

J.F. where you were born and when?

L.M. Well, I was born in the Orange Free State in 1942, December 7th.

J.F. What place in the Free State?

L.M. A place called Soutfontein, and it's about say, about 18, 20 miles from Wynberg (?) and it's a small farm that I was born in because my mother was born the same - on the same farm and my - some of my grandparents and my relatives, most of them were born around that place.

J.F. So was it a white farm....

L.M. Oh, ja - yes, yes, it was a white Afrikaaner farm that I was born in.

J.F. And were both your parents working for the white farmer?

L.M. Well, not - not - my father was working in the mines - my father was - my father also was born in the Orange Free State and next to a place called ThabaNchu and he met my mother - somehow they were related - and he then left for the - for the mines when I was born, so that I - I grew up for the first seven years on the farm, and then at about age eight I went to Orlando East, that is Soweto now - commonly called Soweto.

J.F. Why did they send you there?

L.M. Well, because at that time then my father managed to get a place in Orlando East, so my mother joined my father.

J.F. Do you remember - you were a bit young, but do you remember what the view was in your family about white farm - what were the stories they told?

L.M. It's not a kind of - it's not a question of what stories they told because I managed - I used to go back to the farm almost every year....

J.F. Because who was still there?

L.M. Oh, all my mother's family was there - they were there through the late '60s, and I think they left that farm around early '70s - that is when most of my family left that place, not because out of choice but because now there were no more children, boys, who could be working at the farm, and my relatives were old and since they didn't - they couldn't have anybody now to work at the farm they had to pack their bags and - and leave, and of course that's one of the things that I - I never really looked very - I mean I never take too kindly to it because, you know, it was - that farm had a whole generation and a whole history and they just - for them to be uprooted just like that, you know, left me very sad indeed.

J.F. Did it leave you sad or did it leave you angry?

L.M. Well, I don't know whether difference you might, you know - it's sad, of course maybe tinged with some anger definitely - definitely I mean it's a - a feeling that is very difficult to express - it's sort of a feeling of being hollow I mean - you know, when you're uprooted from your roots it leaves a whole lot of things, especially as I said that I used to go there almost - almost every year during the school vacations, and I somehow was familiar with many, you know, things in that area, you know, and I'd hoped that one day, you know, when things changed I would be able to go back and, you know, trace my roots back and still have part of the family there, but when that kind of thing happened that, you know, when I was told that no, the last part of the family that was there was asked to pack and go because the other young kids had left, had gone to school, and so there was nobody to work on the farm.

- J.F. When you went back on vacations were you working there or just visiting?
- L.M. Oh, ja - no, I used to - well, I - you - on the farm you don't sit and, you know - you work, you know - what I used to do was I'd get there and, you know, assist (?) my cousins and some other friends of mine who were my age were working, I also had to be part of the working force and we used to go, you know, sharing (shearing) (Interruption)....
- J.F. I guess what I'm especially interested in - you were just saying you worked there, but what - even when you were young and you went back to visit - I know people change and you're politically very engaged now, but when you were going back as a schoolkid how did you feel about that white farmer - what was his name?
- L.M. Stoffel - Stoffel Pienaar - well, I should say this which I mean I remember very well - see, even bef - I mean even at age five or six my mother used to leave me, you see, with my cousins, who were very young - I mean were toddlers (?) but they used to leave and everybody went on the farm, I mean everybody, so the - we kids we - we were left by ourselves, and that's one of the things that somehow I think im- planted some questions in I mean my own mind at that young age because, you know, I could not understand, you know, why my mother had to leave - everybody would leave and we'd be left wholly by ourselves, except maybe at certain hours when my other cousins, who were girls, would come to feed us things but also leave - go back, because the farm, you see, was not very far, it was almost about less than a quarter of a mile from where we were - our houses were, so you could see the farm - you could see the farmer's house just about a quarter of a mile down the road, you see, and that also - I was too young, but there were certain - I couldn't understand why, you know, my parents (?) and my relatives would all just leave us kids like that.

And then of course - and then when we were about maybe say, 12 or so I was now coming back - I was - when I went to the - to the Orlando (.....) I started schooling, but as I say, I'll come back, and even when I used to come back my - my mother spent most of the time - actually much more time even during when we're in - in Soweto, to come back to the Orange Free State, so she would come for months sometimes, you know, from - because my - as I say, my father was a miner, so I - I was only left to - to study, but whenever the schools close I came back but - and she was on the farm, but still then she would be, you know - she'd go to the farm, and then as I grew older I was also - had to go to the farm - then I - I saw the contrast there - farmer's kids were always with their parents, you know - they were always - and they (?) you know, and were, you know, part and parcel of the whole act - I mean activities around the farm, and this sort of brought out a - I mean some questions in my mind as to why should we leave (live)

I remember I used to ask my mother why don't they come over to where we stay, you see, because, you know, we always had to trek all down to the farm and I thought, you know, they should have also been coming down to where we stay, but of course, you know, par - my parents would say : Well, you know, you won't understand, you don't have to ask questions like that - because I was very insistent as to, you know, we always had to go to the farm all the time and - and you know, some - you used to leave me when I was young, now - now I'm not young you still have to take me over here - why should I be here - and as I say, of course, you know, as you know, that generation they were - were always told, you know, not to ask any questions, you know, you - and you wouldn't understand.

L.M. So these were formative years and those were things that, you know, were to stay with me, and that is when I started really having some sense that there was something that was not right - that is when I really started - then as I grew older, then I started realising that no, the thing is that we were of different colours, because before then that didn't really, you know, I mean bring itself out, but as I grew older I saw that oh, no, you know, most black people go to where white people are, you know, and most black people work for white people, you see, and consequently black people did not have anything for the white people to work for them, so then I started having a much more negative attitude, so to say, you know - negative in the sense that I started, you know, becoming a little rebellious, you know, but rebellious in a - you know, internally - internalised the rebellion kind of thing, you know - I'd say : Well, it looks like I can't do very much about this but it's a situation that I really don't like, you know, but of course I couldn't express this to my parents that I don't like this kind of a situation, you see, but it developed in me.

I knew inside that, you know, something had to be done this - that, you know, this kind of a thing is wrong, you know - again that's when also the point of my father being in the mines started getting highlighted, you see - I said : Oh, that is why he had to leave (live) you know - because I knew when - that when I was born he was not there - I knew that, you know - I was told about that, and I never had a chance of being with him most of the time anyway, and even when I was a - now about say, ten, eleven, twelve, and it was crystallisation of these differences that started now crystallising.

And when I got about, you know, 13 - about 11, 12, 13, I started understanding much more clearer that no, there is a difference between the white South Africans and the black South Africans - I started understanding it very, very clearly, and I seriously now started questioning my parents about, you know, this difference, you see, that, you know, I - why should there be this kind of a difference - and of course the explanation generally was that, you know, you have to get older to understand the situation (Laugh) you know, which, well, was not I could answer anyway.

And then I somehow be - got much more involved in scouts, in Boy Scout - I got much more involved in - in Boy Scouts as a form of, you know, letting off the steam, so to say - one thing that the scouting did was is that at least, you know, I could do a whole lot of things without, you know, anybody interfering with - with me, and without me somehow, you know, being forced to do what other people wanted me to do - this is what, you know, I felt I wanted and it is my decision, and I took up to scouting with some fanaticism - one of the things I used to like was camping, you know.

There I would go all by myself, you know, to camping - fortunately there was some farmers not too far away from where we are in Soweto - of course that time it was - it was called Orlando East - in places like Robertsham now there used to be - we used to go there for - there was a farmer there who had a - a big farm and they always allowed us to camp out there....

J.F. Places called what?

L.M. Robertsham, just back of Baragwanath Hospital - so then I engaged more in Boy Scouting and, you know, camping, so I understand (?) that at age 15 I was chosen as one of the African Boy Scouts to go to the jamboree in England, and I was one of ten black South Africans who was chosen to go to - to England in 1957.

L.M. Of course at that time I was wearing (Laugh) the Springbok badge, you see, and again of course at school I always, you know, read the - the - the newspapers, I - I read voraciously, you know, and every time I - you know, in the newspapers there was something like political matters I would really, you know, follow that kind of stories and that's all that I looked for in the - the time when that Bantu World, so-called Bantu World, the newspaper, and I - I read mostly stories that had a political, you know, flavour to them, although as - again, as I say, most of this I never discussed it very extensively with anybody, you know - it was just something that I internalised.

And when we went to the jamboree in 1957 in England, for the first time in Cape Town we were in a - in the City Hall with white kids - it was my very first time I was ever in - in South Africa in, you know, an environment with white kids....

J.F. Before you went to England you mean, in Cape Town?

L.M. In - no, that was the - on my way to England.

J.F. Did you go by boat or something?

L.M. Ja, by boat - we went by boat, ja - and then we were being feted at this hotel, you know, with these so-called Coloureds and, you know, white and people of Asian origin in (.....) you know - all of us were there, white - mixed, you know, in Cape Town and, you know, it sort of - for the first time it brought some very uneasy, you know, thoughts in my mind as to what place is this, you know, yes - but let me say that before that we - we had a problem getting passports and we had to go to a building called the Gray's Building, and we were asked questions there, and what was very interesting was that, you know, most - as I said, most of what I had (heard) was mostly internalised - I never verbalised any of my internal feelings, and when we were chosen to go to England we were then told that, you know, we needed passports and we - we had to go to this place, the Gray's Building to go and, you know, for questioning and things like that.

And the questions that I was asked, you know, some - somehow raised some very serious thoughts in my mind, because I was asked had I been political and kind of thing (?) and I'd never talked to anybody about, you know, things like that - and then - and I was asked by these, you know, the white security people, I think who they were, and for the first time I said, you know, these people are ask me some of the things that are in my mind, like for instance, you know, what do you think about the situation in this country, you know, what are you going to tell the people that you're going to, you know - you are the first young African that's actually, you know - black at such a age to go to other countries, how do you feel, what are you going to tell them, you know, and - and I said to myself : Wow, you know, why should they know I mean what - what I'm going to tell them - I mean there's nothing to tell them, you know, except my Boy Scout activities - but then of course, you know, I just told them I'm going to tell them about the scouting, you know, and, you know, my school life and, you know, whatever they want to hear.

Well, up until then we never got the passports until the day that we're leaving, which (?) we learn that, you know, we are going to be get (?) the passports, but by that time I already knew that there was something that was being hidden, you see, and that, you know, the chance of getting the passport are going - maybe I'm not going to be very good.

L.M. And the - and the - the delay confirmed my thoughts that, you know, maybe there was something that happened or had heard or, you know - thus maybe they don't want us to go to England - then they (?) - at about I think the day before at about six or seven o'clock in the - in the evening one of us got - (.....) came and told us no, you are going to be getting the passports but you are going to get them tomorrow, the following day, and the train had to wait at Park Station, you know, for - because we - the African contingent had - did not have the passports, and the train was supposed to leave at about seven or so but they - they had to wait until the passports were gotten and given to us and us rushing to rush to the station, Park Station.

O.K., fine got to - got to then to Cape Town - I already mentioned the situation down there - and now everything was starting to crystallise in my mind that, you know, the - there's something, you know - the passport thing, the questioning, the delay, you know, and here was I, you know, I mean I was going to represent South Africa, you know - I mean the badge and everything it's gold and green and it's Springbok and all that, and I've never said anything to anybody.

O.K., fine, we left for England - on the boat the white scoutmasters called us and then told us that, you know, when we get to England maybe some people might come and ask us, you know, what we think about South Africa and everything - it will be best for us not to just to tell them anything, and that again raised some things and some thoughts in my mind, I said : What is it that we are hiding, you know - and then, you know, it started - I mean I was about 15, you know, and just about to begin high sch - I mean high school, and my political thoughts had not crystallised very well but, you know, they somehow were being accelerated towards crytallising because the - all of these things that I never had - I never had very much contact with white authority in Soweto as much as I did on the farm, and on the farm it was, you know, the working - work relationship kind of thing with my parents, and then here, like I said, with being a Boy Scout I was mostly on my own, you know, with the troops and then even this farmer we used to go to, and there was not much contact, so that there was not much contact with the white people except now with these questions, you see.

