- J.F. Let me just go right into can you just really briefly tell me your history when were you born and where?
- D.M. I was born in Johannesburg in 1953, and I schooled in Johannesburg till my Standard Six, and then I went to the Cape Transkei till J.C., then Swaziland to Matric, then I came back here to medical school.
- J.F. When did you come to medical school?
- D.M. 172.
- J.F. And so, just because I want to get onto other things, but in a brief way, would you say you were a product of B.C., or did it quite influence you, or were there other influences political alignments that you had allegiances?
- D.M. Well, I mean, during that time, we did not have any exposure to any other political forces. We lived in a period where B.C. was the dominant political sort of political force, and I would say therefore I actually was brought up in the B.C. school, politically speaking, and that, ja (945) really got to know about other forces later on in our involvement.

For a number of reasone, one was - one was in the B.C., one had a lot of problems of interpretation, understanding and so on, of events around oneself and the country as a whole, and international events and international history and so on, and in evoking the B.C., and in trying to analyse, you used the B.C. framework. One just found oneself frustra - not able to answer.

I'll give you some examples. What used to really, for example, worry me was the fact that we had B.C., and at the same time a lot of the oppression in this country was actually perpetuated by black people like ourselves (Laugh) I refer here to the Matanzima and so on.

Then, as differently from now, I mean security police surveillance of our movements was very, very obvious, and a lot of this was done by black security policemen, so through those sort of experiences - tangible experiences, one got to question a lot of things, and then, of course, it was around these sort of things that one began searching for an answer to some of these obvious questions, and it was clear that an answer lay outside the B.C. framework.

- J.F. When did you start searching for an answer?
- D.M. Around '74/'75 B.C. was under heavy under heavy questioning by people in general. First of all, we were students that's the first thing, and we were then then we were challenged to answer specifically the question was: As students, how can we bring about change in the society? This, in itself made us aware that of the class nature of society it led on to realise that students are just a part of, in fact, not even the most important. We became aware that there are workers and factories and things like that, and trade unions were emerging around that same time.

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The workers strike - I remember it - strikes here in Natal '73 were very important events that one could not just ignore, but anyway the point I'm making is that we were under pressure to answer specific questions like: How do we see change coming about as students in campuses and so on, because there was high profile politics in the campuses, but there was nothing else happening outside, so what then we tried to do is to propagate theories like - we would like to conscientise people through educational projects, literacy projects and things like that, but in implementing those projects it was quite clear that we were only reaching a few selected groups of people, and not in any systematic way.

In the whole of Natal, we only had one centre that was in the south coast in the rural area - a place called Dududu (997) where we were running a project, and there were perhaps one or two other such projects in the country - in all the provinces, and it was quite clear that we were not making any impact outside the student movement, and that the student movement was important to bring about change.

That was one sort of thing, and I think in response to that question again, then there was a conference that was held in Mafeking, where it was said that B.C. was too (... ...) (005) to an economic policy or something like that ...

## J.F. When?

This was in '75 I think, at Mafeking, and personally I D.M. must say that was my turning point, because what it amounted to - that so-called economic policy - that document that was supposed to be the economic policy of B.C., was a nothing else - it was no different, in terms of an economic policy than the present sort of capitalist nature of the society. There was no - it was not an alternative at all to the present, and although I do not have a clear understanding of an alternative society in clear, economic terms and so on, in political terms, but it was quite clear that this was not anything different from what, and I was quite instinctively, I knew at that time as well, that perhaps the answer to societ - the problems of the society lies, not only in a different political order, but also on alternative economic system, but that was '75 - the year.

Then came, I think, a very crucial period, around '76. Before I come to '76, I must say that, at that conference in Mafeking, purely around this whole document that I've spoken about, emerge a lot of actually - differences became quite obvious amongst people who were in the B.C. movement.

It became quite clear that there were two main trends within the B.C. itself. There were people who were questioning the nature of society as it is structured in this country today, in a broader sense, and beyond just the race thing, because it was quite clear that that was not holding water, and then there were those who were vehemently defending the sort of racial position, and the racial way of interpreting our own society, and after that, it was a question - it was a matter of actually going out to research, and talk to people and so on - find out more information to support one's position, and some of us .....



D.M.

... then - I remember very clearly what happened then, after that, in June of '76, at the SASO congress - conference which was held in (Hamman, (048) were (where) most of the campuses in Natal and Jo'burg were sort of said to belong to the camp that has sort of betrayed B.C., as it were, because they were beginning to raise more fundamental questions about B.C. and so on, and some of the people were linked to people in the Cape, and some of the people in Jo'burg again.

Jo'burg was split in two, but Natal was a homogeneous group - and Cape Town. People in Cape Town, Natal, and some people in Jo'burg were together in interpreting things slightly differently, but people in the Cape, and some people in Jo'burg, and these were mainly people around Steve Biko and those sort of people - they were very unhappy about the direction that SASO was taking, and, in fact, personally, when I got detained in '76 in the aftermath of the uprisings and so on, although it was a - if you look at it personally, it was not a pleasant thing to be detained and so on, but that, I think, was the breakthrough that one had, because, having been detained, now in places like Pretoria Central Prison, one got in touch with people who were returning from the Island, and - so that one, in talking to such people, one then was able to reconnect the peices that were missing about our history, and the history of the struggle in South Africa, where things started and so on, because you must remember that we did not read - our political development was not from a text book, or from reading history in a book and so on.

