

1

- J.F. when and where you were born?
- M.M. Ja, I was actually born in Pietersburg, you know - my parents were staying in a white owned farm, and I was very young at that time - until they were moved out of the farm into a trust land, and from there we moved to Pretoria.
- J.F. Why were you moved out of the farms - was it a black spot supposedly?
- M.M. Ja, it was a black spot because there were many people living there and they - in order to live there you had to - to pay with your labour, you know, and so on, and finally they were moved out - I think that was the period when - when people were being moved into some sort of a homeland at that time, you know, and they went to stay in some trust land and - with very little, you know, land to plough and so on.
- J.F. What, like a reserve but part of a homeland?
- M.M. Ja, ja.
- J.F. Part of what, KwaNdebele?
- M.M. No, Lebowa.
- J.F. And what year were you born?
- M.M. I was born in 1962.
- J.F. And so when did you have to move off that land?
- M.M. They were moved in 1965, as far as I remember - that's the date (?) told to me - and then I grew up - I think we stayed there for two years and then we moved to - to the Transvaal - I mean to Pretoria, and we got a house there.
- J.F. In where?
- M.M. Mamelodi.
- J.F. So did you basically grow up in Mamelodi....
- M.M. Ja....
- J.F. Since you were about six?
- M.M. Ja.
- J.F. And what job did your dad and mum do - what jobs did your parents do?
- M.M. My father was working for one guy who was working in the ministry of finance, you know, in Waterkloof - that's the rich white suburb in Pretoria.
- J.F. He was a domestic worker?
- M.M. Ja.
- J.F. And so he travelled into Waterkloof from Mamelodi?
- M.M. Ja, he was staying there, because he was only coming home over

M.M. weekend - to spend weekends at home - and then my mother wasn't working at that time, you know, because she had to look after children and so on.

J.F. So how many kids were you?

M.M. Three - my other sister was left in the rural areas because she was schooling there, and it became difficult for her to continue with her studies, you know - she only went up to nine - to matric - sorry, Standard Six in 1966, and then he came back to join the family - I mean he came up to Pretoria to join the family.

J.F. So you grew up in Mamelodi and you only saw your father at weekends?

M.M. Ja.

J.F. Did you go out to the Waterkloof place or did he always come to Mamelodi - did you ever go out there?

M.M. Ja, I used to go out there.

J.F. And did you see many whites - where those whites he worked for (.....) the only whites that you knew.....

M.M. No, they were not....

J.F. Or did you know others?

M.M. No, they were not the only whites I knew, because I used to go there like at '71, '72, so I will help him in terms of doing gardening and so on, or sometimes these people will give me something - some money, you know, maybe rent (?) or some clothes, you know - that type of athing - and -

You see, my - the way I saw them - I never had problems with white people particularly and I think that was one thing which amazed me, those white people in particular, you know - but I used to hate the police so much it was unreal -

Now one thing which made me hate the police was that normally what happened was - what used to happen at that time was that people used to be arrested for not working, you know, because at that time the industry was, you know, employing a lot of people, but there were people who didn't want to work and so on, or didn't want to do those types of jobs, and what will happen is that the police will blitz one section and arrest all men and handcuff them, you know, around a pole the whole day while they are arresting others somewhere, and that used to happen in townships, and this - most -

The people who were doing this were black policemen with only white policemen - there could be six of them with a (?) white, you know, municipality policemen, you know.

J.F. So that - you think that you made a distinction even then between whites and whites who were part of the system?

M.M. You see, I used to hate mostly the Afrikaaners there.

J.F. The Afrikaaners?

M.M. Ja - because those ones never even showed any - even I mean had, you know, feeling that they never had a feeling - I mean the contact I had with them - with the feeling that I'm a human being, you know - at least you know, the English speaking those my

- M.M. father worked for were at least respecting me, you know, a little bit, you know - they would smile with me and so on, you know - I mean that gives you a little - you - you can see that this person at least sees you as a person, but this - the boers, you know, they always hated black people and.
- J.F. And the people your dad worked for - were they Afrikaans or English?
- M.M. They were English.
- J.F. And did you think they were O.K. or did you not like the way they treated your father - what did you think of them?
- M.M. You see, my father is a very, very - he wasn't very subservient - he's not a subservient person, you know - he always react - he always reacts if somebody is trying to abuse him, so I think they even - when they tried to give him orders at work he will always refuse - that he's going to do a certain thing until he finishes -
- So most of the time he comes across - I mean he came across to me as a person who wouldn't - like even one day the madame is calling her - she - he will say that I'll come later after an hour or so, you know, because I'm still doing this thing, you know - and then that's how he used to I mean - really he was - he's very tough, you know - he's a very tough person.
- J.F. So you're saying that they didn't abuse him so you didn't mind those people?
- M.M. Ja - except I mean they didn't pay him enough, you know, to make us live, you know - they didn't pay him enough money.
- J.F. And when you say you hated Afrikaaners which Afrikaaners were you exposed to?
- M.M. Ja, you see, my mother once started working I went to - I started doing gardening, you see - well, as young people the one way of - of getting some money for ourselves was to go and do gardening, you know, in white areas - now one thing which happened to me was that I went for the whole day and this Afrikaaner didn't pay me and he sjambokked me, you see, and that used to happen with a lot of guys who used to work in that suburb.
- J.F. Which suburb was that?
- M.M. It's called Esslin - it's in Pretoria and mostly consists of poor whites, poor Afrikaaners.
- J.F. How do you spell it?
- M.M. E s s l e n.
- J.F. And on what grounds did he not pay you and sjambok you - did they say anything or did he claim that you hadn't done work properly?
- M.M. He said I'm lazy, I didn't do my work properly - and I know I've done my work thoroughly because his garden was like, you know, a bush when I came there, you know - when I left it it was clean, you know, and - and everything - the flowers were watered and everything - it was O.K. - but no, this guy didn't want to pay me - instead he took a sjambok -

And what happened was that the next week we went - I went to look for another job, you know, then with our friend - then when we finish later on we were chased by white boys with their fathers,

- M.M. you know - I saw them coming the direction I was running to (Laugh) so I didn't know where to run to, and then these white boys were on bicycles, you see, and then they were chasing us and they were making a real - it was just fun for them, you know, to chase us like that - so we had to walk to the township because we didn't have any money.
- J.F. And they didn't pay you either?
- M.M. No, they didn't.
- J.F. So were those the incidents that made you....
- M.M. They made even the situation worse, you know - they made the situation worse.
- J.F. And how old were you when those gardening incidents happened?
- M.M. You see, I started doing gardening when I started school and that was in 196 - 1971 at that time - 1971, '72 - I was still at school in 1969 - I was doing Sub A, and then '70 that's why I started doing gardening, you know, not where my father was working, or visiting him or helping him, but with my friends and so on, and that's where we experienced, you know, how these guys are and so on.
- J.F. And then did that make you anti white or did that make you anti Afrikaaner or did that make you anti some whites or anti all whites?
- M.M. You see, like it made me anti Afrikaaners most, because the way they came across Afrikaaners used to hate us and the way they come - they still do - the way they come across was is that they - they hate us, you know, and - and whatever - like in town when we have to buy something, you know, he has to be served first and then you'll be served later, you know, and that used to happen so often -
- And whatever can happen in town like, for instance, they can suspect you for stealing something and then you are in trouble, you know - they are going to beat you up, the police, when you arrive at a police station, white policemen are going to beat you up like hell, you know -
- Secondly it was a risk for us to look for jobs in those gardens....
- J.F. It was what?
- M.M. A risk - because you could be arrested outside (?) and be beaten by the boer boys and - or they'll - they beat you and they leave you.
- J.F. The boer boys?
- M.M. Ja. The police (Laugh) they will just beat you up and (Laugh) they can take you, arrest you if you are over 16, but if you're under 16 they beat you up and they leave you because you are not supposed to have a pass under 16 - and they take the money you have sometimes.
- J.F. And if you went back and told your father or mother about those incidents what would they say - would they say yes, we must change things, or would they say hey, calm down, this is the way things are?

M.M. That was the normal thing, you know, that what can we do, you know, we are being ruled, we don't have - we don't rule, you know, so just keep quiet and forget, you know - and there wasn't any kind of alternative, you know, thinking coming across like saying no, man, the boers are bad and so on, you know, something needs to be done - no - you see, at that time people were still quite -

Our parents were hiding a lot of things from us, you know, because they know I mean what happened in the '50's and the '60's, and they didn't tell us that - what happened - it was very difficult even to say who is Nelson Mandela - they'll always make you keep your mouth shut - they say sshhh, you'll be in jail -

Now we fail to understand how can we be in jail for asking a question (Laugh) who is this man - we just want to know - they say no, exactly for that you'll be in jail, you know, you see.

J.F. So your own parents wouldn't even tell you about Mandela?

M.M. Mmm.

J.F. So how did you find out about Mandela?

M.M. (Laugh) Ja - how we find out is - you see, 1976 was an important era in terms of conscientising us as young people and also making aware a lot of people who were not aware of - that this thing didn't start in 1976 - people have always fought, you know - what - that people have always fought, and I think that June '76 was a very, very important era for some of us, though we know that some of the people knew, like SASO people and so on, but there was very little we heard about SASO between the period of '69 and '76 -

We heard very little about that, except maybe for the grown ups, you know, maybe guys of about 28, 26, 22 years, you know, will know, or knew about SASO, you know - because you see, that time, you see, politics were things of - I mean between that period politics were of the guys, you know, who can speak English well and the guys who were at university, you know, the guys who were at high school, you know, who happened to read, you know, books which we don't read - you know, the politics belonged to them, you know - we didn't have that formation at all, you know -

So that's why I'm saying that it was just after '76 that one started to know more about these things, and I was doing Form Two then, eh - that is Standard Seven, you know - so I visited a brother of mine after, you know - I think it was December, '76 in Tembisa - now he used to be - he was a member of SASIN (?) you know -

Now he showed me a lot of publications I've never seen, you know - I was - there was a mixture of, you know, excitement and anger because I've never seen these things before, and then he showed me a number of books, you know, by (.....) and all those people, you know, and then Roots and - what what - there's one guy from - I forgot his name now...

J.F. From?