So, O.K., I decided, I said - no, I was not all by - I was not myself - it was not only myself - when we are called and told that we must not say anything to people in England we called our - after the session all the Africans got into the same cabin and started discussing - I (?) said : No, there's something these guys are hiding, now when - what is it now - so we were discussing among ourselves in the cabin there - we were ten Africans and said : Why are they saying us - we must not talk to those people - so there was some - some other guys were much older than us, they said : No, you see, they - because they are going to meet white people - that country's only white people, you see - now they don't want to tell you - they don't want to say that, you know, the blacks and the African - and the white people here don't mix - that is why, you see, in Cape Town that they mixed you - all - all of us together, you see, so that we should say that is what is happening.

And I remember (Laugh) the first thing, we got off in South - South Hampton and we got to the camp, the first camp we were at was a place in Colchingford (?) in England, and we were put together, blacks and whites together at the camps, you know, although I mean it was together in that - in that it was in the same area, but of course the what you call, the tents were divided, you see, but we were practically the same area.

L.M. And we had, you know, some young white frie - boy scout coming to us, you know, talking to us and kind of thing like that and, you know, even then it in our minds that well, in South Africa we don't mix - it's not that maybe they don't want to be with us so that (?) maybe they stayed at a different place or (?) there was no much concern - however, when we got to Birming - Birmingham, where the jamboree was, there was a whole horde of people came to see us, ask us about South Africa, and I remember very well every single one of them were telling - he (?) says : You know what, when we got our passports we were asked this question - when we were at the boat we - we told them everything that we were said - we were asked not to say, you see - we told them everything, and then of course they kept on instigating (?) us.

I remember some two Indians - those were the first two people that I met were Indians who ask us about South Africa, and I said to them : Ja, you know, they told us this, they told us that - and then they ask me practically the same question ; where were you born and, you know, how do you live there - the whole lot of the - then they started sharp- ening my, you know, thinking about political matters and it then sort of crystallised in my mind that oh, this is all what this whole exer- cose was about, about, you know, us - getting us to the Gray's and, you know, holding our passports, getting us to, you know, the Tafel- berg Hotel in the Cape and all that kind of thing, and then the thing in the boat, so on my way back -

No, before that - we - we travelled very extensively in Europe, went to, you know, various places in England, we went to Scotland - then when we were in Scotland we - we used just to mix with, you know, any- body and everybody, and I remember there was a - one of the white scout- masters called Mr. Fraser - he was the one who was responsible for our contingent, and so we made some friends, you know, just across the colour line, and I remember one time we were supposed to have - we were supposed to leave at a certain hour and we did not get to the place where we were supposed to meet at the - at the right time, and then we had these young white girls, you see, coming with them down - *hit and pink - I mean he was coming down there and say - and we are late to start with, you see, and we were just holding hands and kind of thing - I remember he was a very short fellow - says : First and foremost you are very late, second you don't have, you know, you - your parents won't even allow you to be what you calling - holding hands in public and things like - and thirdly what would a South Af- rican - I mean the Boy Scout people - Boy Scout Association in South Africa say if they, you know - somebody takes a photo and this kind of thing.
*he turned pink (?)

Oh, he had made the whole picture and I mean he - (.....) we wouldn't, you know - we would have thought maybe just that of the demarcation of the locations in the - at home, what I mentioned earlier - but for him now to I mean confirm that we don't have to - that was the first, very first instance - I mean on the farm nobody - I used to play with - one thing I forgot to mention - there was a - a - a young white kid on the farm, he's called Kleinbass, you know, the - the boers (?) Kleinbaas, so we - we I mean we literally - I mean we were almost the same age - we played together, you know - I mean he would be nasty sometimes, we would be nasty ourselves - we would pick at him, but we, you know - we played together kind of thing and so we - that was never any big deal.

L.M. In Soweto that wasn't there, and in Soweto I thought it was just because of the Group Areas Act, which I know now (?) but at that time I didn't know - I said : No, people - black people just stayed at certain places and, you know, white people stayed at other places, and of course depending on the profession or what - what somebody does, you have to be there at the same time, but I didn't know that this was being discouraged even if the opportunity is there that, you know, you could mix, you see, and this Fraser's remarks were the first to really concretise in my mind that no, this is not wanted not because of geography or of residential area but because it is - you can't just do it....

J.F. Fraser was a South African....

L.M. Ja, South African Boy Scoutmaster - so on my way back home, '57, I mean I now started, you know, consciously seeking out political positions, and there was a certain gentleman by the name of Mike Mafate....

J.F. Mike Mafate?

L.M. Yes, I think you know about him - he's in Botswana (.....) - he used to be Zambia, Botswana and areas like that, ja - he was a member of the youth league, and I - I went to school in Sophiatown at St. Cyprian's, where Father Huddleston used to be the rector - Trevor Huddleston - actually now and then when he meets me he - he always ask - I meet him very often, you know, he asks me - he says : You know, when you were a kid at St. Cyprian's (.....) - I went to school there '56, '5 - '55, '56 - so I used to generally have a lot of friends, so when I came back from England I used - I visited some of (?) my friends there - that's where I met Mike Mafate, who was within the - in the ANC youth league, and as I say, now my political pos - I mean mind was now crystallised, so having met him he - how I met him was that, you know, he came to me to - for me to write some paper on my experiences in England, and then he was going to give them to some paper, Zonk or something like that, and we -

I - I highlighted to him, you know, these contradictions that I saw, and he then started explaining to me, you see, that actually, you know, the best thing would be to become a member of the youth league, African youth league - he's a member of the African National Congress youth league - I said : Oh, sure - he says : That's where we discuss these things, you see, and if you do come to the meetings you will understand much more clearer all of the things that we are saying which you didn't understand - and that's when now I started becoming sort of regularly becoming politicised.

I used to go to meetings with him and we'd sit I mean till early hours of the morning - he would explain, you know, the position of, you know, 1652 (?) how the settlers come into South Africa, explain to me, you know, the early history of South Africa and the wars and all that kind of thing - now I should say that at school I - I had at that time, you know, been reading sort of bits and pieces of some - of the history, but it was too disjointed and there were no formal books really that ga - could - at that age give me a much more clear picture and, you know, and also given (?) my - my literary - literacy level for that time that had a much more clear I mean - that explained the position in terms that I could have understood, you see, so Mike became a much more - he became a resource person, so to say.

L.M. And then the meetings the - the - the youth lea - ANC's youth league became very, very important to me and I participated very, you know - very regularly, and we started now discussing at school, you know, the - for instance, I remember there's a lady by the name of Miss June Chabaku - she was a - she was one of the people that also contributed a lot to my politicisation, and then Nthatho Motlana's wife, Sally, those were people now who were telling for instance (?) about women like Helen Joseph, a whole lot of, you know, they were in the women's league and things like that, so even at school when we asked the questions, although they were not, you know, things that were formally, they would, you know, in a little way hint to these things, like I - that's when I knew about even the Hiroshima bomb, you see.

So I got much more interested now in political development, and in 1958 or '59 there was a potato boycott - I'm not too sure exactly of the year - and this potato boycott I think you know about it - it was, you know, carried in the Drum, the - the late - this journalist - I just forget his name - he's called Mr. Drum (?) - he went to the farm in Bethal - Nxumalo - Henry Nxumalo, one of journalists - and he depicted, you know, the situation in the farms there, what they do with prisoners and kind of thing, and the thing just stuck in my mind - I mean the goring picture that he - he portrayed of the African convicts who were arrested and thrown to the farms and dying and then being, you know, used as manure.

So we supported - I mean I used to go out and, you know, talk - I would never go to school and see a student eat potatoes - I mean you know, I would throw - I would hit them off, you know - so the potato boycott became really a - a rallying point of our - of our actions - then the - when the potato boycott was called off - that was the time when I was in the African youth league - so when the potato boycott was called off, you know, I was somehow left very empty inside because I didn't - I - I - I didn't see any changes - there had not been any changes and here all of a sudden it was said, you know, the potato boycott is called off, and at that time of course, you know, on protests and things like that I never knew the details - I mean I never knew that, you know, there are certain things, programmes have to be followed.

So I got totally disillusioned, I said : Oh, how could they call this thing off - I mean the people were still being arrested and at that time I was also - it was - I was about ready to get a pass - to carry a pass so I, you know - I - I could identify much more easier that, you know, one time I could also myself be arrested for a pass and sent to these what you call, so I identified much more closer with that thing.

So when the potato boycott was called off I then lost interest in politics - I remember I used to - then I took up tennis and I - I mean I took it with a fever (fervour) - I mean I used to play tennis night, day, morning, any time when there was light to play tennis I went - I played tennis, until one friend of mine, who is a journalist, came one day and said to me : Look, you know, there's another group within the youth league now that has the same thinking that you - you have - I said : What - what kind of thinking - he says : You know, you - you used to tell me that, you know, you got disgusted because of the calling off of the potato boycott, but these guys feel that, you know, there - that was wrong but there are some other issues that have to be tackled and have to be tackled continuously - so I said to them : No, look, I don't want to be part of this whole political thing - I think I better continue with my - with my tennis playing - he was insistent, and then that - I came to later know that those were the Africanists within the ANC.

L.M. I went to one or two meetings and I should say that the, you know, programmes that they had were very, very interesting - I mean they were - now for the first time I learned very, very clearly - you know, I saw the whole progression of the oppression - it was explained to me very, very clearly - of course that was the purpose of these meetings, you know, to teach the - the members about, you know, the historical perspective, the - the - the struggle since - I mean from the period that there were these wars which I - I alluded to that, you know, that I never could get a very clear picture of the whole history, but those were the - those classes were geared towards teaching us the history of South Africa - that's how I sort of get into the Africanist movement.....

J.F. What year was that?

L.M. This was 1958 - then I stuck with the, you know - with the - with the Africanists - then they said they were - then our - of course at that time I did not know that, you know, the - there were - also they were having this internal fight within the ANC - I didn't know that, you know - about the programmes - so when in late '58 - late '58 this coll - this friend of mine told me that no, the - they have lost the, you know - they have lost persuading some of the members in the larger body - as I say, I was just part of the cell, I didn't know anything outside - they had lost certain positions - would adopt (?) certain positions in the larger body but I will (?) know with time as to what these positions really are, so I said : O.K., fine, but, you know, I'll continue going to the classes - that's when now I started learning, for instance, about the 1949 programme of action of the ANC and - and it was explained to us about the 1949 programme of action and what - why the programme of action was very important in the development of the political positions.

Here also I should mention that 1955 with the adoption of the Freedom Charter, I used to, you know - I was at Kliptown but I was selling oranges at that time because (?) right from the time when I was about nine or so - ten, eleven, in order to make ends meet, you know, in my family, I had to sell - most African kids do that - I had to sell something, so mostly either I was selling candy, sweets or oranges or something like that, so I used to sell oranges myself, you see, and wherever there were big crowds, you know, that was I mean the best market kind of thing.

So I was at the 1955 what you call meeting in Kliptown, but I didn't know what was going on, you know, and I - I was disinterested (?) - I was just hoping (?) that there were a lot of people and I'll go and sell, you know, candy - so when this friend of mine explained all of these things here and, you know, put the whole thing in perspective, I could now clearly follow what was - what was developing, so in 1959 it was decided that, you know, there's going to be a breakaway because now they could not resolve this issue internally.

So at that time I had much - I - I had a much better grasp of the whole struggle within the ANC and at that - also I was doing now much more reading and most of my time - I mean I devoted more time than anything to politics - even my parents used to - you know, they used to be very uneasy about it because at - before I used to, you know, study or Boy Scouts, and I just totally refused to, you know, participate in - in anything other than tennis and reading political papers.