It was from - unfortunately though it was - it was from participating in events that were happening at the time, and having developed in a period whereby the movements have been banned for something like ten years or so, people who belonged to those movements had been silenced.

Those who have not been silenced have gone underground, and were reluctant to come out and so on, so one really did not have it easy reconnecting, but anyway getting to places like this, personally for me, looking at my own sort of political development, was a very key thing - to actually be detained, and to be put in places like Moreby (094) in '7 - first of all in Central Prison in '76, and then later on in Moreby in '78, and even there, then that was a more free sort of integration with people who were coming back from the Island - some from Lewkop, and some people from - directly from the Island, and people from other parts of the country, and this is where actually things were actually hotly debated and clarified, and one began to see quite clearly what actually - the whole question of the progressive African nationalist position that was espoused by people like Mandela and so on - how they differed from the P.A.C. position, and beyond that, how one can actually define society as being structurally along capitalist lines, and the class nature of society, and the various components and so on, but briefly I would say that was my sort of - my development.



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J.F. And how was it that you came to be picked up in 176 - was it a general swoop or was it any particular thing that led to it?

D.M. Well, I think it was a part of both. It was a general swoop, and a lot of people were detained who were in leadership positions at that time, but I believe that in order to justify one's detention, the police had to make believe that there was something specifically that they were looking for.

For example, I was put into Section Six, and this was incommudicated and so on, and I was supposed to be linked to a group of people who had travelled to Swaziland and met A.N.C. leadership people there and so on, but of course, all that never came to anything, and in the end one was released after seven months of just sitting and doing nothing.

- J.F. And when you were released, did you what happened the next that led on to your banning?
- D.M. Well, I was released, and then I was out for something like the organisation I had belonged to had been banned..
- J.F. Which was SASO?
- D.M. No, no SASO sorry when I was released I was detained September, 1976, released February 1977, then I continued in SASO until the bannings in '77, and that was when actually everybody was taken under Section Ten that preventive detention thing, and we were then kept in Moreby for fourteen months...
- J.F. (Can't hear)
- D.M. Ja, well it was a valuable period for different people, but we were the last to leave I spent fourteen months, and I had a ban five year ban when I left when I came out in \*78.
- J.F. Do you think just some kind of reflection from your experience and do you think that that ban cut short something that would have had a long future do you think it killed something that was dying anyway what do you think that ban actually did do you think it worked for what the security police thought it was going to be?
- D.M. No, I think that that ban came at a very crucial time.

  It's difficult to predict what would have happened if
  the ban hadn't come. Certainly things would not have
  remained as solid from the outside, within the B.C. movement.

I've already said that there were these two streams that were developing within the B.C. movement, and a lot of the influence upon these two groups, or certainly upon one of them, was as I've said again, coming from the development of the trade union movement - independent trade union movement at that time - worker action on the factory floors and things, and these were the things that were educating us right in front of our eyes every day. They were just hitting us, and we were becoming ....

D.M. .... conscious of new horizons that were before not known to us. We had been conscious of the student sort of arena as the - even the - I remember that we thought that the students are the vanguard (Laugh) of the struggle, but that was all we knew that was within our experience.

We did not learn the struggle from textbooks - we learned from actual just participating around issues that affected us on the campus, and then actually spilling over into other things, but the development of the independent trade union movement and strike - worker actions and so on - all these had a very important effects on us, and this actually charged us with the enthusiasm actually to even question B.C. and so on.

It was quite clear that people who were organising workers were not black people, and that they had actually come from very privileged backgrounds, and they were actually - they'd forsaken those backgrounds and were making heavy sacrifices, to obviously further the lot of a people that needed a - that were very - had very, very unfortunate circumstances. We could not ignore those sort of things.

Coupled again with the fact that I've mentioned before that some of our own people were involved in actually perpetrating the machinery of the state, and now, of course,
a lot of us - a lot of people I think, had also become had begun researching - just reading and going specifically
out to look at literature that answers these specific problems.

Some of us had been in contact again directly with some people who had been involved previously, as I've already mentioned, through prison contact and so on, and when we come back - I think - and those people - those sort of people had already - were already coming back anyway from long sentences, so through a combination of circumstances there was bound to be a reconnection with our history, which is how I like to put it.

I like to look at that period of B.C. as a period in which there was a disconnection between the - disconnection in the historical evolution of the struggle, I would (....) (060) because I really don't think that anything new has happened now - it's just that people have rediscovered the one period that they, unfortunately, had missed because of the repression and so on.

