the victims haven't been satisfied. The perpetrators are coming out and saying that are satisfied with this process. So it means that the process was initiated at the outset ...

DS: Which means it's more or less the same as the negotiated settlement?

DN: Ja. But here it's worse because the perpetrator is - his conscience is - what's the word? He feels nice now, you know? He went through the process, he shed a few tears there and now he's scot free. So the guy over there is scot free, he's a symbol of the other people on the street because every time something happens, that this is something you and I associate with the victim. These people are associating with the perpetrators, so still it's all resolved now, we don't need any more, we don't need any more payback, we don't need any more redistribution, we don't need anything else.

DS: Now we have come to the end of our interview. I just want to ask you to say anything, words of encouragement especially to the youth.

DN: About the youth I'm a big worry, you know? Well, the youth, I'm a big worrier, I don't know what to encourage them. I mean you're going to encourage them anything they're going to move towards globalisation, they're going to become consumers, they're going to spend more time in the malls, their value system is totally going West and it's so individualistic, it's competitive, it's dog eat dog out there, "I want to be better than you" and this whole question of communalism is gone. There's not more

community, sense of community, sense of responsibility for your neighbour. This is what the youth are not demonstrating. Our youth solved the problems. These youth are beginning to see each other as a competitor.

DS: What do you think should be done?

DN: This whole conference that they want to have on what moral regeneration or whatever, I don't know if it's going to work, it has to start in school, it has to start in families and because if we don't do that this whole race thing is going to be converted to a class thing and the struggle is still going to continue but on a class basis. So the youth better understand that their future is in their own hands, they need to begin to see that their future, if it's going to be rosy, is only through hard work because they're going to be enslaved and globalisation is coming and taking everybody. So neo-liberalism is going to make them new kind of worker, new slave, whether you've got IT or whatever. So in the long term, you are going to be enslaved, your community, your society is going to be enslaved, so they need to start at least questioning and thinking about their neighbours and getting involved politically, to challenge the government, to make them accountable and to ensure that they have the opportunity to make changes. I don't know what else because it's such a difficult thing and those poor ones mustn't lose hope, the poor youth because I see you have so much of the youth also who are poor, who are battling and they mustn't despair and go in the wrong direction because there are plenty - they need to join the avenues of the areas where

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people are still struggling because all of us are working towards a better society and they need to join those forums.

DS: Okay. Thank you again Dr Dilly Naidoo for your time. We really appreciate.

DN: You're welcome. Thanks.

**END OF INTERVIEW**