M.M. Franz Vernon (?) all his books, you know - I found them difficult to read initially because my English was not well I mean - I wasn't that articulate, you know - so I started reading those books and more and more I didn't rebel, you know, and I read BC books and that more - made me more and more angry and I started to

M.M. - I didn't say - you see, the one thing which surprised me was that I didn't say I hate white people, but I always said I'm proud of what I am, you know, and that was important for us at that time, that if a man wants to be free, or if a people want to be free, they must start recognising themselves as human beings, and then they'll be free - now that actually makes you angry when you start to realise I'm human like these people - why can't I have the same rights as them and so on, you know -

But we never said we hate white people, but - but you see, Afrikaners we used to hate them, you know, that - that was clear that (Laugh) Afrikaners were hated, you know, I mean because of the treatment they give to our people, and what made the situation worse was also the detentions of people, the killings of people in detention, the shootings and so on, and we realised that really these people are not going to change, you know - they are not going to change at all, and the only way to deal with the system is to do away with this kind of system, you know -

Though at that time, you know, we are naive as to how we do away with the system, you know - we thought by merely fighting bantu education we'll - and also maybe challenging the system in our own townships and so on we thought it will change, but it never changed, you know -

We realised that in order to change the system we need a participation of the broad section of our people - the majority of our people need to participate in the struggle.

J.F. Participation of the what sections?

M.M. Of many people in the country, you know, to defeat the system - because at that time what used to happen is that people - it was spontaneous, you know - there wasn't a lot of organisation going on, you know - it was very spontaneous, and mainly the people who used to initiate the actions were small groups of pressure groups, you know, in the '77, '78.

J.F. Now how did you move - you read the BC stuff, but how did you move to that step of saying we need the mass participation - are you saying you went through a point of saying wait a minute, BC is just reaching the intellectuals, or what are you saying?

M.M. About BC - well, I read about BC and I used to subscribe to the BC ideology, you know, very strongly, you know, but the change came in when I joined YCS in - I was a student and then in '80 - was it '80 - yes, it was between the period '79 and '80 - now a lot of things were - I was starting to understand the system much more, you know, because of the type of publications I used to get from YCS, you know -

I remember I read an article on total (?) strategy - that was the first one I read, you know, and I started to understand actually now actually that the problem it's fine, granted, to hate white people, you know, but now we've got a problem here and the problem is to fight the system that makes white people hate us, you know -

And in order to live in a free society we have to fight the system and have a new system that will bring about human values, you know, like non racialism and so on, you know - so one started to realise that we can kill as many whites as possible but you are not changing the system, you know - you can have actually the

M.M. same system but not run by white people, run by black people like in other countries you have, in Kenya, for instance, you know - the system hasn't changed that much - people are still poor, you know - opportunities regarding to education are still, you know, restricted to very few people, you know, the middle class and the rich people, you know -

So we started to realise those things, you know, through that information.

J.F. Who would that article on total strategy - who was that by, do you think?

M.M. The what?

J.F. That article on total strategy, who wrote it, do you know - or which organisation?

M.M. It was written by - people who used to produce this publication - what do they call it - I forgot the name of that publication - it was quite an important publication - Social Review - I think those publications helped us a lot in - helped me personally, you know, to understand the system in the country -

And also my participation in YCS brought me - exposed me to white people who were involved in the struggle, and that was quite a surprise, you know - I mean I never knew that there were white people who were involved, you know - I was actually surprised, man, to hear some people talking, you know, about Mandela and so on, being white, and then I was really surprised, you know -

And that actually even reassured me that what we are fighting is the system - we are not fighting white people as white people, you know - we are fighting the system in which white people participate and are being used against us, you know, and it's our task, you know, to - to ensure that more and more white people - I mean it's our task - when I say it's our task I mean not only the black people but all white compatriots who are involved in the struggle, it's our task together with them to - to ensure that white people realise, you know, what they are defending, you know, though we know they've got privileges and so on, you know -

But one thing we know for sure is that white people do not want to participate in the army for many reasons, you know.

J.F. Was that a surprise to you?

M.M. I mean - no, I mean - I'm just saying for now I mean we know white people don't want to participate in the army - but I mean what was a surprise for me initially was to find white people who understands what's happening and who are able to fight against what's happening, you know.

J.F. Were you curious about how they got that way or did you just accept them and move into it - did you ever say gee, how did you get involved - were you ever at a phase where you wanted to know why these white people...

M.M. Ja, I asked, you know - I asked one guy and then - you see, one - one thing I realised is that most of them came from families which were quite liberal - that's one thing I realised, you know, and that was very interesting - not very many white comrades

M.M. came from very conservative families - they came mostly from white I mean liberal families, you know, and they were exposed to what's happening in townships through maybe reading newspapers or their parents saying oh, you know what's happening to black people in townships is really bad, you know - Botha is really bad, or Vorster is really bad - so in that way they were able to - to get formed - but also through their academic studies - some of them were able to study, you know, what's happening in South Africa and so on, the history and so on.

J.F. Did you find no problems relating to those whites - did you find they had no prejudice or were there things you had to work through with even them, or was it easy?

M.M. It wasn't easy - it wasn't easy - we had differences, you know, because of different backgrounds, you know, and sometimes we'd debate issues very very or - you know, really clash, you know, on issues and so on, you know - it wasn't easy because there were some - initially, you know, some people who would say that you see, we are fighting the system, you know - maybe white comrades would start saying we're fighting the system and so you don't have to be concerned -

I mean the problem is not colour, you know, but the problem is it's capitalism, you know, and so on, and that will kick a lot of problems.

J.F. Why?

M.M. Because (Laugh) we won't - we don't want to accept that - we say no, we dominate (?) - how can we say colour is not important - we are (Laugh) (.....) I mean we are - are kicked around by white people, you know, and - and they don't kick other white people like they kick us, so why do you say colour is not important (Laugh) - it is important - these guys are kicking us around, you understand -

And I mean you as a white - we used to raise a lot of questions like saying you as a white person you have got more privileges than we have - we don't have - you - you have privileges which we don't have, you know, and therefore the system, you know, somehow - you are benefiting somehow from the system and so on, now don't come now and tell us that (Laugh) colour is not a problem - it is a problem - and we used to clash -

And I think it was a process of learning for a lot of us and we started to understand each other, you know - I mean sometimes some of the comrades we clashed with they will come back to us and say oh, ja, ja, we understand, you know, why people were feeling so strong about the issue - so it used to be easy, you know, to - maybe after that to come together and really look at what was the - what is the problem exactly, you know, and so on -

Because it also relates to the question of analysis, how we analyse the African situation, you know, and that used to be a problem.

J.F. So how did you get through that - what did you decide about that - were you saying they just weren't giving enough emphasis to colour - what are you saying exactly?

M.M. No, I think we are fearing (?) that, you know, the question of colour was not being taken seriously, you know, as a - as a - it wasn't - maybe they didn't see it as an issue, but we because

- M.M. we - we were experiencing the harsh realities of apartheid, you know, and our houses were getting - were closed down by the administration if our parents didn't pay rents - we were beaten up every day at school and so on and, you know, and then when people come to say no, that's not a question of colour, and in white school we know that there's no corporal punishment, then we used to I mean really be heated up because we knew that what - what's happening to us is not happening to them, you know.
- J.F. (You both sound like chipmunks now so don't be surprised if it's not word for word!) So are you saying that they're wrong about their emphasis on capitalism and class or are you saying - what are you saying exactly - how did you work it out - did you say to them you are wrong or did you say there's an emphasis that you don't have - how did it work out?
- M.M. I - what - our emphasis was that capitalism is there we know in South Africa but what form it has taken it should be recognised, you know - I think it should be recognised because the system in South Africa is racist, you know, through and through, and there's no way you can say it's capitalism - ja, it is capitalism but it's not the same like in Europe, for instance, you know, in Britain, in France, in West Germany - it's not the same, you know - it's different in South Africa - and -
- And I mean the colonial values are still there - the system's quite colonial, you know, where things (?) are regarded as - as backwards and whatever - and there should be a process of (....
.....)..... (Can't make out any more - there's not much more anyway!)
- END OF SIDE ONE.
- J.F. When did you first hear of that concept of colonialism of a special type?
- M.M. Well, as I said, from these papers which came out of the conference of the A.N.C. in Morogoro consultative conference...
- J.F. Of 1969?
- M.M. MMM.
- J.F. And what did you think when you read that - are you saying that that provided an answer that class alone didn't....
- M.M. Ja, ja, it provided that answer - I think it was satisfactory - I mean satisfactory in the sense that it was making the situation much more clear for me personally, you know - while some of the publications, you know, they would emphasise in class, class, class, you know, without giving, you know, I mean a comprehensive

- M.M. analysis of our situation, you know - but I think that's one thing which - which - which is I think makes the A.N.C. a very powerful movement - it's how it sees the situation in our country, and - and how it addresses the issues in the country - that makes it very, very popular, you know.
- J.F. And when you came into these documents from Morogoro did you share them with others....
- M.M. Ja....
- J.F. You talked with them?
- M.M. Ja.
- J.F. So people aren't - that was what, a few years ago?
- M.M. Ja, it's about '81 - '80, '81.
- J.F. And people weren't scared about having the documents and that kind of thing or?
- M.M. See, it excites you, you know, at that time because you didn't have this thing, you know, and now you reading the material yourself - we were not scared, you know - I mean we knew that we had to take maximum precaution, you know, but we were so excited, you know, to - to get these ideas, you know.
- J.F. And how did - do you remember did you have discussions with other people - how people generally picked up on it and responded to that analysis of colonialism of a special type?
- M.M. Let me see - we had I mean a number of us - we are about seven guys we used to read together, you see, so we used to sort of discuss, you know, and a lot of material, but when we read that I mean publication it was - it was so good that, you know, we went out - when we were in meetings we would start using that word and we start, you know, bringing that analysis in our meetings and so on, you know, without saying where it comes from, you know -
- And that was good because we used to - from there a lot of things were started like groups where you could discuss and - and - and analyse the situation together, take up actions and so on.
- J.F. Using what word - colonialism of a special kind?
- M.M. I mean using those ideas, let alone, you know, that the concept, you know, the ideas, you know.
- J.F. And how did the people respond when you put those ideas forth in meetings and stuff?
- M.M. You see, in the country at that time there was a whole move to - a shift from BC, you know, '79, '80, '81 people were moving towards the progressive, you know, movement and they were accepting those ideas, you know - though they were still, you know, discussions and arguments taking place at different levels -
- I remember in one congress of AZASO it was very, very, very difficult to get people to understand why democratic or non racial - non racial, you know, direction is necessary, or policy, you know.

J.F. Why did they - what were they saying - were they saying we don't care about non racialism or why are you so excited about it - what were they saying?