L.M. Later also that the Boy Scouts wanted me to go to Japan - there was going to be another jamboree in Japan - and this time I refused - I mean I totally told them : No, I'm not going to be part of it - and I remember my scoutmaster was very disappointed because he said : Here, you know - this is another place, you know, in another different continent, you know - you are going to meet people who are (?) exciting (?) I was very clear in my mind that no, all the excitement or no excitement I'm not going, and I never did....

J.F. Why didn't you want to go?

L.M. No, no, no, this time - because then I realised that I was going to represent - I was - I didn't - I no more wanted to represent South Africa, I no more wanted to put on, you know, the Springbok - so then in 1959, April, we used also to have a - now meet some of the leaders of the - who were going to be the leaders of the PAC - they were merely presenting a lot of papers - you know, positions, discussing, you know, things like communism, discussing papers like national - the national question, you know, democracy - they had a number of programmes at the Donaldson Orlando Community Centre and some other areas.

And also another person that I met at the time was the late president of the PAC, Mr. Robert Sobukwe, and he's one man that - I mean if ever I was impressed by a human being, he was one of the human beings that seriously impressed me because one thing that, you know - that - that man he - he was just a - so cool, so - I mean his whole stature - you know, you could sit with him and you saw that this man all that he did was thinking and what - whatever, you know, he - whenever he opened his mouth he never just opened his mouth without saying anything - I mean you know, you had to be in his presence, that man, to - to understand and I - like I say, I'd met him before even the formation of the PAC - he was giving some lectures on certain position, African nationalism and all these other things.

And when the PAC decided to have an - to break away and have an inaugural conference 1959, 6th. (?) April, at the Orlando Community Centre, I was one of the delegates from our branch, and I remember I think again the - the Bantu World took some pictures and they had me and this friend of mine as the youngest, you know, delegates at the inaugural convention - I mean it was full, it was packed - it lasted two or three days now - I don't remember - I think two or three days but....

J.F. Where was this held?

L.M. At the Orlando Community Centre - and I sat through the whole first - second day - I mean I was not - I did not even want to move to go to the bathroom because, you know, people were presenting papers, presenting positions and, you know - and giving - you know, singing songs and things like that - I never moved - I mean I never moved from the beginning of the conference until the following day in the morning and it - then it was because some of the people who - who saw me there - I was dozing at the (?) - I learned - they told me afterwards, you know, because I just didn't want to move, so -

And one of the things that impressed me very much was the representation of the people at the conven - the national convention - people came - I mean I saw old ladies, saw old men, I saw, you know - you know, mostly to elderly people - there were some young people, but I saw elderly people and, you know, who some of them had travelled from Natal, people - even Ncgobo, for instance - he was one of the guys that came early in the morning singing and, you know, they were giving reports of some people coming from these areas, some of them cars broken down, you know.

L.M. And it - I mean it was the - the most impressive thing that I'd ever seen and I'd ever been part of - I mean I - it's going to be very difficult for me ever to forget that what you call - so that was my introduction into the - into the PAC, and again, as I was saying, that the presentation now of the papers, oh, my God, you know - for the first time I got what in the - in the branch meetings that we were attending, you know, you'd get bits of this, you'd discuss bits of that, but at that convention the whole papers were given, the papers now that have been put into the - you know, put into the basic documents of the PAC, and another very - I mean the whole scene was, you know, something that was not very easily for - for - forgot about.

When Sobukwe, for instance, presented a paper on the state of the nation - I mean this is why, you know, very few South Africans who had ever met Sobukwe - I mean it's not only South Africans but even people in the international community, Pogrund, for instance, Andrew Young - they will all tell you that, you know - that even - even Vorster himself - you know, even Vorster himself had to say that, you see, that man had some divinity about him - he had certain extra supernatural powers about him - because when he presented his paper one of the things that happened, you know, the - as a kid I (.....) - you know, most of the time you see people milling around and kind of thing - I had never seen so many people being I mean so - nothing moving - I mean for about an hour, two hours, nothing moving I mean.....

END OF SIDE ONE.

J.F. involved - I'm just interested - just to take it back a bit in terms of what moved you in that direction - what were the issues - you said you dropped out because you were upset that the potato boycott had been dropped, but when the guy said to you : This is your point of view, these are the kind of people that you'll support - what were your views - was that because of your views on the race issue, on the views of white (.....) involvement or on communism?

L.M. No, no, no - my - my - my - my main concern at the time was this that, you know, if an - you know, I understood them, then I - it was very clear that, you know, there were two classes in South Africa - there was the white class and the - the black, you know, the - I mean the white people, rather let me put it (?) kind of thing of classes - that there was a demarcation of white people and black people, and that in order that there has to be, you know, a - equality, that the black people will have to strive to better their position so that they can also be on the same level with the white people - that is what I understood, and I saw at the time the issue of the boycott as a vehicle at the time to, you know, head, you know, to - to sort of a - as a punitive measure against the - the what you call - the - the whites because in my mind at that time the - they - the - for instance, these potatoes (?) were not - they - did not belong - the farms did not belong to the Africans, so by boycotting them of course the - the farmers were getting hurt, you see.

L.M. I knew that very well in my mind that - for ins - as I say, I - I grew up on a farm, and if the farmer can't sell his milk, you know, he - I mean you know, you save - you have whole cans of milk sitting and rotting and - I knew that those thing - so I - this thing was very concrete to me that this kind of action can bring about discomfort - that I knew very clearly, having been grown on a farm - and the potato boycott was linked with that, you know, that the farmers were the ones doing this kind of thing, and in order that they should be hurt the - we should not eat the potatoes - the potatoes should, you know - you know increase and, you know, not be sold and things like that, you see, so that's when I had - so my view at that time was that any kind of a campaign when it is put into - that is geared towards hurting those who have - who benefit from that, that it should be carried until those people that benefit come to terms with the Africans, you see - that's - that was my - my idea at the time.

J.F. But in retrospect did you see a tactic or a reason for cutting it off...

L.M. Up till today I don't - up till today I - no - up till today - I mean that's why I - I - I - well, of course later - this is one of the things that - that somehow strengthened the argument that there is a lot of manipulating - manipulation of the programmes of the African struggle, because I - I - I never saw the reason for cutting off the - the protest - also because amongst the students that I was with, you know, this was a - an issue which they themselves embraced, you know, and all of us were sort of taken aback that, you know, there was this, you know, unexplained cut-off.

That is why one of the things, for instance, the PAC said which actually moved in that 1960 pass campaign - one of the main statement which was made by pres - the late president Sobukwe, was that once we start this campaign, the pass campaign, the campaign is not going to end until we reach our - that - that sort of actually clicked exactly in my mind the - my own - let me say that it explained and confirmed in my mind that what had been done was not correct and whoever did that were not very serious, but this group here they also saw that thing and they see that, you know, they agreed with me in my mind that whatever campaign has to be undertaken it should be continuous until the situation is resolved, so that is one of the things that catapulted me into the PAC.

J.F. Had your parents had any politics - had they heard of the ANC before - was the ANC or the historical movement discussed?

L.M. Oh, ja, no - no African who never heard about the ANC - I mean I can - like I say, my father came from Thaba'Nchu - Dr. Moroka was not too far away from, you know - he was just about, you know, whenever we got off at Thaba'Nchu Station and there was the whatcall - the Dr. Moroka who was one of the (.....) - so there's been almost - I don't think there's an - an African, especially in the urban areas who never heard about the ANC, you know.

J.F. So did they talk about favourably, your parents?

L.M. You mean - oh, well, of course that's the only thing they knew, yes - oh, ja, oh, ja - because, as I say, as I was growing - as I said, that now when I got to a position where I mean they could talk with me I would dis - you know, voice my concerns, you see, and of course they would tell me, you know, the ANC people are doing this, you see - they are going to resolve the situation, you see.

- L.M. And that is why I - I continued with the, like I - I said earlier, I continued within the - the youth league with Mike, I - that's why I continued, and the only break came only with this particular campaign.
- J.F. When they told you in the youth league about Helen Joseph, who happens to be white, did that bother you at all?
- LM. No, that didn't - no, it didn't bother me at all.
- J.F. Did you have any contact with whites who you thought were positive or did you - you didn't think it was strange that a white would work with blacks?
- L.M. No, as I said earlier on, I was at St. Cyprian's and there was Father Huddleston there, you know, I mean I - I read his book voraciously the not - Not For Your Comfort, you know, and he's one of the people who captured I mean the - like nobody has ever done in a book, the life, for instance, in the shelters (?) and all that kind of thing, and he was living among us, you know - he was living in a - in a - in Sophiatown there.

There was also one white lady who spoke Zulu, Regina - Regina Brooks - she was living right - just a - a - a stonethrow away - I mean she was a white woman, you know, but she spoke vernacular - she spoke Zulu - I mean she was perfect - she was married to one policeman, an African policeman - she was (.....) there so - and in Sophiatown you had a - you had the Chinese, for instance, you know, and you had some people of Indian origin, so that wasn't the colour thing really - the colour thing did not I mean - the colour thing never entered seriously into the mix - it never entered seriously except as, you know, in terms of the Afrikaner, like I said, at the - on the farm, and this fellow at the Gray's Building and with Fraser - those were the, you know, so I - I - at the time I looked at the - at those as just individuals who, you know, had their own what you call, but it never really entered into, you know, my whole political - that is one other thing when the ANC called off the (?) I did not see the - the ANC calling off the boycott because of some white people at the time, no - I just saw the the organisation bec - and most of the people in the organisation that I knew were, you know, Africans.

For instance, one thing I didn't mention, the school where I used to hold Boy Scout meetings, St. Joseph's School in Orlando East next to the - next to the station, Orlando Station - the school's called St. Joseph's - that's where Mandela used to come and train with his son, and actually one of the things I used to ask - I used to ask him very much about why was the potato boycott called off, you see, and one of the things he used to tell me, he says : No, right now you won't understand - he used to come there and exercise, he - you know, I - I mean I knew him, his (?) cousins, I, you know - so the colour issue never really was a factor that was - you know, that tilted me to the - to the....

- J,F. How did you find Mandela when you met him - did you find him impressive - when you met him at the training....
- L.M. Oh, he used to come there - he used to come there every Saturday.
- J.F. And how did you find....

- L.M. Oh, ja - oh, sure, you know, we used to discuss, you know, and as I say, of course one other thing, he was a lawyer who was helping most of the Africans, and he was somebody, you know, who had a - a - somehow like a what - a hobby, you know, and, you know (.....) you see, I somehow gravitated more to people who somehow seemed to have some direction because, you know, in a township there are a whole lot of things that happen, and I was very much interested in Boy Scouts and anybody who was interested in, you know - like I said, after Boy Scouts it became tennis, so I sort of generally gravitated to people who seemed to be having something to do, you know, and that is why even with him I mean I was quite impressed in most of that, you know - he liked to exercise, his sons - they would come there in a - he used to have a Nash....
- J.F. Did he have sons or was it cousins or something?
- L.M. No, it's a son - Styles (?)
- J.F. From the first marriage?
- L.M. Ja, from the first marriage, Styles, he's a - at that time he was about my age, light complexion, little hefty - and he used to come with him every Saturday, you know, to this St. - St. Josph's School and he - he definitely was - and I knew he was a leader of the, you know, - of the ANC and it sort of afforded me a - a chance to speak with him, but at that time of course I didn't know that he was that high in the - in the - in the ANC hierarchy - I only knew that he was one of the people, you know - because the only person that was - I mean I knew - I associated much more with the - in depth with politics was Mike Mafata, you see, who I had a much more closer contact and a longer contact.
- J.F. So - but when you were sitting at the meeting at Orlando Community Centre when the PAC had its founding meeting, weren't there people - did you hear Lembede or Labalo or anyone speak?
- L.M. Oh, but (.....) had passed, had died....
- J.F. (.....)
- L.M. Lembede had died by that time.
- J.F. But some of the people who spoke on the colour - did you hear anyone speaking, saying the ANC's no good because it's got whites....
- L.M. No, no....
- J.F. or Indians (.....)
- L.M. You see, that - now you see, for instance, one of the things that is why - which is something that has moved PAC or almost all PAC's get really pet - I mean aggravated with because, you see, one of the things - that's why the question of colour even at the inaugural convention was dealt with - the question of race was dealt with so thorough - there were journalists there, there were - there were even white journalists sitting right in the whatcall, in the - there was this fellow - what's his name - Stanley Nkunkosi - he's one of the - he's in England, one of the....
- J.F. (.....)
- L.M. Nkosi, no - Nkosi, the African journalist - he's one of the - I think he's quite old now - he's one of the reputed African journalist.

L.M. He - he actually wrote about the proceedings of that meeting - one of the things was, you know, in the - given in the paper but even in the - in the meetings before we went into the inaugural convention in the Africanist what you call was the issue of race, and one of the things that was stressed was this that, you know, there is only one race that the PAC is going to recognise, you see, that the PAC recognises only one race, the human race, and that used to be a cliché in the PAC, that, you know, we don't look at another person because of the colour of his skin or the - they could put it (?) or of the texture of his hair or the shape of his nose - that was Sobukwe's sta - I mean standard definition about the race issue.

And I remember very well when he came, you know, in - even in the basic documents I, you know - its - he has a whole portion on the race issue - when he came there - because one other thing, you see, you have to take into account (?) the majority of the people that form the PAC, the majority of its leaders were Christians - that's why one thing - they were Christians, and it could - it would have been a contrary to their held (?) belief and they would have been much more deceitful that, you know, if at all they had taken a position contrary to their beliefs - I mean they were members of the - Sobukwe, for instance, was a - you know, this Methodist Church - it's called (.....) you know, the - the people that, you know, some - like a deacon in the church, so he could not at any - I mean despite the fact that he didn't have to say that thing because they were white journalists or anything - these were positions that were even given at our meetings, like I say, for instance, the question of non-racialism, which has been adopted today, and even PAC will always point out that we - when we def - adopted this question of non-racialism other organisations, especially ANC, came up with the question of multiracialism, and it was in the discussion meetings prior to the inaugural meeting that it was defined very, very clearly, the difference between multiracialism and non-racialism, and that is why he, in the closing words of his statement, was saying that, you know, the only what you call - the - the - the - the objective, our objective is to do what God wants us to do and therefore we have to be humane and that humanity is what God what you calls us, you know - is calling upon us to do.

So that the issue of colour, race, that kind of thing in the prior - prior to the inaugural convention, during the discussions at the national convention, even subsequent to that was never a - at all an issue.

J.F. But that - if you read the historical records Lembede (.....) - all those famous people wrote about the need for Africans to organise on their own - there was also a lot of anti-white feeling that went on and there was anti-Indian.

L.M. No, no, no - you see, the thing was - you see, now this is a question that has to be clarified - you see, what they were saying - what they were saying - I'm talk - that you - in order to mobilise the people you need a cohesive ideology to mobilise the people, but that ideology must not be exclusive, and that is exactly the position that even today the PAC still holds - I'll give you a - we went - we met the state department - of course they (?) never publicised - the state department on this very same issue - we not only - we gave them the basic documents of the PAC - we explained to them exactly how we - for instance, first and foremost we coined the term non-racialism - we explained exactly what we - I mean that - we even went further - we even went further that anybody whose only loyalty will be to Africa will be regarded as an African.

L.M. That is where the - the - the definition of a colour of a person's skin, the texture of the hair came in - that's how that came about, that that is going to be a - a what you call - an irrelevant issue - now the question about the Indians, for instance, and I know because if I talk to Fatima Meer she - she never believed - she never knew that we even had, for instance, somebody like our - our chief - our secretary for foreign affairs now, Gora Ibrahim, who was a - a student at what you call - University of Durban.

The issue about the Indians, which is in - still in the basic document was this, that in the Indian community there were two kinds of classes, for instance, the merchant class and the - the - the what you call - the working - working poor Indian, and that the working - the work - the what you call class - the merchant class, because of its position is - has been very arrogant in - in embracing positions of people that are oppressed in order to move towards a - a - the resolution of the South African situation, you see.

And the - even - I just - Saths Cooper, he's with us right now in....

J.F. Is he in the PAC now?

L.M. Well, no, he's (Laugh) not in the PAC but, you know, he's a - a - he's (.....) - I mean he - he - he visits us, he works with us, you know - what's this other fellow's name - the advocate - what'sname - Moosa - he was a - he's a lawyer, he....

J.F. These are just examples - the way I read history Sobukwe wanted to consider the poor Indian as Africans, but PAC policy was to group the Indian merchant class with whites, so you can say yes, we've got these people now, but at the time, '49 to '59 there was reluctance to let the Indians in - there were no Indians PAC members.

L.M. No, what was said was that the PAC - the Africans in the PAC are not going to go out and organise the - the Indians - the Indians have to come and become members of the PAC, they are not - the PAC is not going to - because, you see, at that stage the movement was just at its formative years and the movement needed members - it was going to go out, but the PAC - we were told that : Look, you don't go out and organise Indians - the Indian people you - they will have to come to themselves, especially the Indian merchant class which had been what you call - which has been - which had been very arrogant towards being organised.

J.F. But that's not a great way to get members if you say ja, they can wake up and come to us - I'm saying it seems from the historical record that there was antipathy towards Indians, there was criticism of the doctors' pact, when the Dadoo-Naicker-Xuma pact was signed there was criticism of it.

L.M. There was - it's true, yes, there was criticism and, as I say, the - the - the - the fact of the matter is that their position - they had already taken a position themselves, you see - they themselves had already taken a position, and they had taken a position precisely because, you see, they wanted to be recognised as an - as a distinct group, you see, that - one of the things that the PAC from its inception, from 19 - from the - within the - the league was that let's us not recognise groups, and that is what we are still fighting for today - fortunately (?) even the ANC - actually I'll give you an example - even the ANC has come around the position of agreeing to individual rights, and if you see -

L.M. If - if - if you take the - if you take the - the whole political line of the ANC you will see that that is a - a policy - a very serious policy shift - I'll give you an example - we are - we had a strategy session in New York - we headed the head (?) of the AM - what's his name - in - in London - the anti-apartheid movement in England, what's..

J.F. Mike Terry?

L.M. Terry, yes - we had Terry, we had what you call in Ireland - what's his name - the - he's in Ireland - Kader Asmal - we were drafting a position of the special committee's strategy - we were drafting a declaration, and in that declaration we inserted - the PAC inserted individual - recognition of individual rights - today Dr. what you call - Dr. Nolutshungu, right, even in his paper also he argued for what - individual rights - this has been - now what that says now everybody - everybody, even in the conference yesterday, if you - if you realised, agreed on one thing - even the - the thrust of the (... ..) that what has to be worked up to is recognition of individual rights....

J.F. But - it's a total misinterpretation - I think what Molotshungu said was you can't specifically write a guarantee for those individual.....

L.M. No, no, no - he said yes, but you have to - I have his paper - actually I read it very thoroughly because I got it some months back - actually I wrote in there very good, because that position is consistent with the position - yes, I have - you'll check it up - but, you see, that is a very - you see, that is a - the - the issue of non-racialism, the issue of individual rights, that shows you that a people who propound those positions - you cannot have people who propound those positions who have - who have a framework of a - a - racism, you see - you cannot - these - those two are contradictory, and that is exactly why, for instance, even the issue of non-racialism which, you know, you are saying that what you call - I mean debated in the '50s - that issue could not come up if at all there - there - there - the - the thinking behind was to have groups, you see.

One of the biggest - one of the biggest points of divergence between us and the ANC is this very same group - this very same concept of multiracialism and non-racialism - everybody seemed to move to non-racialism - of course one of the things that - most of the position that PAC takes they're never credited, you know - they're never credited with those positions....

J.F. (... ..) to credit - I think what I understand multiracialism is a kind of liberal concept where you allow all these groups to exist and the non-racial concept is that you accept people on their merits - you don't accept them by race - but what the ANC said with the congress alliance and what still seems to be the case with groups like JODAC or the TIC or the NIC is if people live in their group areas how else do you organise them, how else - if you were in Jo'burg today how would you organise the people in Lenasia, when there're old grannies wearing saris who just - they won't relate to you....

L.M. But no, it....

J.F. It's just like an old granny in Soweto isn't going to relate to Saths Cooper - she'll say : Wait a minute, is he the son of the man who's selling me stuff at the shop....

L.M. But - yes, but you see, that is - that is true, but what is important for a national liberation organisation - that is why a national liberation organisation leadership has to give leadership, you see.

L.M. You do not hold positions simply because maybe they - they bring about obstacles - this is exactly why you have to break those obstacles, but in breaking those obstacles you have to take new - you have to break new ground, you see - now that is why - you see, even - I was telling you about Saths Cooper, most - some - most - Fatima Meer - all of them, like they say, they misunderstood PAC which is - and it's understandable - you have even some of the South African whites, you know, who, when we sit down now with them they say : We - we never this - it is true - one of the things of course given the - the - the Group Areas Act in South Africa it would be very, very difficult for anybody, especially at that time when (?) we only lived for 11 months, you see, and some of them are only now getting around understanding - let us say the state department, the st - that is why -

If at all there was anything that PAC went ahead and propounded and they could punch a - a hose in, they would have - they would have exactly done that - the United Nations for - because - like I was saying to you, those are some of the people that we have been drumming in and some of them, despite the fact that they never wanted, have had to sit down and - sit down and read PAC what you call and talk with us and we explain the situation exactly, and they themselves have come to the understanding that it is very true that, you know, you propound a - a position which like (.....) of Nigeria said, you propound a position that even the UN has not yet reached that stage - we -

One time we took two - I was present - presenting definition of non-racialism, because they wanted to find out non-racialism and multi-racialism - the ambassador of Nigeria, Mayta Masuli (?) the one who was with - in Shagari's government - two solid hours we sat there and explained the what you call of non-racialism, and after two hours he - they - I mean the whole committee just sat down there and listened, and after two hours explaining the concept of non-racialism Mayta Masuli - you can find the record in the UN - made a comment that the PAC's concept of race is much, much ahead even of the UN, you see, and that is why -

You see, this is why - Saths Cooper he - he - at home is very difficult, I can understand, inside the country - it's not difficult for them to see a whole lot of things - they themselves were not clear because of the young (?) people what you call - propounding the Africanist position, you see - when they got out here - Fatima Meer, you see, when she got out here she's - I sat down with her, she said : You know, we never understood this, you know - I said : It's true and - and I don't blame you - because you see, what had happened is that inside the country, for instance, our literature's (?) not difficult to...

J.F. That's what you're saying now, but I'm saying historically there was the breakaway on the race issue as one of the things that was cited.

L.M. No, no, no, the breakaway was not on the race issue - the breakaway was on the programme - the breakaway was never on the race issue - that is why the PAC could - how could the PAC have Duncans - Duncan's son as a what you call - a member of the PAC....

J.F. That was one man in Patrick Duncan.

L.M. Yes, how - how could the PAC have him as - as a member of the PAC when, you know, it just broke away and didn't what you call - was against the (.....) white people and even have him in - in a very important position at that - at that stage - they couldn't.

J.F. Let's come back to Patrick Duncan because that was one of my questions, but I'm saying if you read the speeches - for example, the Carris Carter book - it's got all the speeches of the PAC and all the documents from '49....

L.M. Ja, I know....

J.F. It's got more PAC documents than any book....

L.M. Ja, that's true - exactly....

J.F. And if you read those there is a lot of reference to not wanting to work with whites - if you look at the whole analysis that Carris and Carter (?) give it's - there a reference to saying that you can't work with those groups, that you have to have separate organisation, which they interpret as leading to Bike Saying black man you're on your own.

L.M. Now - now, you know, Carris - what you're saying - he and what you call.