M.M. People were actually - the biggest problem was that people - they said BC is all right I mean, and they were taking this like as a liberal thing, you know, that some people were being liberal now, you know - they were thinking that being progressive we are being liberal, and there was that, you know, back and forth - people are trading words and so on, but it was out of that, you know, congress a lot of people came - came out being converted, you know, in a whole number of ways -

I remember one guy came out, who he was - he was in BPC and he stood up and said : BC it's an important stage in the struggle, you know - everyone needs to go through that stage, you know, especially black people, but we need to move forward, you know, and we - and he came out to say that : You see, if a man wants to be free or if a slave wants to be free he must recognise himself as a human being and - and not only that but he must move further in terms of how is he going to change the, you know, the country -

And he said that what we want to build is a human South Africa, it's not a racist South Africa - we don't want to build a black South Africa that is not going to accommodate other citizens of our country, but we want to build a South Africa where everybody will live, you know, in peace and where everybody will have a say in how the country should be run, you know, through democratic structures, you know, and so on -

And he said that BC at this moment is like a tomato - when a tomato gets ripe it doesn't get more ripe, you know, it gets rotten, it needs to be thrown away, you know - so that was the phrase he used, and he managed to move a lot of people, you know, through what he said - he was very articulate I mean - he was very articulate -

So I think that conference was important in terms of what is happening now - AZASO has grown and also AZASO is non racial, you know, and a lot of students, black students who participate in AZASO are non racial in approach, you know.

J.F. What year was that conference?

M.M. It was in 1981, June.

J.F. Let me get back a second and - you got involved in YCS in 19?

M.M. I think it was the end of '79, you know, as a - in a small group, you know, of YCS in Mamelodi.

J.F. And were you still in high school then?

M.M. Yes, I was in high school.

J.F. And had you been quite involved with the church all the time or did this....

M.M. I wasn't involved in the church, you know, at that time, or with the church at that time, but I was a strong - a staunch Catholic - I used to go to Mass every Sunday as an altar boy - I was - ja, I was in charge of the altar boys in the church and so on, so

- M.M. - but I wasn't seeing that the struggle needs to be brought into the church, you know.
- J.F. You saw church separate from politics?
- M.M. Ja.
- J.F. Do you ever remember anyone trying to put politics into the church before you were - you got involved with the YCS when you were - before you were 17 - did you ever hear of any?
- M.M. Yes, it was like this, but I didn't used to agree with that - what used to happen was that, you see, some guy used to say ja, you see, the church needs to be crushed, you know - so I wouldn't (Laugh) oppose him, you see, because if I oppose him (Laugh) I'll be in trouble - he's far too articulate (?) (Laugh) - I just say oh, let him go, I'm still going to church anyway (Laugh) you know.
- J.F. So some militant people were anti church?
- M.M. Ja, very anti church.
- J.F. Why were they anti church?
- M.M. Because they said the church is also a tool, you know, of - of - of the rulers, you know - it's used by the rulers to dominate our people, or to make them subservient to the master, you know.
- J.F. And what did you think of that?
- M.M. You see, I was in a - at the same time I was saying ja, I understand that but, you see - the church for me used to be a community, you know, of friends, you know, and most of my friends were there in the church - we used to play there, we used to spend - well, from school we'd go to the church and do some work there and stay with the priest and so on - and then now if that person is saying that I'm going to - I'm not going to take his analysis into consideration, or his ideas into consideration - I'm going to be against - I mean I'm not going to agree with them, I'm going to be against them, you know, because the church - in the church at least I was accommodated, you know, and so on, so (Laugh) -
- So it was very difficult to say - to agree with him or not, you know, but I mean I didn't want to even to face that question - I've always shelved it, you know.
- J.F. But - so there were people who were anti church and there were you people who were in the church - did you ever know of people who were trying to use the church politically before YCS - priests who talked about politics in their sermons, or did that never happen?
- M.M. No, it never happened - though he - I mean when we read newspapers we heard about people like Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa and other priests, you know, who were persecuted by the state, you know.
- J.F. But you didn't know them?
- M.M. No, I didn't - I wouldn't say that I'd met them personally, you know, at that time.
- J.F. And then how did you come into YCS and get exposed to them?
- M.M. You mean - what is the question?
- J.F. How did you get in contact - when did you first hear of YCS - how

J.F. did you get to be into YCS?

M.M. The way I got to be involved in YCS was through Moss Chikane's brother - Moss Chikane is one of the guys who is being charged for treason, you know, in Delmas trial, so through his brother - I think Moss talked to his brother about YCS, you know, because he had been in contact with people like Father Albert Nolan, so from there we started a group of YCS - and what happened after that -

Ja, then I - I got involved in YCS - then I got exposed to priests like Father Albert Nolan and Father Chris Langeveldt and.

J.F. And where were you with your politics then - were you surprised to see these whites like Nolan and Langeveldt?

M.M. I mean it was - at that time I mean it was exciting to - to hear priests speaking a different language, you know, interpreting the gospel differently, you know - that was what used to interest me most, you know, the way the gospel was interpreted, you know, and I used to take every chance at - at YCS meetings - if we have a service I will plan the Mass (?) together with the priest, just to gain those skills of doing theology, you know.

J.F. And who got you into YCS - how did you happen to hear about it and get involved?

M.M. As I said, it's this Moss Chikane's brother - he told me about YCS.

J.F. What's his name?

M.M. Moss Chikane.

J.F. No, what's Moss Chikane's brother's name?

M.M. Chikane Chikane.

J.F. The same two names?

M.M. Ja.

J.F. Is that his real name?

M.M. Ja, it's name and surname.

J.F. And what does Chikane mean - does it mean anything....

M.M. No, it's just a surname.

J.F. And so he took you along to a meeting or you found out about the meeting or something?

M.M. He took me along to the meeting - how it happened was that we were having a discussion outside the school, and then he came there and I was discussing with one guy - it was the first time, you know, I met him and then he started saying he wants to see me, you see - then I said no, I don't know you, how can I see you - and then he discussed with me about YCS and so on, but I wasn't sure, you know - I was a bit unsettled and being a bit suspicious of him, you know -

So I said O.K., I'll come there - and I went there and then I went to a meeting - so half of the meeting was keeping quiet and listening, you know, so - from there they gave us publications - that's where we got the Social Review and I read it, and next week we

M.M. came to discuss it, you know - so I was elected the group co-ordinator after two weeks and then - so I - things went on that way.

J.F. And was YCS just Catholics?

M.M. No, no, not only Catholics - it involved even some - it's ecumenical, you know - its membership is interdenominational.

J.F. And then - did you get more and more involved - you were still at high school then?

M.M. Ja.

J.F. And can you just tell me about your involvement more and more with YCS - when did you matriculate?

M.M. What happened was that the same year I joined - I mean in '80, ja, while I was doing my matric I was kicked out of school, you see, because I was organising a boycott, you know, and - and from there I didn't go to school any more and I worked for three months, and then from there they decided to - to involve me in YCS, you know, at a regional level, you know, so our - we starting up a regional structure, because I was involved in an area structure - it wasn't a regional structure -

So I was involved in a regional structure - I wasn't full time then - and then it was only in 1982 that I worked reg - as a regional full time person, you know, and 1983 I didn't work as a regional full time person - '84 I was called again to work as a regional full time person - and then '85 I became a member of the national team (?) and this year is my last year on the national team.

J.F. What do you mean the last year, you can only serve for two years?

M.M. Yes, it's only for two years.

J.F. And what does it mean to be on a national team of - there's no further title - it's just called national team of YCS - there was no particular title you held?

M.M. I'm a national organiser.

J.F. So what exactly - just tell me a few things - I don't know anything, I've just heard - just tell me about the YCS method and what that means and what you're trying to do.

M.M. Ja - basically YCS is a - is a student and Christian movement, you know, and what we trying to do is to develop leaders or what we call militants, people who'll go out - when they are in a school they know that something has to be done - they have to start a small YCS group or an action group of people who can initiate actions, but most importantly involve other students in those actions - so what we trying to do is to create all these groups in the church, in the community, in the school, where people will take up actions, where people will review their situation -

So when we say a militant we define a militant as a person who reviews his situation and takes action on his situation, and to review a situation we use the method see, judge and act - that means we look at the situation - what is happening, who is involved, you know - that is what forces are at play, you know - how does the situation affect us - how does the situation affect other

M.M. students in the school or other members of the community, you know - did a similar thing happen somewhere - where did it happen and so on, you know - so in that way we are able to develop our own analysis -

Now the judge section - that's where we look at who benefits in the situation and who loses, you know - what will Jesus (?) do in this situation, you know - what does this gospel say about this kind of a situation, you know - how should we act in this kind of situation -

And the action part of it is who is going to act how - what do we need and so on - so that is planning the action itself, so - so as I said, YCS is a movement that wants - or that our aim is to develop leaders, you know, or militants who will go out and - and who can work with other people, who can operate as a team, not as individuals, you know -

And the other thing is that we see our constituency as a Christian youth, you know, or the people we have to work with as a Christian youth - that is in a church - well, they may be in a church, in the community, or in the school, you know - and we say YCS is a non racial movement, you know - you -

We - we don't have any restrictions whatsoever regarding colour, you know - people can join whether they be black or white as long as they stand by that policy of non racialism - we saying we are committed to the church - we are committed to the church because we see that the church also needs to be transformed, you know - and also that the church needs to be - participate in the struggle, the broader struggle taking place in South Africa - its structures need to be transformed -

People in the church need to be active, not passive, you know, and that means that we have to focus also on the congregations or the grassroots membership of the church - they need to be formed into cells which are living, you know - they need to be people, they need to participate in the activities of the church, and not that they come to Sunday Mass and then they disperse after Sunday Mass.

J.F. And then they what?

M.M. They disperse and go to their different home, you know - you know Sacramental Supermarket (?)

J.F. What do you mean by that?

M.M. (Laugh) Means that we just come, you know, for whatever they need to, you know, to the priest - either they want to baptise the child, you know, come to church on Sunday to be prayed for - and it's like, you know, they coming to buy something every time, you know - they don't participate in the church fully, you know, so we would like to see people participate in the church fully and see the church as also an instrument towards changing what's happening, or as a instrument of change.

J.F. In the wider society?

M.M. In the wider society - also take into consideration that we know there are churches which cannot change - churches will have chosen to be on the part of government (?) who have chosen to take the side of the state, you know, like the NGK, and some of the

- M.M. leadership of the - the - the leadership of the ZCC, Zionist Christian Church, who have allowed themselves to be manipulated by the state - and then the African Independent Churches, some of them have come out clearly against the struggle and they have played in the enemy's hands.
- J.F. What is ZCC, Zionist Christian...
- M.M. Zion Christian Church.
- J.F. Now this means - tell me a bit about how you moved from not seeing the church involved in politics.
- M.M. I think one thing which moved me is the analysis we did, you know, (.....) analysis of the church - I think one thing I want to say is that YCS experience was necessary and very important - I think it was vital towards the formulation of the (.....) document itself.
- J.F. The Kyros document?
- M.M. Mmm - because as far as 1979 YCS was doing the analysis of the church - we struggled very much to analyse the church until we got to understand how - how the church works in South Africa - like we used to analyse the church as a hierarchy only, but we didn't look at the church sometimes belonging - there are churches which belong in the enemy camp like the (.....) you know - we used to analyse it in a - like let's say in a pyramid form and saying this is the church and then you find the bishops or the pope, whoever, and so on, but we didn't look at the church like much more in a contextual sense, you know, in South Africa - what - how the church, you know, is structured and so on -
- Where does the church belong to - I mean the - we used to recognise the fact that the bishops used to come out with good statements and so on, but very little action was done at that time - but later on we moved to realise that it's not only that - there's another way to approach this problem - there are those churches which align themselves with the state, and there are those churches which wants to say that they are in the middle of what's happening and they are there to mediate, you know - there's always -
- There's a special place in the middle and the church needs to play that role of bringing together, you know, the - the - the fighting people.
- J.F. So you moved to that analysis quite quickly after you got involved with YCS?
- M.M. Mmm - it was fast, you know.
- J.F. And what about when you - obviously you got support in these beliefs from YCS since they were the ones who were converting you, but what about when you went back to the wider community - did you only deal with Christian people or were you involved with those who were maybe on the fringes as well?
- M.M. I - I got involved also with people who were involved in the secular movement, or secular organisations - but ja, the one thing which I realised was how weak the theology is within the secular organisations - the theology of people is still

- M.M. quite weak, and as a result we used to have discussions with people to try to understand our situation.
- J.F. What do you mean how weak the theology was in the secular movement.....
- M.M. I mean some people still saw the church like they say, ah, the church is - is reactionary, it needs to be crushed, you know - that type of a thing - granted, the church wasn't taking - playing a prominent role, you know, but how can it play a prominent role - who should make sure that the church plays a prominent role, you know - because I don't think - basically you can't regard the liberal church or the mainline churches as our enemies, you know -
- We know they don't share the same ideas with us, but how can we - because finally when you go to a grassroots membership those people are our own people, they are the people involved in - in civic associations and so on - now those people need to integrate their faith and life - they don't have to see their faith as different from their lives - and the church needs to play a very important role.
- J.F. So even though - So even those more mainstream churches that aren't political you want to help move - is that what you're saying?
- M.M. Ja.
- J.F. And what about that strong, strong commitment to non racialism - how was that received - was there ever debate, criticism, walk-outs, this controversy?
- M.M. Ja, in some quarters I mean it was the ones - very few people who would always walk out or reject, you know, non racialism and so on - but I just want to give you an example like my mother one day - one day Tom Wasp (?) came to my place and he talked to my mother, you know - he was there talking and so on - he was asking my mother about Mandela and so on - my mother was surprised - it shocked her - she said it's the first time she hears a white person talking about these things, a white person wanting change in the country - and that is the experience of millions of - thousands of our people -
- They really starting to see that it's - they really appreciate the involvement of white people in the struggle - they really appreciate it - so I'm just speaking not in - in - much more in sophisticated terms, but at that simple level people are really saying that, you know, this is good, you know, they appreciate it -
- But you see, sometimes there has been a problem with the educated section of our community - they will say ah, white people are - are - ja, these white people want to gain themselves a place in a future South Africa - they don't want to be - they realise they are going to be killed if they don't do anything, you know.....

END OF SIDE TWO.

- M.M. One could ask a question in 1982, or '81, '82, I'm not sure when, when Neil Agget was killed in detention, thousands and thousands of workers turned up at his funeral - there were over 100,000 people at his funeral, you know - though the official figures said there were about 50,000 - and mostly black people, you know.
- J.F. So did you ever waver on that non racialism issue - was it ever - was there ever criticism of it so that you thought ag, maybe we shouldn't push this non racialism line, we'd gain more people if we allowed BC people to be able to push their line as well - or did you not waver on that?
- M.M. No, we didn't really waver on that - we - but we realised that we don't have to alienate people - if they don't accept the idea we just have to, you know, leave them, you know, and get them involved in a struggle, or in our organisations and then therefore through that process they'll be able to engage with in much more fruitful discussions, because we realised arguing will not help us at all with those sections which appear to be more articulate because those are the people who came out clearly and strongly against the white peoples participation.
- J.F. There was - was it AZAPO people....
- M.M. Ja.
- J.F. Always AZAPO people?
- M.M. Mmm - AZAPO people are those people who share the same line - Correction : AZAPO people or those people who share the same line with AZAPO.
- J.F. Were they a big problem or were they a small problem?
- M.M. They are a small problem, I would say, you know, because what they would say, they would over-exaggerate, you know - they would exaggerate that fact of non racialism - they would say, for instance, things like there's nothing like a white worker - it's like - it's - like also their criticism of the UDF that UDF is just a pot pourri of liberals and so on - how do you expect the UDF to become a force - but clearly when the UDF was formed, was launched in 1983, it was a force to be reckoned with -
- Thousands of people turned up - thousands of people were under the umbrella of the UDF - or over a million people were under the umbrella of the UDF.
- J.F. Do you find that more people are coming into non racialism or is it static or are more people going to BC, or is there a movement still to non racialism - how do you find it?
- M.M. It's just - it's the movement to non racialism, or the democratic movement in the country is growing - it's growing all over - all over the country - in the urban areas, in the rural areas people are joining youth congresses and so on.
- J.F. And is it a case when you were actually dealing with people, maybe not arguing but dealing with them - are there people at this stage in 1986 who come from a BC background, or have they not been exposed to BC any more or are they - is it a case where people get exposed to BC and reject it and move to non racialism or are there people who've not heard of BC much and just might be a bit anti white, or are people generally quite open to non racialism and it's not (.....) of an issue?

- M.M. I think there are those people who have been exposed to BC and have actually been converted to non racialism, and there are also those people who have never had that much of BC, you know, and - and actually it wasn't a question for them to join the non racial movement or not but they just joined, you know - that type of a situation.
- J.F. I'm asking a lot of questions about non racialism - is it an important issue to you?
- M.M. It is an important issue, I think, you know - it is an important issue to - to - to capture that experience - I think it's a very important issue because of also the reality of our situation in South Africa being a very racist country, you know - it's an important issue also relating to the Freedom Charter, how the Freedom Charter says, it says South Africa belongs to all those who live in it, black and white, you know -
- And the type of society we want to build - we want to build a human society - we do not want to build a society of black domination, you know - black domination in the sense of white people won't be regarded as people, you know - but in numbers, I'm sure, the black - black people will be in the majority - but when it comes to structures I mean everybody will participate, though (?) all those people who are - stand by the policy of non racialism will participate in all structures of decision making, you know.
- J.F. But I'm saying when you organise people is it an issue - do you ever find people who say oh, gosh, I didn't realise this movement of YCS was non racial, I don't like working with whites - or what is this business of - why are whites in the struggle (?) - or were they not mentioned?
- M.M. Ja, it's not - it's a non issue - except for a few - three people who were going to be in AZASM who joined white (.....) without knowing, and we will just hear by their arguments that these people belong to AZASM or AZAPO or the BC camp - but generally it's not an issue - we don't start there when we organise people.
- J.F. And those AZASM or AZAPO people do they join for - are they honestly involved or are they trying to destabilise or?
- M.M. It just turned out to be that they are trying to destabilise most of the time.
- J.F. And what do you do about that?
- M.M. Well, the group will decide what it wants to do with them, either to keep the person out, and to say or to mention, you see, this is the policy of YCS and you have to stand by this policy - it has been grafted (?) by all the members of YCS on the decision making level nationally, so you can't say you are disagree with this thing, you know.
- J.F. You mentioned AZASO at one point - have you been involved with AZASO - have you been to university or how did you mention that you?
- M.M. Well, I've always been in contact with AZASO people and always being at their congresses and - most of them are my comrades, you know, or friends, you know, who come from the same place as I

M.M. come from.

J.F. Have you organised on university campuses or?

M.M. Yes.

J.F. So how did you come to be at the AZAPO conference, as an observer or?

M.M. Ja, we were invited as observers.

J.F. What about that whole idea of Afrikaaners and English - do you still think Afrikaaners are bad and English are good?

M.M. Ja - I think when one looks at the situation in South Africa you find that the Afrikaaners are the most conservative - they are more scared, and they are the most - they are the ones who wants to preserve the apartheid system because of fear of that, you know - I mean that what they did to black people will happen to them, you know - they've got that fear and - but - and we find that some of them actually are drifting to the far right, you know, and - and even feel that Botha is actually trying to - to - to initiate some changes, you know -

But we find that with most English speaking people there are sections which are conservative, yes, and - but they are quite liberal, they are quite open, but they still sometimes, you know, would like, you know, not the whole system to change but, you know, colour be removed and then things will go fine, you know - people have equal opportunities, you know, people have a right to vote, and then freedom of expression, freedom of movement, you know - all the Western values, you know - it's - feel that - the individual freedom needs to be preserved - all those things need to be preserved - and they are easily -

Sometimes when they get exposed to the situation they find that they get much more - they change, you know - they get converted very easily as compared to the Afrikaaner people, you know -

The African people are being scared of, you know, so much, you know - they are always make, you know - they are being always told a lot of lies about black people, about the need to defend the system, you know, against communism - I mean against terrorists, because the definition of the terrorists is it's those black people who want to overthrow the government, and the definition of a communist is those white people who work together with terrorists, you know (Laugh) -

So I would say that - that my analysis has changed over that I mean, or it has developed, you know, from that stage - from then - I start to see that, you know, that really I feel pity for Afrikaaner people, the way they are being used against us and - and they are not aware that they are being used against us, you know, because they are so - they are exposed to one set of ideas, you know - they are - they don't have no what I think of - of - of the new South Africa - they don't know that I did not hate them but I hate the system that, you know, that - that - that they are being - that - the system which is used in South Africa and which is used to actually make them hostile to the black people and hostile to change, you know, and so on -

And I feel it's our responsibility to change them, you know, and in that way we love them, and to change them it doesn't mean that - some sections we know they are going to drift much more and more