J.F. Carter.

L.M. Gail Gerhart - they were not too long ago, just last - a few months back - they are go - actually they themselves were with Gora Ibrahim in the office and they were saying - they themselves were saying exactly on the same issue that we misunderstood the PAC, you see - they themselves were saying the very same thing - I don't know exactly the specific what you call you were referring to because the - there was never in the PAC - I don't - I mean - you know, I can't think of a - a single individual in the PAC who read the documents of the PAC and could come up with that position.

What, you see, the - what the PAC said - the P - it's not the question of colour - it is the question of the - the opposing forces - that is - that is the biggest - the basic problem that has developed - that is why people maintain the - the - you hear this thing thrown about that PAC wanted to throw white - white people into the sea, you see - it was precisely because PAC's position, for instance, Colin Legum - Colin Legum is a journalist of very long standing - now can you imagine a man like Colin Legum, who is a journalist of long standing who has dealt and read a whole lot of South African literature and supposed to - he said - you heard him yesterday - he said only he knew about the ANC's position of (.....) - he didn't say he saw much in so many terms - the position of holding to democratic blah, blah, blah in the - in their programme - but that book of the PAC was published and printed in the - in - in - in - I mean like we say, what you call has got the - the - the documents of the PAC, and the documents of the PAC are very, very clear on their programme, the programme of national - the national question - the programme of the democratic question - those they're very, very clear, and those programmes - those programmes do not define what you call in terms of colour.

J.F. Do they define it in terms of class because you called it opposing forces - is that - you're not saying class then?

L.M. No, it's not - no, I'm not saying class - what I am saying is I don't - I don't know how you want to define it - for instance....

J.F. Would you reject a class analysis?

L.M. Of South Africa - yes, I would reject a class analysis because, you see, in - in apart - in apartheid of course you - you cannot talk of classes, you know - that is exactly - the boers are the ones that use race, you see - the Afrikaaners - those are the ones that use race, you see, you see - those are the ones that push everybody - this is why, you see, PAC always says that you have to make a distinction as to who is the vehicle of change - that is very important - that's why you have to make a distinction.

L.M. Now that distinction is not a distinction of colour, you see - if it was a distinction of colour we wouldn't be - we wouldn't be messing around with the Matanzimas, we - we wouldn't be embracing Matanzima, we wouldn't be embracing - and those people came much, much later, you know that, right.

J.F. But why is it not class?

L.M. It's not class in this that, you see, you do not have - for instance, let me give an example - you take a class analysis of South Africa say, for instance, the workers, as a class - with you - you know - that's why, for instance, we have two contending, for instance, right now, two contending trade unions, and I can tell you one of them is going to wither away precisely because, you see, it is not a - a class situation - you find a - a black worker - you get a black worker who's supposed to have a counter - his counterpart, who is a white worker - these two people should be treated together as workers, right, but what does South Africa do - they treat one doing exactly the same kind of job and everything - they treat one better than the other - this one, the white one gets say, 15 pounds a month, the black one gets five pounds a month - do you think these people are going to - I mean is - is the class situation there - but they're both falling in the same class, which is worker.

A very good example has, you know, developed not too long ago - journalists in South Africa had to go on strike - what did the - the - the bosses say - the bosses said : Fine, you white members of this what you call, what we are going to do, the - there's this strike demanding A,B and C, it's fine, we are going to balance your pay, but we have to take from you - what happened - the white journalists - I mean the white journalists could - I mean nobody could take that - they - of course they refused - that is why you remember there was this in MWASA, there was a division in MWASA - it - that division has - has - has fizzled - it has - they have come together again, you see, because at that time there was this kind (?) of thing trying to portray that thing as a class situation, as a class struggle, but when the realities of South African situation came into - into - into play the - the - the - the black worker realised that no, he - they are not treated by these conglomerates as class, as a class of workers who are journalists....

J.F. What are the opposing forces black against white?

L.M. The opposing - the opposing forces are the haves, you see - now you have - you have blacks that are - are part of the what you call - of the have class, or if you want to tell (?) it it's not a class really - you know, it's not a class but it - it's a - it's a group of people, you see, just like it - just like now you have (.....) - what the system is trying to do is trying to develop from a - a what you call - a group of blacks - they're trying to develop them now to become a cushion for their what you call, and in a South African situation it is true - what is true is that the - the racist regime has used the colour - that is exactly what we are trying to say, that, you know, it - the - the mobilisation - that was one of the most important thing we're saying, that the - if the white people who are in a better position in - who have all the privileges, realise that there is oppression, they mobilise within the what you call, then of course you - you would not have had a situation where it has been a class (.....) because they went along with the - the - the regime, and the regime used the class - it was the regime that was using the class - I mean rather the - the colour thing, you see.

J.F. But what happens when you have black bosses?

L.M. Pardon?

- J.F. You can't - you're saying there are two opposing forces and they're black against white, but you could have a work situation where the boss is black - you've got a huge NAFCOC - you've got a situation where there are plenty of blacks exploiting black - the Matanzimas are ruling over the bantustans.
- L.M. That is why we are saying the same thing - that is....
- J.F. I'm saying why are you refusing to see it in a class situation - you're saying it's not class because the whites are always better than the blacks.
- L.M. No, it is not class in this, that, you see, this you cannot really define it in class terms - you can't define it in class terms - the, you know - because that is relative - that is relative - that is not the - the - the - you know, the permanent situation - those are merely, you know, - what has been developing, those are pure - merely a - a - stopgaps that they're (?) doing - they're merely stopgaps and you can't I mean what you call - stopgaps for - for - I mean for concrete concepts - those are merely stopgaps - Matanzima yesterday was just like me and you.
- I'll give you an example - in 195 - in 1963 or so - 1960 there was Pitje, who's one of the most what you call lawyers, you know - I think you know G.M. Pitje - Pitje he - he - actually he repeated a story at a conference that we had at - in Washington, and I was there when I was a kid, you know - Pitje was arrested by the police for a pass, and all those police knew who Pitje was, you see, but he was not arrested, or rather asked a pass, because he was a member of a certain class - he was asked a pass because he was a mem - he was a member of a certain group, you see - despite the fact that at that time, for instance, South Africa did try to make this whole thing a class thing - you remember they - with the passes to (.....) the passes, there's exemptions and all that kind of thing - they were trying to develop a class situation.
- The Americans with the British just tried not too long ago to develop, but it was too late - they were trying to develop a class thing by creating a management, giving the monies and, you know, to build a different kind of houses to - to create a certain class, a bourgeois, you know, in - in very rough - I mean for lack of a better term, to try and create a bourgeois kind of a - a class within the Africans, but given the politicisation and the mobilisation of the people, that thing died - it died a natural death because even those people realised that, you know, they were merely being created into that so that they could be stopgaps.
- J.F. But the black middle class has died no natural death at this point in time - you think there's no middle class now?
- L.M. In South Africa - what do you mean by that?
- J.F. People who live in Selection Park, Soweto, the people who are working for Anglo, the people who....
- L.M. They - they - they - those people don't see themselves and they - they will - they won't act as a middle class - they will never - they - they - they can - they cannot afford it, they know that - they - they cannot afford it, they know it themselves.

- J.F. And what about the ones who are running factories that are exploiting black people, do they....
- L.M. You mean like....
- J.F. Like Sam Motseunyane....
- L.M. I know - I know the issue of Sam - you see - you know, for instance, Sam himself said, you know, he talked with the ANC - there's still a debate within the ANC regarding those things, you remember - you know that - precisely because Sam know one thing, you see - he knows that, you see, he has to get the endorsement, but middle class - if at all there was a middle class, a middle class does not get endorsement from anybody - they go ahead and do the - they - they make their own values, you see, but Sam and others who because of the what you call of the - of the struggle, you see, because of the advancement of the struggle, know that, you see, they - in order for them to exist in the way that, you know, maybe they're - they're - their circumstances would dictate they have to get the O.K., and they don't go to the - to the oppressor to get the O.K. - they want to go to the - to the people who are in the struggle to get the O.K.
- J.F. I think what I agree with you on is that you've seen that, for example, in a place like Nicaragua, where you have the Catholic Church and the middle class and the upper class joining with the peasants, which you don't have in South Africa but you have in Nicaragua, and the working class, so what I'm saying is sure, you are right and I agree wholeheartedly that the black middle class will not conduct itself in a way where it will sell-out, the working class, but to deny that it exists - I can say that....
- L.M. No, I - no, maybe - I know - I see what you mean you see - you see, what I'm trying to say - you know, this is what I'm trying to say, that - actually maybe what I'm trying to - to - for lack of maybe a better definition - you know, there was one time when Amilcar Cabral has to - was faced with the same question that because we have people who work we - you know, people who till the land and do some, you know, artisans and things like that, we cannot per se say we have a working class, you know, in - in - in, you know - in Marxist terms, in - in - in Guinea-Bissau, you see, and in - in the same way because there is bringing up (?) and because the situation is now finding itself to adjust, these are mere adjustment of the society, you know, the - the - the - because of the - the pressure from the - the - the exigencies of the struggle are forcing that - a middle class is not something that is, you know - it's something that is what you call - consciously created - consciously, you see, but that thing's not consciously, it - it's - if they could help it they wouldn't have created that, but it is precisely because they cannot help it that, you know, it is coming up, so it's not something really that, you know, is there, and what I'm trying to say that it is not out of their own volition - the circumstances have - have allowed that.
- Yesterday Motsuenyane - I don't care how much merit or - or how much, you know, articulate and, you know, resourceful he wa - he could have been, he would be the same as Jack and Jill in Soweto somewhere, you see - you have a fellow, for instance, like the - the - this fellow - he used to be what you call - a psychologist, a psychologist for some of the multinationals....
- J.F. (.....) Mangani?
- L.M. No - no Mangani the doctor - the one who's teaching at what you call - at the Wits (?) - no, I know Mangani - no, before Mangani.....

L.M. up in South Africa - Nimrod - Nimrod Mkele, when I was growing up he was - he was a person who could fit in terms of, you know, his academic background, in terms of, you know, his assoc - his associations, he could have been a person who could have, you know, fitted in a middle class situation, you see, but because at the time the - the - the - the struggle had not advanced to the level that it is today he - I mean today he's - not even too many people know about him, you see - you had those kind of people - Pitje, for instance, I'm talk - the one I was talking about, you see - you had a - a very large professional, African professional group in South Africa, who I can rest assure you, with the struggle ten, fifteen years from now - with the struggle what you call - with the struggle escalating, with the struggle - the - the - the liberation (?) forces getting close (?) what you call of - handle of the struggle, are going to shock a whole lot of people in the West - the people that would - would in some instances be thought of as the middle class - those are the most disgruntled people, those are the most pathetic (?) people, those profess - and those professionals are going to be the most important in the liberation struggle.

J.F. But that's exactly what I agree with you on and I think that that is what in other struggles you've seen and it's been called the multi-class alliance, and I just want to understand from you - you're saying that you don't call that a class - that's how you're different from what I'm saying - is that correct, you don't want....

L.M. Ja, that's correct....

J.F. You would never use the word class?

L.M. No - well, maybe - if at all in loose terms - you see, even during this time (?) because, you know - let me give you an example - you know, somebody, one lawyer - there was a ABA meeting in - in - in Washington - there were a whole lot of lawyers from South Africa, both black and white, judges and all that - advocates, you know - Priscilla Jana were there, Bizos were there - all of these people were there, and there was a discussion on the very same issues, you know, and some of the old lawyers were - started attacking people like Bizos, people like some - some other judge - very liberal judges, you see, attacking them for one thing - they said, you know, these people they will associate with us outside here, but when we get to South Africa, and these are the most liberal - Bizos was there - he - I mean you - if you want to meet him one day you ask him about this - and these were people that in a - a - a class situation would not have even been that what you call - angry - but they were saying - for instance, you take Bizos - this particular person was saying : I have been friends with Bizos for so many years - he has always invited me to his house, I never went - why, because if I invite Bizos to my house Bizos never will come to my house.