- M.M. into the enemy camp and they won't be converted, and it will be a pity for those people, you know, because the tide will, you know, just sweep them.
- J.F. But others you do hold out hope of changing?
- M.M. There are those who we can change, you know - there are those who don't understand and say but, what - what do black people hold against us, you know - but why is the government doing this to black people, you know.
- J.F. Have you actually ever worked with an Afrikaaner in a positive way?
- M.M. Well, (Laugh) there are some Afrikaaners who are involved in the struggle - people come from Afrikaans background - I mean Father Chris Langeveldt (Laugh) and people like Carreen (?) you know, and mmm.
- J.F. Can you just tell me a bit about what it has meant to be a YCS national organiser, what kind of things you do?
- M.M. Ja, what I do is organise our extend (?) YCS - that is new groups of races where they don't exist - and also consolidate YCS - that is in those groups which are still weak, just help in terms of how to (.....) and do some actions with them so that they, you know, they can get the feel of how to do those things.
- J.F. And does that mean you go around the country?
- M.M. Mmm.
- J.F. And among - do you ever get to more remote areas?
- M.M. Yes.
- J.F. Would those people - do you talk about non racialism or do you find they - are they any more or less accepting of non racialism - somebody who's really grown up in a real dorp and has never seen any decent white person except for some farmer - they've only seen whites they don't - or they see as oppressors - do they find it funny - do they have problems, or do they just not mention it or is there a difference between a more sophisticated urban population and those people about non racialism, or is there not?
- M.M. Ja - I haven't been able to - to sense that - but always I mean what used to happen like I'll go maybe with Luke - Luke is a white guy - and then we'll go to a rural area and stay there or sleep there, and then discuss with people about YCS and so on, you know, and we find that they accept YCS - they are able -
- I think people are able to see the difference because of how this person relates to them, and how an ordinary Afrikaaner or a farmer or - will relate to them, you know - they don't finding that he's patronising them, you know, or he's insulting them or he always regards them, you know, as - like he will just talk to them nicely or sit with them, chat with them, drink coffee together and so on, you know, so - I haven't been able to find a person who would say ja, this white person he thinks he's clever or - or he's coming here to maybe to spy on us or he's coming here to - to - to - because he realises that he's in trouble, now he wants to identify with us - no, I haven't found that.

J.F. So you actually very often will move around with a white person?

M.M. Mmm.

J.F. And you think that breaks the ice in terms of non racialism - they figure you must be non racial?

M.M. Well, normally when I move with them there's no problem, you know - people just accept it - and the other things which we have been pushing in the country is that at funerals white people have to be present - they should be there - they should go to funerals, you know - like what happened in Alexandra was quite good, you know.

J.F. Were you there or?

M.M. Ja, I was there - there were many, many, many.

J.F. You were there with those whites who went?

M.M. Ja.

J.F. Which one - you mean when the.....

M.M. The funeral.

J.F. The funeral of them?

M.M. But with that I - with those people who went for - for - to lay a wreath I didn't go, you know.

J.F. But you saw whites at the funeral when you went to (.....) funeral?

M.M. Ja.

J.F. And how were they received by the blacks?

M.M. Nicely - it was amazing - it was amazing - because you'd see people who you don't know they greet you, hug you, you know - it's totally a new experience, you know.

J.F. White people greeting you and hugging you?

M.M. No, hugging - black people going to them and hugging them and chatting to them and how - talking together while the funeral is going on, you know, having some discussions and so on, you know.

J.F. And then do you actually make that point to whites and tell them they must go?

M.M. Mmm.

J.F. And how do they respond?

M.M. Most of them do go (.....)

J.F. So at the end of 1986 you won't be a national organiser?

M.M. Mmm.

J.F. What are you going to do then?

M.M. I'm going to - you see, there are two things I can do - one I can work as a full time person for the SACC Youth Division, or

- M.M. there's another job I've applied for - they asked me to apply for the job in the Catholic Church as co-ordinating the general work (?)
- J.F. The what?
- M.M. Justice and reconciliation work.
- J.F. Co-ordinating justice and reconciliation work?
- M.M. Mmm.
- J.F. So you want to stay not necessarily with YCS but with the church, organising?
- M.M. Mmm.
- J.F. And have you never studied theology or have any plans to do anything like that?
- M.M. No, I haven't studied theology, but I've done a (Laugh) a lot of reading on theology.
- J.F. But you would stay as a lay person - that would be your....
- M.M. Ja, ja, I would stay as a lay person.
- J.F. Are there black priests who also work with YCS?
- M.M. Most of them are not actually - it's Father Mkhathshwa is the chaplain of Pretoria region - and then Brother Buti - Buti Mathlako, who's working in Soweto.
- J.F. Buti?
- M.M. Mathlako - and then there's Brother Mike Sibeko who works with Natal.
- J.F. So there are blacks and whites who work?
- M.M. Mmm.
- J.F. You talked about the whites who were involved helping to solidify an understanding of non racialism - what about the blacks who collaborate, do they also help solidify an understanding of non racialism?
- M.M. What do you mean?
- J.F. I'm wondering if - if I was a black person living in a tiny little far away and remote place and I never saw any whites who were decent, I might have trouble accepting non racialism, but if I saw black **councillors**, black policemen, black Matanzima, that might convince me of non racialism - and I'm just wondering if that's the case with the people you deal with....
- M.M. Ja.....
- J.F. Do they speak about the black collaborators in a way that makes them.
- M.M. Ja, ja - I think a lot of people are raising that - that starts to emerge, you know, that - like as much as we can say O.K., fine, this white person shouldn't join the struggle, or he's not member of - part of our suffering and so on, granted, but now what about the black collaborators, what about the Matanzimas, the Gatshas, the black soldiers, the black policemen, you know, what about

- M.M. the community councils, you know - those people who are supposed to be in a mainstream of the struggle but now are collaborating with the enemy and - and sometimes they are even more brutal to our people than the enemy itself, you know - so I mean how - what's the explanation - and a lot of people would just say - those who see the point will just agree and say ja, that's true in fact, you know.
- J.F. What is the explanation?
- M.M. Because you see, what happens like in the - also in Lebowa - the Lebowa area - or in the bantustan - or in the Ciskei - who's actually killing, who's actually shooting the people, who's actually throwing people in jail, you know - people are - are - say ja, I mean we should deal with anyone who's against, you know, our people, or who is acting against the interests of our people.
- J.F. And what is deal mean?
- M.M. That mean - no, that means (Laugh) we should fight against those people, you know.
- J.F. What about the people who think deal means necklaced and all that - is that something that you talk about these days?
- M.M. Mmm - ja, you see, in (Laugh) - you can't say in a meeting that someone needs to be necklaced - it doesn't happen that way (Laugh) - what happens is that people go to a mass meeting and then an informer is identified - now the youth will just deal with that person - that's how it happens - it's never planned that someone will be necklaced, or someone's house will be blown by the youth -
- Because I think people realise the danger that, you know, involves.
- J.F. And what do you say the youth will deal with - what do you mean....
- M.M. They just either necklace that person or kill that person - and sometimes I for one I'll say O.K., guys, man, don't do that - but you see, I'm not going to solve the situation - those guys will be angry, you know - they know what happens when the police come in the townships, they just shoot, and the informers play a role to say where are these people or where the meeting is held, who is actually leading the meeting, you know, so - and that angers the youth very much - very much.
- J.F. And do you feel any responsibility to try to deal with that situation of the necklacing situation or do you - what do you mean as a political person, as a Christian and all that?
- M.M. No, you see, like sometimes you - you feel that (.....) ja, that it wouldn't be nice, you know, a person be killed, you know, but after some time you realise that you maybe have got a soft stomach, you know, and you - you - you at least, you know, want to understand and at least want to feel for other people, though they have made big mistakes - but other youth will won't generally see that - see it that way - they will actually want to deal with this person there and then and finish with him, because people are angry there, you know.
- J.F. So do you try to talk about it at YCS meetings - do you ever - would you ever....
- M.M. (Laugh) No, I wouldn't talk about that.

- M.M. Oh, because it will create a lot of controversy and problems.
- J.F. But how would you respond to someone - a kind of a race relations person who's upset about it, or anyone who would just say look, this is so brutal and awful and it's reflecting badly on the struggle, you have a responsibility to try to intervene with these young militants, and can we continue to have this escalation of necklacing - all those kinds - Sunday Times spends the whole editorial page saying the necklace is brutal and awful.
- M.M. Ja, the necklace is brutal and awful, granted, but it reflects the anger and the bitterness, you know, that lies deep in the hearts of our people, you know - but the enemy can only understand one language, you know, and that is to use the same, you know, methods they use against us, you know, or to speak the language they can understand easily, because you try to talk you are jailed, you know, you - you - you tortured, you know, you - you are - you don't - you are not being taken seriously, you know, and -
- And at the same time a lot of damage is being done - people going - still continue to die of malnutrition and hunger - hundreds of our people are still being arrested - people are locked out of their houses, people are getting more and more unemployed, you know - those things are still happening, you know -
- Now what I'm saying is that what is happening now people are merely acting in defence of their - of - of their well-being, you know - we are own - physically defending ourselves - that is what is happening, you know - though I could say ja, eh, but it's bad, you know, but there's no option, you know.
- J.F. And what do you think about like when Tutu goes out and condemns the necklace to an international audience - how do people respond - what do you think of him doing that?
- M.M. He's going - he's losing credibility by doing that because the youth generally are starting to reject him, you see, by talking to Botha, you see, and finally coming to a conclusion or coming to an agreement with Botha that both of us, you see, are against communism, you see.
- J.F. What do people say about that - what do you think of that?
- M.M. You know, people are starting to - are becoming angry of him because they are going to say - some people are saying, you see, he's taking his children overseas, these children don't study bantu education - he's rich, that's why he can afford to say such luxuries - it's a luxury to say that, you know - now the people in South Africa say look, don't tell us about communism - in South Africa to start with we - it's very difficult to get books on communism, those which are written by communists themselves -
- What we get is the distorted version of communism, you know, and how do you expect us to draw a comparison between communism because we don't have any objective, you know, understanding of communism, how do you expect us to say whether it's important for us to live in communist society than to live in an apartheid society, but one thing we know it's very bad to live under an apartheid society - we know that - you know, we -
- People are saying that we know, we've lived under apartheid society, we know how bad it is, you know - and secondly it's that we

M.M. found that communists - people like Joe Slovo and so on, and many other people who are communists have played quite an important role in the history - in the struggle of our people, you know - they have - they have actually - sometimes even more - more than Christians themselves, you know, have lived for the ideals and - or have actually lived and died for what - what I mean believe in - they believe in, you know -

So I think, you know, that (Laugh) - like Tutu saying that, you know, it's - it's - it's really upsetting I mean what he is saying, you know - and he runs the risk of being - like the other time when he called for a stay-away, you know - people say Ah, he can't call a stay-away, you know - who will listen to the workers, who will listen to the students leaders or the workers leaders, you know - we can't organise - he can't organise the stay-away by himself - he must talk to us before we talk about the stay-away, like the workers leaders are doing, like the student leaders are doing, you know -

But we are not saying that, you know, we can let him drift to the enemy camp - we are not saying that - we see he's got a role to play, and he plays a very important role - it's just that sometimes there are some problems with him.

J.F. A lot of them have been talking about.....

END OF SIDE ONE.

J.F. blacks African and whites - what about relations with Coloureds and Indians - when you were growing up did you have any contact with Coloured people or Indian people?

M.M. No (Laugh) - Indian people, contact I had with them is those people who own shops in Marabastad, and what we used to think of them is that they just swindling us....

J.F. They just what?

M.M. Swindling us or - when it comes to business, you know, you never get fixed prices - they sell you a thing at a very high price or at a very low price depending on how you handle them - if you play very reluctant they'll finally reduce the prices, you know - so the contact we had it was them being business people - it's only, you know, through the democratic movement that we had much more contact with them.

J.F. So when did you first get contact with Indian or Coloured people in a progressive surrounding?

M.M. In 1979 - '79 the Coloured people, and '81 there was Indians.

J.F. And how did you get to know about them - in what way were you relating to them in '79 and '80?

- M.M. You see, I was surprised to hear about the anti SAIC campaign, and that people were actually voted against or rejected or boycotted, you know, the SAIC, South African Indian Council - 90 percent boycott - and I started to see that oh, these people are really committed to what we are committed to....
- J.F. Was that a surprise?
- M.M. Yes - it was an experience, man - and the Coloured people - you see, we know the Coloured people next to our township are very conservative....
- J.F. Which - was that Ladian?
- M.M. No, Eersterus - the Coloured people there are very, very conservative - but we met some Coloured people in YCS who came from the Western Cape who were quite progressive - it was a change, man - we were not exposed to that - those - those kind of people before, Coloured people before, you know - and we realise maybe it's because of the conditions they live in in the Western Cape, and - and they have got a whole long history of struggle there, but in Eersterus there's nothing happening in terms of their struggle -
- And we went there in 1984 to try and get them not to vote in the Coloureds elections, and we were thrashed.
- J.F. Thrashed?
- M.M. Ja.
- J.F. Where?
- M.M. There in that township, Eersterus - we run - we ran back to Mamelodi (?) - and were helping the police to arrest us.
- J.F. They were?
- M.M. Ja - so we realised that some of them have been convinced or the - they see themselves as part of the white people.
- J.F. And have you ever talked with Coloured or Indians about their problem of some of their people seeing themselves as part of the whites?
- M.M. Ja, ja, ja - talk to some of them - and the need that they should organise them, because it's difficult for us to organise them, because firstly they don't accept us - now how do you get to talk to them even - if we can't even - they don't firstly accept us - so we said there's a need for them to move into those communities and organise them (there)
- J.F. So would you never go into a Coloured or Indian township to try to organise?
- M.M. I can, there's no problem (Laugh)....
- J.F. You do do it?
- M.M. I mean I - I can - there are some people who live in the flats there in Eersterus - we happen to find that, you know, they agree - I mean I'm not saying that genuine 90 - 100 percent of them were against - I mean we found number of people who were actually

- M.M. saying ja, it's (.....) this thing that we need to be co-opted - and one of them came out, he said there's nothing else, they want us to get into - I mean to defend apartheid, you know - I mean we stand with the black people, though they can say we occupy a better position compared to black people but we stand with the black people in their struggle -
- So we found those type of people within the Coloured community that day, you know, but we were never able to consolidate them into a group, but still we've been trying to meet (?) some at the flats and try and talk to them - and we have actually had a strategy that we should go and drink in the shebeens there.
- J.F. Drink in the shebeens?
- M.M. Mmm, try and create some friends.
- J.F. As a strategy?
- M.M. Mmm, as a strategy.
- J.F. So you - as a YCS person would you organise in a Coloured or Indian area?
- M.M. Yes, yes.
- J.F. Because I was wondering when you talked.....
- M.M. Also in the church if we find sympathetic priests we can get few Coloureds (?) and get maybe one Coloured person from YCS somewhere to come into - and accompany me so that he can talk, you know, with them.
- J.F. So are there Coloured and Indian people in YCS?
- M.M. We've got lots of Coloured people - Indian people we start - we still starting some groups in Chatsworth in Durban.
- J.F. Is that just because there aren't that many Indian Christians?
- M.M. I think that's the only (one) other factor - there were some in the Western Cape but they were Muslims, and what they did is that one guy was a organiser for YCS in the Western Cape - he organised a group of Moslem, young Moslem students - but we also saying there is still a need to organise them, and somehow we must create such kind of a movement.
- J.F. So was that your only contact with non Christian, was this Moslem?
- M.M. I - I didn't have any contact with him - I mean Vincent got - had contact with him.
- J.F. But is that part of YCS policy to work with Moslem groups as well, or is that just once that it happened, one-off?
- M.M. Ja, it just happened, you know, and then the need arises - arose that we - it's - we should try and find ways of somehow getting them into some structure.
- J.F. Because I was just wondering about the idea of organising with whites - even today do you go - when you go into townships do you go with a white YCS person?

- M.M. Sometimes - depends - sometimes I go with them.
- J.F. Because I talked to Tom Wasp and he kind of indicated that in '79 through '81 he slept in townships all the time (.....) but that at a certain point he felt that it perhaps was better for an African person to be doing - what do you think?
- M.M. Ja, it - I think it's correct, you know, that he came in there - I mean he used to work with us and it was - it was good, you know, but at some stage it was - the need was felt that, you know, it's - it's our responsibility to organise in the townships, but we not saying that they shouldn't come to the townships, you know - it's still our responsibility largely to organise our people.
- J.F. And what about just the general political climate - is it - if white people are going to continue to go in and do some work in the townships would you ever say to them look, it's just too hot, you could get attacked?
- M.M. No, it's too hard (?) for them to do it now because you don't know - we don't know who's who, you know - might be a security policeman - so it's important that in townships like Soweto, for instance, it - it's - we always emphasise that they shouldn't go by themselves, you know.
- J.F. But....
- M.M. But in some townships it's easier for them to - to enter - like in Mamelodi, for instance, it's easier.
- J.F. And what if somebody would say I thought you were talking about non racialism, now you're saying that people are so angry they're going to kill whites - does the fact that whites can't go into the township as easily as they could before - doesn't that indicate non racialism is suffering?
- M.M. You see, the problem is that you can't work out who's who, whether he's a security branch or he's a person who's actually in - in - in the - the struggle - that's why we emphasise the fact that they need to come to funerals, where they can be known, you know, to people, where they can establish contact with people, you know - I don't think it has a bearing on the fact that well, whether people accept whites or not, but it's because who - who is that person, you know, and we have to know who that person is because otherwise he may be an agent of the system, you know, entering the township to come - coming to arrest someone.
- J.F. Are you involved in the Mamelodi Civic Association or youth organisation or any of the structures - do you still live in Mamelodi?
- M.M. I don't live that - I don't live - I do go to a township - I'm still see myself part and parcel of that community, ja - I discuss with people who are involved in those structures and so on.
- J.F. So you - in addition to YCS you relate to community structures?
- M.M. Mmm.
- J.F. I guess maybe I could ask you - what about when I say non racialism - does that extend to the so-called inter-tribal things - have you ever encountered people who would have problems with someone from a different ethnic group - people who would say oh, the A.N.C. is dominated by Xhosas or you can't trust Zulus or anything like that - is that a problem these days?

M.M. Not that much except for the bantuland (?) structures who are trying to - to - to show that that type of thinking, you know, is there in order to - to make the system live longer, you know - I mean like what happens in KwaZulu, for instance, Gatsha Buth-elezi is trying to say that, you know, what is happening in the Zululand is because of this - these Xhosas and the Tsutus who come there in buses during the nights, and kombis, and come and agitate the Zulu people against themselves - against each other, you know - so it's mainly because of these people -

But really we know that those are people in the Zululand, and those who are being used to uphold tribalism, will be chased somehow - we know they are being used - I mean the old men and women in - in KwaZulu are being used by - by Gatsha and the whole system, you know, against the majority of people who are struggling for freedom in South Africa -

And it's our responsibility to see that they are organised in the labour organisations and student organisations, in civics and so on.

J.F. What about - if you could kind of sum up by telling - no, before I do that let me just ask you one other thing - when you were talking about the level of violence in the community - just the whole issue of armed struggle as a concept - is that anything that you still have to argue about - your position in the church maybe not viz-a-viz the young people but in relation to some of the older more conservative people, do you find any - that you're ever put on the spot to say well, you're Christian and how can we deal with what's going on in terms of there being a war in this country.

M.M. Ja, you see, I'll give an example of in Mamelodi, people have realised how brutal the enemy is and that this will happen continue if something is not done, so that's how the - the - the older people are saying that, that something needs to be done - you young guys must do something, you must fight, you know - we must be defended, our lives are at stake, you know - young women are raped in the - old and young women are raped in the street by the security forces - we are losing property - young people are short from time to time for no apparent reason -

And finally the responsibility lies on - on you to - to really do something about the situation, you see - that's the feeling of a lot of people, that something needs to be done, and - and we know what people are saying - what I mean the community is basically saying, you know, and they saying we need to fight, we need to defend our lives, and finally we need to do away with the system, you know - that's the feeling of a lot of people, old and young.

J.F. And how do you articulate it in terms of Christian principles with regard to violence?