You take judge so-and-so - he's the most liberal judge in everything - he's a friend of mine, but ask him how many clerks in his whatcall - in his chambers are black, you see - now those people the - the group of lawyers were shocked because they never expected that kind of a - a - a kind of, you know, let out of anger from that kind of a - if you want to call it a class, but what did those people say - they said : We are only recognised as lawyers as long as we are here in America and - but when you get to South Africa to Bizos, to judge so-and-so - and they pointed them out, you know - I am just one of those what you call, you see.

- J.F. So what are you saying - you're saying that in South Africa there are these different forces opposing each other, black against white?
- L.M. Mmm.
- J.F. Would that mean you reject Marxism, you don't - you wouldn't call yourself a Marxist?
- L.M. Me - no, I'm not a Marxist, no - I'm not a Marxist....
- J.F. Do you think (?) the PAC is anti-Marxist....
- L.M. No, no, no, no, we - I mean Marxism is a - is a very good what you call - tool for analysis, no - that is why I, you know - that is why if - if at all maybe I wa - I did not subscribe to the analysis of Marx, I would agree that this is a class thing, but itn't class - it's not a - a definitive class situation - like you'll say, for instance, in Nicaragua, you see - you know, this - the creation of Selection Park - creation of Selection Park (?) is just - is just a thing of yesterday, you see, you - you yourself agree, you see - the - the -
- You see, it - the - the Afrikaaners - if - now between you and me, if the Afrikaaners were smart they would have created an African middle class, you see - they would have done that....
- J.F. Let's not get into it any more because I agree with you - the African middle class will fail, that Africans won't sell-out - even Motthlane - even the Sam Motsuenyane, when the crunch comes they're going to ally themselves with the workers, I agree - but I think what - where we're different and I think we can leave it at that, is that you're saying you don't call it a class.
- L.M. No, I don't call it a class....
- J.F. So let's not keep arguing - we're both on the same side - and I think it's a very good point - it's just that I think the terminology's different - does that mean that your - what are your views of communism?
- L.M. Well, one thing, I'm a Christian - I am - I am a born again Christian, so that whilst I won't fight anybody who is a communist, I will - I will live - I mean I'm democratic enough to allow anybody to be whatever he or she wants to be, but for my part I have to make - I'm very clear, I'm a Christian, you see, and I am a Pentacostal Christian, non-denominational, so that my view, I do not, as Americans would say that, you know, what you call - truck with, you know, somebody who's - who does not believe in - in God - I - no, I....
- J.F. So there're no people who are - who believe in God in the PAC (?)
- L.M. There are - there are - you know, that is why I say that, you know, I do not force my belief on them - actually we have Christians in the PAC, we have Muslims in the PAC, we have people who are Marxist in the PAC - we are a - a mass organisation.
- J.F. But you don't have any communists?
- L.M. There are people who - who - who might call themselves communists, you see - there are people who might call themselves communist but they've never, you know, come out and said they are communists.
- J.F. Would you be supportive or opposing of an alliance with the SACP?

- L.M. Well, with the SACP I'll have to be very open, I - the SACP's history is such that I don't think that at this stage in time, you know, we have a, you know - a meeting of minds.
- J.F. What's it - what's the problem with the history?
- L.M. The - the - the history of the SACP - you know that, for instance, the SACP negates the national question, you know that, right.
- J.F. What do you mean they negate it?
- L.M. They - they - their analysis they - they - they fought for against, for instance, the - the decision of the commiss - communist international when it said that, you see, South Africa is a native country and they had to rally - I mean mobilise around that what you call - the SACP, you know, wholly fought against that - the SACP - the bantustan programme - the bantustan programme that Verwoerd worked on is the blueprint of the SACP, you see.
- J.F. Say that again.
- L.M. The - the - the what you call, the - the bantustan - the bantustan concept has its what you call - has its genesis within the analysis of the SACP.
- J.F. But the SACP is anti-bantustan.
- L.M. But we - whenever you get in your - I'm going to give you researched paper - this is why I say, you see, I'm going to give you a researched paper on the role and the positions of the SACP, you see - this is one of the things - that is why I say - one of the things, you see, is that one thing we have learned, we have always been taught from the beginning of the PAC is that we must never take positions from a - a point (?) of ignorance - ignorance is decisively (?) what you call - discouraged in the PAC, you see....
- J.F. I'd like to read the paper but just say to me - let's not just leave for that because if by some reason you don't send it to me I don't want to leave you not explaining it - this is - I'd just like a quote from you on it - what is the problem with the SACP - why do you say that you're opposed to it so much?
- L.M. For instance (?) one of the - like I say, I - I'm opposed to the SACP because it refuted the resolution that was taken by the communist international to mobilise in South Africa among the Africans as around the issue of South Africa as a native country, they - they - they....
- J.F. O.K., there was that, the whole purging, but then ultimately they accepted the....
- L.M. But they never did (.....) I mean she and her husband never did - they never....
- J.F. Who didn't?
- L.M. Miss Bunting - Bunting.
- J.F. But I'm saying the SACP stood on the Native Republic issue - they were the ones who pushed the whole Native Republic question.
- L.M. No, no, but - no, no, they never did - this is exact - that's one of the major contradictions, they didn't, and up till today they've never.
- J.F. They've never what?

- L.M. They have never supported that - that resolution - the - they - they are the ones that keep South Africa white.
- J.F. No, that's not true at all - the Native Republic question came as an edict from Moscow....
- L.M. From the communist international, yes - they did not - they fought for keep South Africa white....
- J.F. That was a certain element....
- L.M. No, no, no - no, no, no, you see....
- J.F. You're saying even today this SACP wants to keep South Africa white - even today - I'm asking - let's talk about the SACP from the '30s on - are you saying that today and in the '40s and '50s, '60s, '70s, '80s the SACP stands for pro-white and anti-black?
- L.M. I don't say they stand for anti-black, no - I don't say that - I say that - what I am saying is this, that one of the most crucial running - one - one of the most crucial objectives of the struggle, which is the national question, they have negated that up till to this day - they have never accepted that, otherwise they would have no problems with us.
- J.F. So what is the national question that they've refused to accept?
- L.M. The - the - the national question is one, that South Africa is an African country, and that who - that that has to be recognised, and that whoever lives there has to accept the majority decision of the African - and has to be an African - this is - for instance, with the boers, with the Afrikaaners, my chairman, Johnson Mlambo, when Bishop Tutu came back from seeing - from meeting Reagan, Bishop Tutu presented his report - this was at a - an African group (.....) meeting - after Bishop Tutu finished presenting his report my chairman now, Cde. Johnson Mlambo, was asked to make a - you know, people were just asked to make comments and the chairman - he was the secretary for foreign affairs at the time - made a comment and in his comment he said, you know, this is - he said the PAC's position is that we have absolutely no grudge or anything against the Afrikaaner or the white population in South Africa as long as their interest and our interest collide - complement each other - right now they do not, and this is why we have that contradiction - it - it was our chairman's position, you see, and this is the position that we have always propounded.

Now the CP - we have even - we have talked with the GDR, we - we - we talked with the whatcall, the - they - that up till now they've never found any contradiction with that - we - we - we - we - like we said about Marxism and all these kind of things we - we - we are a mass organisation, as I said - we have Christians, whatnot, all these kind of thing - we - we - we - you know - however, we have certain objectives, certain programmes which we - we live - we - we - we live by, and that is what they have not accepted - even they themselves have found that there is no contrad - I mean what we are saying does not even contradict their (?) position.

The ANC, as you know, was called upon to denounce the CP or something like that, you know, in this 1986 anti-apartheid (?) US Bill - PAC (.....) now to the position that, for instance (?) we in the PAC we won't be witch hunting for communists, you see, and PAC position is this, that any person, any organisation, has a right, has a democratic right to decide who they associate with or who they don't associate with - that was our position.

- L.M. And the people who came to commend our position was the - the - the - the Eastern Bloc, because you see, they themselves, as I said earlier (?) they are starting to understand our - our position and, you see, our position is that we do not want to exclude anybody - we do not want to punish anybody, you see - ours is that there must be justice and truth, that's all - that is all, that - and that is all, you know - this is why I say when the chairman, you know, put it the all (?) - whole ambassadors to - Tutu had just come from Reagan - he just flew from Reagan's office - I mean White House to the meeting there....
- J.F. Which meeting was this?
- L.M. It was the African Group Meeting at the UN after Tutu had just seen Reagan - I don't know what....
- J.F. Was there ANC and PAC....
- L.M. Oh, ja, we are always together, yes - and Cde. Mlambo came up with that position, you see, and said - an even said (?) - he says this is - this is the PAC position and this has always been the PAC position, you see.
- J.F. I'm a bit confused - you say you're not going to witch-hunt communists but you are saying that you wouldn't - would never want an alliance with the communists?
- L.M. I didn't - I said - I said we would never want to have an alliance with the S.A.C.P.
- J.F. You're saying other kinds of communists might be O.K.?
- L.M. Well, I - no (Laugh) on that point let - don't push me into a - a certain position that I right now haven't what you called - what I am saying is this, that if at all there are communists in the PAC, they have a right to hold whatever opinion they want to hold - that is what I'm saying, you see, and if at all, for instance, there is a group of people who call themselves communist and endorse our position, our basic positions, we'll work with them, you see.
- J.F. And what about your relations with the Soviet Union - would you be anti-Soviet?
- L.M. We're not - we're not anti-Soviet - we are not anti-Soviet as long as the Soviets are not against our positions, you see - we - and we have made this very thing very, very clear to them, and they have taken very negative positions towards us - they have, and we've made it very, very clear to them, you see, you see - you see, we are - we are one of the first organisations on the African Continent that came out very, very clear on non-alignment - we - in our basic document again - that is why the PAC was so much loved by the founders of the non-aligned movement, because we're the first organisation that said that we - our interest is Africa, and the West and the East, you know - we are not going to be part of the West, we are not going to be part of the East (?)
- In every meeting we make it very clear that we do not want South Africa to be drawn into the East, West position, conflict - we don't want that, and that we - we'll resolve the South African issue as South African peoples, you see - the West can help us when they want to help us - we do understand - we do realise - we have - there are certain - we live in a mutual world, you know, where - in a - in a inter-dependent world, and as long as they respect our position we respect their position and we come to agreements, mutual agreement, we'll do that.

- L.M. Same thing with the Soviet Union - same thing with anybody, for that matter - however, we are not going to allow any person, regardless of who it is, a superpower or no superpower, that we want to dictate to us - we think that the interests of the South African people will have to come first and that - that is what is going to be paramount.
- J.F. I think maybe we should take it back from where - I don't have too many more questions but I've left you in 1959 - I'd like to pick it up there - you attended that first meeting - I thought the first meeting of the PAC was at USIS?
- L.M. (Laugh) That's very interesting - my goodness - you know, I'll give you a little story about the USIS - you know, that thing - you know - you see - you see, there are certain political games (?) that are being played most of the time - you know, when the Americans met with the ANC you know where they met - you know the first time when they met with the ANC in Lusaka....
- J.F. They met at USIS.
- L.M. What, the library - in the library of the what you call in Lusaka - you know what they did after that - they - they were in the newspapers in the West, they - they - I mean it - it was not the Amer - it was the ANC that publicised, you see, that they met with the Americans - and I remember I - we were joking, you see, said : You know, these Americans they really can do things in a funny way - because you see, there's always been this thing that the PAC was founded in the USIS - now anybody who has a modicum of common sense reading the PAC position, PAC position's not the PAC position of 1959, it's not - PAC position is not even the position of 1949 - 1949 was merely the crystallisation of what has been an ongoing struggle....
- J.F. '49?
- L.M. Yes, '49, the programme of action within the ANC, which was adopted by the ANC - it was a crystallisation of positions that have been going on inside the country, so that now if at all in 1959 the very same position - now these positions which had been adopted in 1949 are being crystallised - then somebody will say : No, these were given birth in '59 at some place else in some - I mean it's - it's - it's like saying, for instance, that, you know, the - the adoption - for instance, the - what is this - the American Declaration of Independence, that it was adopted maybe in some British - in some British church in - in - in - in - in - in - in Philadelphia there, you see....
- J.F. But was there a meeting at USIS where it was founded?
- L.M. No, no, there was - now you - you see....
- J.F. It's just that it's in the historical books....
- L.M. Exactly - the thing is this, that if you know South Africa of 19 - in the 1950s, South Africans had no facilities - South Africans - even myself here - ourselves here in Dar es Salaam in 1960s, this place was hot as hell - it still is - there were no what you call - air conditioners - most of the time we'll go to places right in Dar es Salaam in the '60s - we'd go to the - the British library, had air conditioner, they had material and everything - same thing happened in South Africa, exactly the same thing - Sobukwe was a lecturer at the university, you see and the only place where he could meet with some of his friends were places that - like those places that were open - it could have been at the Dutch what you call.