M.M. Well, the Christian principles with regard to violence - I think what is important is that who is actually violent, you know - we have to look at the whole system of South Africa that is a system of violence - the whole system it's violent in its nature - now we are merely acting in defence of our lives, and the Christian teaching says the same thing, that - that, you know, you can kill to make sure - you can kill so as, you know, people can be freed from a violent situation, you know - you can kill to defend your own life, you know -

I think this argument - I mean this idea has come across a lot of times, that if, let's say a man rapes a woman, or a rapist rapes a woman, you know, are you going to take - are you going to

M.M. condemn the woman if she defends herself, you know - are you going to condemn her and say, you know, it was wrong for you to do that - are you saying that she should let herself be abused and be killed by the rapist, you know - so - and also in the church there's a teaching about a just war, you know, that there is a situation where people have to destruct a government which - a state which is - which is brutal, which is violent, which is - is tyrannical, you know, and needs to be dealt with by the people, and install a new order, you know, that will be able to enhance human life, that will be able to defend human life, that will act in the interests of humanity, you know -

So I think that the Christian teaching says that - I mean to say that, you know, you are against - you see, sometimes the argument tends to be that they regard violence as one people defend themselves (when people defend themselves) (?) - you know, they don't see the whole system as violent -

Some priests say no, you don't have to be violent, you know, you have to be calm and so on, but you living in a violent situation, you know - besides people being shot the system is violent, people are losing jobs, children are dying of malnutrition every day - people are abused by, you know, by - by the laws of the country, you know - men are separated from their wives, you know, and their children and so on, you know -

Look at the violent situation in hostels, for instance, you know - people live a very inhuman life there and they let their frustration out of (on) each other by shooting and killing each other in the most gruesome (.....) you know - and now we look at who is actually responsible for this - it's the whole system - the way it's designed, you know, it is producing so much violence, and something needs to be done.

J.F. And in terms of - directly in terms of armed struggle do you find that there is any problem in terms of relating Christian values to the decision to not just defend yourself against a - something that's already occurred, but to take up arms to do violence to change the system - the day that a bomb goes off and doesn't just blow up a white person but blows up a few black people as well, do people have trouble with that incident with the violence of MK?

M.M. Ja - it's a difficult question, because what's going to happen much more and more is that sometimes people are going to get caught in the - in the crossfire - but what seems to be coming up quite clearly is the question of sacrifice, you know, sacrificing your own life for the benefit of the majority, and sacrificing your own life for the future of the whole nation -

It's becoming clearer and clearer to people that we need to keep away from the enemy - you know, like - things like - for instance, I was talking to one guy, I said (Laugh) it's going to be difficult for us to move in town these days, you know (Laugh) - we might have to live most of our time (Laugh) on the outskirts of town, you know, not next to buildings which can be blown up, you know - that type of thinking -

But people are - I haven't heard that much - like you remember Pretoria bomb blast in '83 - '82...

J.F. '83.

M.M. Is it '83?

J.F. May, '83.

M.M. A lot of people were saying hah, anyway I mean what can we do I mean, at least more of them have got injury, more of the white people, and - and died, you know - sorry for those of our brother who were caught in the crossfire, you know - or who were on the scene where the bomb had happened, you know -

And you can't say to people look, move out of that place - if you tell them everyone is going to move out, you understand - there's another thing which happened like - ja, which like for instance, one - I understand one person planted a bomb in Hillbrow Police Station, and only to realise that the bomb was next to the cell of the prisoners, you know, and not next to the police that much, so he had to phone the police station and tell them that there's a bomb there, to save the life of those prisoners, you know.

J.F. And the idea that so-called innocent white people or their kids would get hurt - the kind of carnage that bombing inevitably brings - is that not a problem for people - is it because they want to see white people die?

M.M. Sorry?

J.F. I'm saying the acceptance of the violence, is it because they're happy to see whites blown up - it is - what level do you see people relating to that violence, especially in terms of discussing it within a Christian framework?

M.M. I think most of the time, you see, people - it's after we - people heard that the offices which we blown up of the S.A.D.F. - ja, I think that was an important thing - but now more and more people are starting to say that there are very few whites who are innocent these days - or very few whites who are civilians, because most of them are armed, you know that - you know that - most white people are armed, you know, and - and that means by merely carrying a weapon you going to shoot, you going to use it against black people, or you going to use it against those people who are involved in the struggle, you know -

You going to use it like that white woman who shot - a worker at Sygma in 1980 - 1983 or 4 - just a passing motorist, man, just shot at - at that guy point-blank, you know - I mean those types of things say a lot, you know, that the white people are actually armed against us.

J.F. I'm just pressing this because I think you're answering the question so well - it would be good to just follow up on one last thing which is, when these bombs happened and the Sunday Times does a story on a little girl who lost her mother or (.....) the Durban bombing the two black - the black boy who lost his mother and father, Indian guy who was a BC guy etc....

M.M. That's important (?)

J.F. How do people respond to that?

M.M. See, that question of the white children and white people dying black masses (?) say now they can feel what we are feeling, you see, and our brothers and ourselves we say now they can start to realise what does it mean to lose your brother, you know, what it means, you know, a person you love, you know, and he just see him dead there, shot in the street - or when your mother wants to pick him or her up and they just insult her like a dog, you know, and to tell her to leave this - to leave the body alone and go

M.M. home, you know - and, you know, it says something that, you see, what they can do to us we can do to them, you know - you see, there are those people are really saying ja, now that happened, you know, and so on - but I don't know - well, I haven't heard of a person who was involved and who died in the crossfire or something, you know, I mean that intended for him, like for instance, let's say I'm a member of YCS or of the UDF, I'm walking and that - that bomb just blow, you know - I've never heard of that -

Except what I heard is of people who are actually involved in the fighting getting shot by the S.A.D.F. or by the security forces in the country.

J.F. MK (.....)

M.M. Mmm - so - and that, you know, it's...

J.F. Can I ask you to finish up by giving me - if you could articulate how the brutality you've talked about - what about your faith in non racialism - doesn't that brutality of the system - do you think it's causing people to become less non racial, or do you think that that's outweighed by the Matanzimas and Gatshas and that - but with the kind of brutality that's going on right now - is that going to make it more difficult to have a non racial society in the future, or are you confident that there will be a non racial society?

M.M. I'm very confident that there'll be a non racial society in South Africa, and that the majority of the people stand by the Freedom Charter, and they believe in the Freedom Charter - their ideals are enshrined in the Freedom Charter - that South Africa will belong to all those who live in it, black and white - and what we are fighting now we are fighting to create such type of a society, you know - so I'm very confident to say that that future - or that will happen in South Africa - I think that those ideals will materialise in a free South Africa, you know -

And I think what we are doing now we are fighting towards creating such a society, you know - there are many problems we still have to, you know, really work on and - or with the problems which are - which are confronting us - there are many challenges and tasks, you know, we have to fulfil, you know - and I think we'll really I mean bring about such a society, you know - it will take a long time, you know, but definitely we will have such kind of a society -

We do not want to have a government and then after that, you know, we say O.K., not let's - let's oppress white people, let - let them come and work in our kitchens, you know - let them carry passes like - as we used to have, you know - you see, we know white people think that, you know, and one can take an example of - of - of Boesak - when Boesak said.....

END OF SIDE TWO.

M.M. Ja, when Boesak said - he was addressing some students in a university, an Afrikaaner university, and one student asked him a question, he said : What will you do if you become prime minister of South Africa - and he said he thought it was a very funny question and he laughed, you know, and then he said : Oh, I wouldn't do anything - what I'll do is just take all the - the - the statute books, where it's written white I'll write black, where it's written black I'll write white (Laugh) and I'll give white people a homeland as they trying to give us -

So one white guy or students jumped up and said : You see, I knew you'll do that, you know - it's because, you see, as I said, it's because they know that, you know, what they are doing to us it might happen to them, you know - but what we have to do now we have to make sure that they understand what we are trying to do to them - I mean what - what society we would like to build -

We do not want to oppress them....

J.F. Are you saying Boesak was joking?

M.M. He was joking, you know, and he was actually showing - I mean that showed us that, you know, white people fear that we might do the same thing to them - those white people who are not exposed to what is happening, you know, but they're subjected, you know, to propaganda and so on.

J.F. And what about - when I was trying to press you on the level of the violence - do you think that that threatens in any way the kind of non racialism that you want to build - do you when you see the Trojan Horse incident or a situation where someone's beaten by a police, when you see the Mamelodi massacre or the Alexandra massacre, do you think to yourself, this is going to make non racialism more difficult - or do you think to yourself, in the Bophuthatswana massacre it was a black man who did it, it's not going to - what's happening now - can you tell me how you feel it's going to affect the non racialism you're trying to build and that will ultimately be in South Africa.

M.M. There will be problems here and there, but I still maintain that there are white people, many white people who come to the funerals - there are white people who are thrashed by the state, there are white people who are detained, who are tortured by the state, you know, and people see that, you know, we are not actually fighting white people, we are fighting the system that seeks - that wants to separate us, that produces more violence between black and white people, that separates people and so on, you know -

And I'm saying that there will be problems like in any other country when the period of reconciliation starts, you know - let's say when we have taken over the country there will be a number of problems - the problems will relate to - will be like white people who do not want to accept black people as people - I mean clearly the law will say that, you know, no - no any racism or - or any form of racist, you know, attitudes or - will be tolerated by the state - there are going to be those problems - at the same time there might be those black people who want to revenge, so it has to be handled, and it's largely our responsibility and it's a responsibility as from now, to point out to people that it's not that we want to kill white people when we take over

M.M. power, but we want to live with them together, you know.

J.F. One other thing I didn't ask you about - are the people you organise all students - you deal with students, right?

M.M. Mmm.

J.F. Do you have anything to do with YCW?

M.M. Well, we are in contact with YCW.

J.F. Because what about the arguments that you hear these days about people saying UDF doesn't protect the workers enough, and what about working class leadership and working class hegemony - are those issues that ever come up in the people you're organising or in your groups or - does that ever bother you - do you worry about the role of the working class in the future government, or in the UDF now, or in the A.N.C.?

M.M. You see, what is starting to emerge is that the workers are a very strong force in the country - it was demonstrated by the formation of COSATU by the workers strikes, by the workers stay-aways and so on - and that much more and more workers are starting to play their rightful role, you know, as the vanguard, you know - we are saying, and we are responsible to ensure that workers are in the leadership, workers are moving to - like the formation of COSATU I think it was very important - already is very important - and even within the UDF it's emphasised from time to time that workers need to be central and -

For instance, I mean issues like rent - rent boycott are working class issues - consumer boycotts, stay-aways, you know, to - the question of the students joining hands with the workers in - in - in ensuring, you know, that workers demands are met, like the Metal Box strike - the question of last year the stay-away which was organised by COSAS and FOSATU, you know -

Much more and more we starting to realise - people see that the workers are central, are very important, you know.

J.F. And do you think they exert the power now or do you think it's - is it - I guess - all I'm saying is is it something that comes up when you're organising people, or is it something that people are more intellectuals are more concerned about when they write in work in progress - if you read the intellectual journals it's a big concern - is it a concern of the black people you organise or the young whites that you deal with - or any of the people you're dealing with, do they worry about that?

M.M. In the communities we find like in Mamelodi, for instance, largely the leadership of the people is starting to be those ordinary people, you know, and that needs to be emphasised that we must actually have it - and that's something it's a task - it's not achieved, it has to be - we have to be much more and more have responsibility towards the workers of our country -

We have realised I mean like in the past SASO, BPC, didn't take the workers issues very seriously, you know, but now in the '80's workers issues have been taken very, very seriously - we find that trade union leaders are in the UDF - though there are some problems in some areas that they are not really incorporated, you know, in the leadership, to mention like in Natal if under the UDF it's

M.M. mostly I mean not in the hands of the - the - the workers themselves, and they need to be brought much more - much more closer to the UDF - COSATU needs to be much - work together with the UDF in initiating campaigns.

J.F. What about the issue of socialism - is that an issue that's important to people - do ordinary people say ja, it's fine that you're talking about rights but we want a restructuring of the economic system - do ordinary people that you deal with demand that socialism be on the agenda - do the young students say is this a socialist movement, this YCS - how do people you - or do they not mention it?

M.M. It's not mentioned that much, this question of discussing socialism as a concept, but when we talk in day to day terms when we say we want South Africa which is liberated we mean all forms of liberation - we mean that we cannot have political power - we can't say we are liberated if we don't have the economic power, you know -

Like in the Freedom Charter it's spelt out very clearly that monopoly industries have to be nationalised, but we are not saying we are going to nationalise barbershops and so on, you know, but we have to have that - a lot of money, or a lot of the - what comes out of the economic - economy needs to - or - or the whatever profits and whatever must be put back in developing the country in housing and education, uplifting the standards of people, you know - and housing in - in - in education, in - what - ja, those things, you know, and land -

Like for instance, the question of land, you know - who does the land belongs to, you know - the peasants need to take over the land and till the land - the government needs to put money in - a lot of money in - in developing the skills of the peasants and the skills of our - and providing equipment, you know, that's form of technology to help the - the - the peasants, you know, to be able to - to be effective in - in their work -

So we are saying - we discussing it at that level, you know, in the street (?) committees people are discussing together as to how to - to ensure that they live in a healthy environment - it shouldn't be a responsibility of those people who sweep the streets, but it should be the responsibility of each and every member of the community to see to it that - he's got a say, he's got - he also participates in that process of somehow working at whatever level but to ensuring that the township is clean, that the people, you know, are healthy and that, you know, skills are - are - I mean we impart skills to - to those members of our community to be able to look after themselves - things like health, you know -

For instance, I mean there's - there are very few hospitals, very few clinics, but in (?) Pretoria you find five to six hospitals for white people who constitute a very small section of the population of Pretoria - you only find maybe about three to four hospitals to a population of over a million people, you know - so the system is unjust, you know, and we have to have a much more of equitable system - the wealth must be distributed quite equally - we are not saying we are going to raise pays or wages of people, but why people - they can't make much out of what they earn - it's also because the whole system is against them, and

- M.M. they find that their health - there are very few health centres, you know, and hospitals - there are very few schools - the people have to pay for the education of their children - education is not guaranteed by the state, but for white people their education is guaranteed by the state.
- J.F. So you'd say that people do accept socialism if you put it in those terms?
- M.M. Mmm, in the terms they understand, not in a very sophisticated or intellectual or abstract terms.
- J.F. And do they make a difference between socialism and communism - are there any black people who say oh, communism, we don't like that idea?
- M.M. Yes, but there are very few - mostly they - they - the well-read or those who are intellectuals, but there are very, very, very few.
- J.F. What, the well-read and the intellectuals say what?
- M.M. They say oh, well, socialism - or communism is bad, you know, and there is no freedom of movement, you know, individual freedom, you know, and so on - I mean there's no individual freedom and everything is - is - they put it in such a crude way that you - you actually say oh, communism is bad, eh, you know - that, you know, you don't have transport of your own and so on, you know.
- J.F. You're saying most black people would reject communism - are you saying....
- M.M. No, I'm saying some - a small - a few educated people still say those things, because they've read distorted versions of - of communism at universities and so on.
- J.F. And the majority of the people - what do they say?
- M.M. It's not a question for them.
- J.F. It's just not even - they don't care about it, they don't know about it - or what do you mean?
- M.M. What I'm saying is that, for instance, if you find the South African regime comes out against communism so heavily then you must know something is fishy - something must be fishy, you know - they know that the state won't criticise something heavily if - you will know that, you know, that thing should be a good thing, you know - but people are not saying anything - they say oh, how can we trust, you know, what we get from the state - we can't trust those people - that's the very same people who oppress, the very same people who kill us, how can we trust them to give us the right information.
- J.F. And are young people reading a bit more about it - if you take something like to most people, out of the blue, the Cradock funeral there's the SACP flag - from your experience does that come out of the blue or is there a feeling among youth that they are doing.....
- M.M. They are reading - they are reading (Laugh) a lot about these things now - they are reading a lot of publications on - on - written by communists, you know - and also the fact that the communists are (?) and the leadership of the A.N.C., you know, committed to the struggle of the people, you know.

J.F. And that doesn't bother them?

M.M. Mmm.

J.F. Does it bother you as a church person - do you see communism and Christianity as opposed....

M.M. As far as I read Marxism, and as how I understand Christianity the historical Jesus, I will see very little difference, you know - for instance, the question of how Jesus worked for (?) himself - Jesus worked with people - he never worked as an individual - he used to work with the disciples - he used to like for instance, the good news to the poor - what do communists say about that, the good news to the poor - they say they - they call on the workers of the world to unite and to - and break their chains, you know, and - and emerge as people, you know, and create a human society, you know, or to work towards a human society -

Now the same values are - are in the Christian teaching, and they're saying that it's difficult for the camel to go through an eye of the needle, and for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven, and what is this kingdom of heaven - the kingdom of heaven is a society where people will be free, where there won't be - people won't cry of hunger and people won't cry of, you know, all these things -

But now you find that that theology, that message of Jesus has been distorted and hijacked by those in power to say that the kingdom of heaven will only come after death, you see - so I would say that how I see it (Laugh) is that if I - I try to understand the Bible and who wrote it and how it was written, I think that is what the Bible is trying to put across, that we need to create a human society, you know, a society where people will be human -

I'm sure you will agree yourself I mean we don't want to create a society where other people will be - those who rule others and then - and the majority of people don't have power, you know, but we want to create a society where people will be able to live together, whether they be black or white, you know - they'll be able to live in a society which is human, and where colour won't be used to determine, you know, your participation in society, but we'll say on a basis that you are a human being, on a basis that you are a human being, you know -

The laws will be drafted on those bases, not on the basis that you are white, black, rich, poor, you know, and that's the process we have to work towards - and as far as I see that I found when I looked at the communists I've realised that they, in the struggle of my country, have been very involved and have taken the struggle very, very seriously, and they've committed their lives, you know, to the struggle, and they have never killed people, ordinary people, as they are made out to be, you know - that they kill and they - they're such horrible they've got horns, you know, they - and so on -

But we found that they - they've been committed people and - and so human and - one could give you an example of Ruth First with the enemies hunting - hunted her until they killed her, you know, and who had fought tirelessly, you know - one could give you an example of people like Moses Kotane, Moses Mabhida - those people have been so committed to the struggle, and have contributed so much towards what the A.N.C. is today.

J.F. So you've never come across anyone who said - who says gees, there're so many communists in the leadership, this is worrismatic?

M.M. I've come across publications of the state which say that, you know - they - a recent publication, "Talking to the A.N.C.", and the propaganda on daily basis - what Botha said when he declared a state of emergency - what Botha says when he said the - the - the nationalists must come out to talk, you know - they must separate themselves from the communists in the A.N.C. - they must realise they are being used by the A.N.C. - by - by the communists who are - the South African Communist Party which is executing, you know, the - the - the - the - the orders of their masters in Soviet Union, you know -

We know I mean we cannot trust Botha at all because he's the person who's largely responsible for what is happening - I mean or what is happening to our people, you know - so what I want to say, you know, actually is that we reject what Botha is saying as - as a lie, you know - I mean he's trying to divide the liberation movement, you know, and so on - that's what I would say, you know.

J.F. And do you think - do you worry that he'll succeed - do people think well, gosh, this is a way to get into power, let's ditch the communists and go talk to Botha?

M.M. I don't think he'll succeed, because at the same time, after saying that statement, they continues with these acts of terror - people are assured at the same time that he's saying that - what hypocrisy, you know - you know, our leaders continue to be jailed, people are going to be detained - I mean we don't see any change, you know.

J.F. Is there anything else that I didn't - I've been trying to ask about non racialism - is there any area that you've worked in with non racialism that you think I should have covered or is there any question I should have asked?

M.M. The other thing is the question of non racialism as relating to the gospel or the Bible is that I'd just like to say that the Bible says everything and every person or every human being is created in the image of God, you know, therefore we do not see how we can discriminate people on the basis of colour, you know, so we believe that, you know, we are all children of God and - but at the same time there is a lot of things which need to be done to achieve that what is being said in the Bible -

You have to fight in order to change that country in order to live and to see each other as the image of God, you know, and not as blacks as inferior people and whites as superior, so that ideal need to be achieved.

J.F. Is that something you talk about when you're talking about non racialism?

M.M. Yes, yes, we talk about that.

J.F. Maybe one last thing I could ask - I keep saying do people worry about this, do they ask about non racialism, do they ask about that - what do people ask about - what are the concerns - you taking a young person who's just getting involved, are there any things that they especially always seem to ask you about in terms of the liberation struggle generally?

M.M. One thing they would like to - like asking is but how did this - how did white people, some of the white people start to see that the system is wrong, you know - they start to ask those - they ask those things, you know - because it's a striking experience and they would like to know much more about that - they say how did they get to - to get involved in the struggle, you know, and - and we actually go into discussion (?) - or what we do is we have personal testimonies of maybe one person from YCS or one person from whatever organisation, a white person to come and talk - how did you get involved - he normally -

They normally ask those questions when we have inter-regional meetings - one person will just go up to him and say but how did you get involved - what made you to get involved, you know - how do they regard you at home being involved in the struggle - what - how do the white community regards you, you know - and they ask those questions, you know, just to know -

And it finally turns out to be that some of the white people are rejected in their communities for being involved, you know - and what is interesting is that people will say ag, they can reject you, we'll stand with you, there's no problem, you know - and I mean you know, they brings, you know, you - they feel - they start to sense, even white people themselves, that though we are rejected in our own community we belong somewhere, you know - there are people who are with us and who live with us, you know -

So I think that's what they say.....

END OF INTERVIEW.