L.M. For instance, the ANC people and (?) what you call at the - people arrested or getting some - some of their mail through the Swedish what you call - we don't say that the Swedish are making ANC (?) policy or some position of the ANC are founded in the - in the - it - it's ludicrous (?) - in Orlando - in Orlando that whole two point something million people today - O.K., maybe they were one point something - there was only one library, one little small library and I - I told you (?) for instance, like a thing when I - about the - the - the City Hall in - in - in (.....what you call) - if at all I could go into City Hall in - in the Cape where Afric - if Africans were allowed there, like I found myself there when I was going to, you know, so it - it's that kind of a thing, but you know, playing in (?)

J.F. So in '59 you attended that meeting of the PAC, and then what did you do - just tell me politically what you did after that?

L.M. Oh, ja, after that we went out organising - I mean we were organising like the Jehovah Witnesses - we were going into every house I mean - you know, I had (have) been as fanatic as I was after that what you call - that is why when the 1960 anti-pass (?) campaign came about - we had gone - I mean PAC members had gone to practically - I don't think there was a house that we had not gone into - that is why that thing was as successful as everybody knew about it, because in - even in the meetings prior to - to the founding of the PAC at this (.....) (.....) I was telling you about we used to meet (.....) we used to be coached on how to organise, mobilise and all that kind of thing, you see, so after the inaugural convention and the birth of the PAC we went out organising - I mean we organised.

We - you know, we organised to such an extent that our com - I had a lot of friends of course in the ANC because I was (.....) you know, and they used to think that we had become as religious as the Jehovah Witnesses, that's how much - there was no school - there was absolutely no high school in the Transvaal - no high school in the Transvaal where you did not have the majority of the people being PAC - even girls in the school we told - we used to tell girls that : Look, if at all somebody comes to you wants to what you call - what you call - be a friend with you, you've - the first question you ask him is what organisation he's (?) belonging to - that's how much.

That is why when the suit came in - I mean firstly the - the 1960 anti-pass (?) campaign was - I mean that - many people thought it was going to be a failure - many people thought it was going to be a failure, but you know what happened I mean in the Cape and - and just last - not too long ago I was with Philip Kosane, who moved 30,000 people at one - at - just in - in a matter of hours, you see.

J.F. Is Philip Kosane still PAC - isn't he in Sri Lanka?

L.M. Ja, he's in Sri Lanka - oh, ja, I was with him - he'd be - oh, ja, he's still in PAC.

J.F. Does he hold an office, or he doesn't seem very active....

L.M. No, no, no, but he will be very active - he will be very active.

J.F. Is he coming back into the....

L.M. Oh, ja - oh, ja - you're having a - you are going to - you are having a totally different leadership of - this leadership you have in the PAC now is the leaders - these are the - the people that in 1963 were young kids, were students and everything - that's what we're having now in PAC.

- L.M. And like I was telling Colin, you know, that in the next three or four years you are going to see a totally different what you call - picture of the PAC, not only outside here but inside the country also, you see.
- J.F. How is it going to be different?
- L.M. How is it going to be different - in this, that, you see, firstly most of the people that were on Robben Island are out, you see - we had - we had over a thousand of members in the what you call - on Robben Island in PAC - all of them - most of them are out now - it's after 20 years - most of them are 20, 23 years - most of them are out....
- J.F. They should've been out about '84, '8 - they're just coming out this year or they....
- L.M. No, they - now - no, they've been - no - I mean about the last - the last bit of them are - are - about this - this year most of them are out - those who got, you know, 24, 25 years, 18, because most of them got about from 18 to about 25 years, so most of them are out now - that's one - and secondly the leadership of the - most of us in the leadership of the PAC today we were students together - we know each other, you know - I don't think my (.....) chairman Mlambo we were - we were organising together, so I - I - I - there's not the queer (?) thing that maybe, you know, he - he might do something that I wouldn't know or even (?) if I feel that I can do something that, you know - so all of us are of one singletrack mind, and that's what I'm saying - we know each other, you see - we have worked with each other as we were growing up, unlike maybe some of the past leaders of the organisation never really had a chance of working with each other and when they confronted a whole lot of, you know, new variables and new problems, you know, the whole thing could not, you know - the - the - the external forces were much more greater on them, but with this new leadership.
- J.F. So you were organising in '59, and then in '60 what about the situation where the ANC had set the 31st. and then the PAC moved it to the 21st?
- L.M. (Laugh) Now if, you know - now you see, if at all they'd moved the thing to the - to the 31st. why - it - how long did it take for them to - to endorse the - the - the 21st. thing - how long did it take for them to endorse it - it was - the ANC were the ones that said that thing's going to be a failure - they did not say that we - we organised that thing for the 31st. - their words were that it was going to be a failure - that is even in Tom Cary's book, and they don't deny it.
- J.F. I don't think it would be very helpful or very useful attacking so....
- L.M. No, no, it's....
- J.F. Why don't we talk about what you did in your - you were organising....
- L.M. Now let me tell you, even the PAC people - even the PAC people did not know the date, you see - that was one of the things that was stressed - if at all we had a video - I mean that time it will be much easier - at least we'll be playing back the records, you see, so you hear the - the statements of the president - he made it very, very clear, Sobukwe, that he is not going to let out the day precisely for one thing, so that the - those against whom this was going to take place should not prepare for it, because if at all you are saying I'm going to have this thing, it happens everywhere if (.....) - I mean America, you know, if somebody says they're protest (.....) of course the merchants say (?) make room that or (?) and let me take precautionary measures until this thing is over, you see.

L.M. And that is one of the things, like I said earlier, which has been dampening (?) on the majority of the African people in their protest - like the thing that the - the thing was just called off without anybody even understanding, so one of the things was this, that nobody is going to know - the only thing that everyone just has to be prepared and if it - if it at the what you call of - of the hour you are just told - because we used to have regular meetings, you see, so this kind of thing that it was going to be, you know, on the 31st. and kind of thing, you know, it's not, you know - it's you know - I mean even - even PAC people - I can say even PAC people did not know because if a - most of those people were - were - were - had not left ANC long time ago.

They - if at all there was - because ANC people would have known - they would have talked to - to the - to - to us - they would have told us - we were down there, you see - I have - I mean, like I say, I have - I have a lot of friends in the ANC, which I still do, you know, and they themselves - most of them said to us that - that thing is going to fail (.....) was the what you call of ANC in - in London - I was at school with him, you know - he's a member of ANC and he's a - he was a very member of the ANC - he's now with the UN - I was at school with him the (.....) at that time he was there - he was a high member of the ANC....

J.F. So what were you doing on March 21st - just tell me about that day?

L.M. March 21st. - March 21st. I was at Inkamana in Natal (.....)

J.F. How do you spell Inkamana?

L.M. I n k a m a n a - and that day we knew that there was going to be - as I say, we organised throughout the coun - there was going to be this pass thing, so what we did we told all of the students we are not going to school, so for that whole day there was - nobody went to school, and this was at a what you call - at a college - at a boarding school college - that's how politicised and that is why I say that, you know, most of the friends we had who were ANC were even there, you see, and the - the - the campaign was very, very succe - at school - this time it was at (a) school and like I said, you know, we - every school there was organisation, every school, and in - there was no - no school that - no students that went to school that day, no people that went to work that what you call, you see, that particular what you call.

Then late in the evening we got over the radio the deaths (?) that happened in what you call and, you know, I cannot capture the - the mood - the mood at - at that school - people did not eat, people did not, you know - even some of those that felt something like, you know - that maybe it was just a - we were just putting up a symbolic thing when we asked some of the students to get to - I mean not some of the but (.....) other students not to get to school in solidarity with what was happening.

Even those that had - were reluctant, as the news came in about what was happening in Sharpeville and - and of course in the Cape and Langa, I mean the whole thing just sealed (?) it off.

J.F. So then what happened after that with you - just....

L.M. After that of course - after that then that's when I decided I'm going to go full time in - in PAC - I told my parents that - I told my mother, I said : Now, you know, I do realise you had to sacrifice and pay so much money for me to go to school and all that kind of thing, but I just want to make it very, you know - very clear to you and you can tell my father that, you know, I think I'm taking up politics as a full time - on a full time basis, although I'll still be working - which I did.

- L.M. I was working for the certain by the name of Hall (?) Duncan - he was not very happy anyway, but most of the time I....
- J.F. What kind of work were you doing?
- L.M. I was doing some kind of research - you know, he had (.....) a church thing for - to try and find out the people's perceptions about certain religious pictures, so I had enough time to - you know, to meet a lot of people - I used to go to hospitals, schools, to arrange, you know, so half the time I was doing the thing, pictures, and half the time I was organising, you see, and - and until 1963 when I got arrested.
- J.F. You hadn't been arrested before that?
- L.M. No, no, I had not been arrested before that except maybe for a pass, you know.
- J.F. But then in 1960 shortly after Sharpeville the PAC was banned.
- L.M. Oh, ja - well, it was banned by name - it was just banned by name, you know - we never really went underground - we never did - that is why the thing happened in '63 (?) - we never went underground.
- J.F. Why didn't you go underground?
- L.M. Oh, because we had so - I mean we - we could operate - I mean we had so many - police were with us I mean, you know - I mean in - in - in the townships PAC was never banned (?) - you know, from '6 - '60 to '63, oh, no - oh, no.
- J.F. Why did the ANC have to go underground?
- L.M. Not even the ANC went - no, the government was not very serious then - no, they didn't go - they didn't have to go underground - you could operate I mean - we operated openly, very, very openly between '60 and '6 - after the banning because, you see, we had so many people in the police - we had - I mean the townships - I mean even today, you know, anything goes in the townships, you know - you know, I mean it's - if you wanted to go - I mean anything goes in the townships, and at that time we had - we had - we had police - you remember it was (?) after - after 1960 and, you know, there'd been people like Sobukwe - I mean you had like I - I mean the police that were - people in - in the police force who were members of the PAC, you know - like if - unless (.....) there were going to be a white reading (?) in the what you call - meetings we - I mean the - the banning was just by name.

The serious banning came in 1963 - that was a serious I mean - now that was - because that time now they mobilised mostly the Afrikaaner in the townships that - the raid (?) for instance - from 1960 to 1963 most of the raids were conducted by African police, and they will tell you : Look, we are coming to this area today so move the meetings to another place, you see - that was - I mean between '60 and '63 it was just by name - after 1963 after the killings, the armed struggle that failed - that of course this fellow writes about, on of these - this South African Tom Lodge of the PAC - it was only after that armed struggle of, you know - of Poqo that there was a real now serious what you call of PAC - I mean very serious and - and even then they didn't use African police because most of the police - of the policemen, as I said, you know, were very sympathetic to the PAC.

- L.M. For instance, even when my arrest took place there were no - no African policemen - there were only Afrikaaner, about 14 Afrikaaner police that came to my - all of us when we were arrested 1963 there were no African police, nothing - there were no Af - even that is why today you find that in the townships there're some people who surround (?) the - the - the army - it's all of these young white kids - they're not, you know - I mean maybe one or two blacks there, you see.
- J.F. Were you involved in Poqo?
- L.M. Oh, ja, you know - ja, we have, you know - ja, we have, you know, PAC - there was no - PAC was not involved by who was (?) you know.
- J.F. Were you personally involved?
- L.M. Oh, yes - oh, ja, we - for instance, we went to Voortrekkerhoogte Military Camp and picked up a lot of bombs from there, you see.
- J.F. Stole them from the soldiers?
- L.M. Oh, ja, there was no - PAC was not involved in the, you know - I mean there was absolutely no PAC was not involved in the - in the - in the uprising of Poqo, for forerunner of APLA.
- J.F. And did you get training or what were you doing?
- L.M. No, we - we're helping for those who - you know, there were those who were supposed to go out for training and we're helping those who were, you know - who were coming back from training.
- J.F. Helping them to do what?
- L.M. To get whatever material they will need.
- J.F. And did you ever get caught for any of that or what were you arrested for?
- L.M. No, I never got caught for that - I never got caught for that because we had a very good, you know - we had a very good network where we (?) had I mean - like I tell you, you know, we had members of the police force, we had members in the military there the - because Africans work in the military so, you know, I mean to get into Voortrekkerhoogte it's - it was just that easy, you see - the only thing that I was arrested for was the attack on Johannesburg in April that was supposed to be a general attack around the country - everybody was involved in that, you know, throughout the country - the - the - the fiasco that our late - one of the late leaders of PAC, Leballo, announced prematurely, you see - that's what I was - got arrested for like most of the, you know, thousands of PAC people - that's what we got arrested for.
- J.F. And then what happened to you?
- L.M. I was in jail for March - I mean April through September, and my lawyer, Harold Wolpe, was a member of the Communist Party (Laugh) got me - he - he defended me - he was my defence lawyer, and just before of course he - you know, the case was over he himself got arrested, and then I had a fellow by the name of Joffee - he's in London now - he's a lawyer - he used to be with the - the - also with the SACP.
- J.F. What was his first name, Joffee - Max - you don't know?
- L.M. I think it's Ma - he's a lawyer in.
- J.F. So then....

- L.M. Ja, he defended my case and the charges were dropped, so when the charges were dropped our pre - our current president, Zephania Mothopeng, asked us to leave the country, you see - that all those who were able to get out of jail, they must leave the country and go and seek, you know, resources and training and then come back into the country again, so that's how I left South Africa.
- J.F. And where did you go?
- L.M. I came here to Tanzania.
- J.F. And what did you do?
- L.M. Well, I did exactly what I was supposed to do, and I went to school and, you know, got the skills and presented our programme, our strategy, but at the time there was some disagreement within the leadership about some programmes, and because we couldn't come to a - the meeting of minds I then decided - I left from here for (from) Arusha - from here, Arusha - I stayed here about several months and then I got a scholarship - I went to the States in '65 - then of course in the US I went to school at Lincoln University and graduated at Syracuse University and then worked for some several years, but I was still participating in politics - we formed, for instance, the South African Student Organisation, after which SASO was what you called - you know, the SASO in South Africa was patterned (?) after that same SASO that we formed in the US, and we then organised the - the South African (?) Student Organisation and kept on, you know, political work with the - of the organisation, and also established links with Biko through guys like Bennie Khoapa and others and even sent (?) actually a representative from the US to the founding of the South African Student Organisation in South Africa....
- J.F. Khoapa?
- L.M. K h o a p a - I think he and this fellow who's in England now - Barney Pityana - all of those, ja, we used - they - we sent somebody down there, established what you call - links with them - and of course that - my political activity, but also I worked in the US, you know, after I finished school - I worked for - first I worked for General Foods, secondly then I worked for Gulf Oil Corporation - I was telling Campbell that it was during the time when the situation in Angola was going on - actually I and one political scientist - analyst rather - political analyst, Sasi (?) of Gulf Oil....
- J.F. Sasi?
- L.M. Sasi - Mr. Sasi - he was within Gulf Oil - we, you know - I should say at least we helped towards getting Gulf Oil to give the royalties which were frozen to MPLA, you know, and tried to, you know, give them the background towards what was happening in - in Angola....
- J.F. What were you doing for Gulf Oil - what was your job?
- L.M. A financial analyst - and then after that - whilst I was still working for Gulf Oil then of course I was also chairman of the South African - I mean of the - the PAC US branch in the US, and with the death of David Sibeko I then resigned my job and went to help in the office.
- J.F. Why with the death of David Sibeko - had you not - why did you go when David Sibeko was killed?
- L.M. Because prior to that, you know I - he - I could - I was only helping out, you know, part time because at the time of course we didn't have enough resources to - for me to help full time, you see, so I was only helping out part time, but as I say, full time I was chairman of the South African Student - I mean the chairman of the PAC US branch on a part time basis....

J.F. You mean there was an opening in the office when he died - they needed more staff?

L.M. Well, the - they - they needed I mean help, ja - they needed help in the office, so I decided, you know, that I will resign and, you know, go and help - that's how I got to the office in New York, and I've been there ever since then.

J.F. And what's your position been since '79?

L.M. No, '79 I was assistant or acting - no, first I was acting chief representative - then we had a fellow by the name of Henry Isaacs - he was - and I was his deputy - then when he left we had Gora Ibrahim was the chief representative and I became his deputy, and then Gora - when Gora became secretary for foreign affairs I then became the chief representative of the PAC at the UN.

J.F. What year was that?

L.M. That was - I became chief representative last year, August.

J.F. And when did Gora Ibrahim - is he - when did he join the PAC?

L.M. Oh, Gora's been with us, oh my God, since '63.

J.F. I think we can - what we can do is talk a bit more over dinner off the record - but let me just ask the last question on the record - so just to sum up what's the PAC's view of the word non-racialism and the concept non-racialism?

L.M. You see, just exactly what it - it says, that you know, we do not recognise races - as the late president would say that, you know, in the lexicon of the PAC there's (.....) - the word race has no plural - that we only recognise one race and that is the human race, and that, you know, there are - people are very different, you know - biological differences are not a criteria to judge, you know, people - I - I have a - short hair, you know, and somebody has a different kind of texture of hair - I've got, you know, maybe a thick nose or, you know - if at all we go by, you know - differentiating on the - say, the colour of the skin then we'll go ahead and differentiate on, you know, maybe some time on how big somebody's ears are and kind of thing - I mean it's ridiculous, you see.

Therefore, that is why, you know, we do not recognise races at all, you know - we just recognise one race and that's the human race.....

END OF SIDE ONE.

J.F. if I'd say the concept non-racialism to you - do you feel that it's an important central concept or is it just one of the PAC's concepts?

L.M. Oh, it's an important concept, it's an - I mean not only because it's a PAC concept but because I'm a Christian - I mean to me it's very important, you see - to me it's - I mean to me it's very - it's absolutely important, you see, because apart from my political life I mean I have a much more higher life, and that's myself personally, which is my religious life, you see, and that is more important than anything else, you see.

- L.M. Anything else comes second to what I am as a human being and what I intend doing as a human being, you see - I mean I have a greater responsibility than, you know - than the - for instance, in - within my political activity I'm - I've a greater responsibility as a human being, you see, and that is my objective as a person - that is my priority to do things above, you know, my political activity, you see, so to me it has got those two connotations, you see - I mean I judge it from that, in that it strengthens the higher ideal that I have as a human being, you see, you know.
- J.F. What is the PAC's view of white liberals or liberals in general?
- L.M. Ja, even myself I think I'm not very comfortable with liberals.
- J.F. Why?
- L.M. Because, you know, they - they do - they - they somehow wants to come up with things like, you know, a grey lie, you know....
- J.F. A what?
- L.M. You know, a - for lack of a better definition, see, liberals always want compromises on very vital issues, you see - see, I believe a person has to be very principled (?) - one of the things that liberals they - they twist principles and that's one of the biggest problems I have with liberals, you see - they know the truth - they know the truth but they feel that, you know, maybe, you know, you - you don't have to go the whole way on the truth, you see, and feel that maybe, you know, even if the second person knows the same truth that maybe, you know, you - you still need to develop to some extent to - to know the truth that they know - that's one of the biggest problems we have with the liberals.
- J.F. Then how is it that the PAC has had relations with Patrick Duncan and Benjamin Pogre (?) who are classic white liberals?
- L.M. (Laugh) No, man (?) - no, I don't think - you think Pogre is a liberal - I don't think he'll see it - he'll see himself as a liberal.
- J.F. Why does he seem so? (?)
- L.M. I think he sees himself as a - a pragmatic politician.
- J.F. And Duncan - Patrick Duncan came out of the Liberal Party?
- L.M. No - oh - I mean - I see - oh, you mean in terms of the - no - no, I'm - the liberals - I don't mean, you know, political position, no - I mean analytic....
- J.F. But the Liberal Party is liberal.
- L.M. Ja - oh, ja, I see - no - I see what you mean - I didn't take in the context of a - a political party, I took - I took liberals in terms of approach to principles, you see....
- J.F. But Patrick Duncan had a liberal approach to principles - he was a Liberal Party representative.
- L.M. Well, he changed from that - that's why when he came to the PAC, you see.
- J.F. He's no longer a liberal?

L.M. No - well, of course he could be a liberal come to PAC - liberals will never come to the PAC - you see, for instance, liberals, you see - like I'll tell you something - you see, liberals will - are kind of people who say that as long as you have gotten there (?) it's O.K., you know, but I'm not going to help you get there, you see, until - if you get there I - I might not want you to get down there, but until you force your way to get down there - there's a difference between them and the Afrikaaner - you see, an Afrikaaner is very - an Afrikaaner is very principled in a way than the liberal - an Afrikaaner will tell you exactly what his mind is.

J.F. The last question is do you think the PAC is well understood or misunderstood?

L.M. It is misunderstood of course - it's mis - it's very much misunderstood, but I think like ZANU in Zimbabwe - ZANU was very much misunderstood by many people, but I think the - one of the main thing - one of the main contributing factor to this thing is that South African people in general are misunderstood, you know - very little ever comes - very little of what they say or do ever comes out, and it's unfortunate because maybe sometimes it's the situation at home - like the black journalists, for instance, have to operate through somebody - they filter certain things, you see, and the society (?) in South Africa is unfortunately such that what really happens in there cannot be reported.

I think - remember when I told you like when one of the journalists was in the UN, he took a Times magazine which was supposed to be, you know, during the height of the situation in South Africa was supposed to be giving the American people ex - even us outside what was happening - he - he looked at it and he was talking to our assistant (?) secretary general, he was telling him - he says : Look - the assistant secretary general was - he said : Oh my God, do you really - he says : It's true this - and I mean this is a journalist of a very reputable newspaper, an African journalist - that is why I supported the position of the - the what's her name - about strengthening the organisation at (?) PANA, and one other thing I was thinking of - I - some other way of - because most of what is happening to the African people inside the country never filters out....

J.F. But just in terms of the PAC's ideological position how would you sum it up in a short way to me?

L.M. Ja - I would say that, you see, the PAC position is - is just a truthful position, that when the time comes - when the time comes the world is going to be shocked in that it's an overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa are going to be holding that position - that is why you'll find that when chairman Pokhela was asked - the late chairman Pokhela was asked who is the PAC, he said : The PAC is the Azanian people and the Azanian people are PAC - this is why I was saying earlier also, that you know, when - I don't care what strata of society an African from South Africa comes from, when you listen to him or her they - they say exactly the same thing of PAC (they are PAC) - somebody was even saying yesterday that Mrs. Mandela's saying so much things about PAC and - and - and that's exactly what it is.

PAC articulates the aspirations of the African people - you can wipe out PAC today - you can wipe out the leadership of PAC outside here today - you are going to get exactly the same kind of lead - of - of positions with people they are there - this is the PAC position.

END OF INTERVIEW.