- J.F. What was your position in SASO?
- D.M. Um...
- J.F. Or what organisations were you in?
- D.M. In SASO I held I started off in '73 as a chairperson in the local branch at Natal Medical School, and then in '74 I was then vice president national vice president, and then in '75/'76 I was the national president. That was after the Frelimo rally and the detentions and so on.
- J.F. And did you come from a political home, just briefly what was your parents (.....) (071) did they ever speak..
- Oh, yes, I came from a very strongly A.N.C. background.

  My father was in the youth league, and I forgot to mention ...

D.M. ... that we often had tremendous arguments (Laugh) at home. Often it would be: Now, just tell us, what are your policies, you guys - what is this - how is this going to happen...

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- J.F. He would say?
- D.M. He would say, ja. In fact, that's true very interesting. Yes, he was involved in the youth league was involved in the defiance campaign very actively he organised this area, I believe, during his time at Natal for the defiance campaign.
- J.F. Was he ever banned or detained or.
- D.M. A lot of times, yes.
- J.F. Which (079) (You're very faint in places)
- D.M. I think from around \*54 to through \*57 he couldn't go to the freedom charter meeting in Cape Town, I seem to remember throughout that period he was banned.
- J.F. Was he ever imprisoned or prosecuted?
- D.M. I don't think he was ever imprisoned, no it was just bannings.
- J.F. So were you just rebelling against your parents, or did you just what was the view of the A.N.C. among in those times, among B.C. people did you think: Ag, they haven't done anything, or were you secretly pro P.A.C. what was the story?
- D.M. Well, funny enough B.C., when it started off, had as one of its central principles, that it recognises the validity of the older liberation movements that was on paper, at least, and some of truly believed in that that we were taking over from people who had gone on before us, but that was exactly where the mistake was, I think.

We thought we were really taking over, but at least some of the merits of that position were that we recognised that there had been movements ahead of us, which had fulfilled a role, and that through certain circumstances they were not able to continue that role, but in terms of choosing between the two positions, a lot of us were clear that both these movements existed and that they need to be given the credit for having done whatever they have done, so it was a very romantic situation where we looked at the A.N.C. and the P.A.C. on the one hand as kind of equal - organisations of equal credibility, equal contribution and so on, and I think, because of a lack of insight into the differences and so on, some of us could not have a pro A.N.C. or pro P.A.C. position without actually being clear - we were not quite - I wouldn't think personally that a lot of us were clear about the differences that lay behind, for example, A.N.C. and P.A.C., beyond just saying that they were white communists in the A.N.C., and that the P.A.C. was objecting to the hijacking of the black peoples struggles by white people and so on. I think some of us were just aware ... DILIZA MJI. PAGE 7.

- D.M. ... of the differences just to that extent, but not a very, very true insight we did not have insight into the problem, but we just sort of looked at it really from the position that these two older movements did exist, and that one doesn't know what happened to them they've been banned, and so we just thought: They're not there we're just taking over from where they had left, and we're taking the struggle forward.
- J.F. And did you start what did you think your father had been doing just something that was finished now and he was it was history, what he had done did you you didn't have any pride or awareness of him being in the A.N.C.?
- D.M. Ja that was a question that one asked many times, about what had happened in the for example, a lot of times wherever I went I would be asked: Are you the same is your father the same Diliza Mji who was in the A.N.C. and so on, and that would actually make one aware that this must have been a very forceful organisation, but if you come to talk of pride, in the sense of identifying with the A.N.C. just because my father belonged to it, it was not there really, because one did not see the presence of the organisation at that particular time was not felt at all, and so, as differently from now.

Then one was not really able to be proud because everything was abstract, really.

- J.F. Your ban was from when to when?
- D.M. 178 to 183.
- J.F. 0.K., and just you said it a bit before when we were just talking as I was setting up, but I am quite interested even if it means repeating a bit, what it was like to come out of the banning and see what was going on, although I guess during the banning, did that really cut you off, or did you still follow things quite avidly?
- D.M. Oh, well, it's difficult, I think, for once you reach a certain point to be cut off from political involvement. The state bans people, I think, to cut them off, but I don't think it succeeds in most instances, so in my case, I don't think they would have achieved that, nor I think, will they achieve that in the future, but certainly, in a certain way your movements are limited.

Your participation in the public eye is cut down, and that, I think, is important, but you develop other means of involvement and so on, so that whatever means of involvement that you might sort of develop would, as I've said, be outside the public eye, so when my ban expired, I was then reintroduced to the public arena, and it was quite interesting to find that a lot of things had been carrying on in the public arena, even if it just reflected that things in other provinces were happening at a much faster pace than in for example, in our province.

When I was unbanned, I had the privilege of attending the UDF Conference in P.E., and the crucial issue that was debated there at that conference was the strategy of the United Democratic Front, for the tri-cameral arrangement -



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D.M. There were elections that were going to come about, and the debate was whether to participate in those elections or not.

Obviously this was a debate at a very high level, and what it basically meant, it meant a clear articulation of tactics - strategy and tactics and so on of the struggle - tactics and strategy - what is the principle - what is the tactic, and all those sort of things.

It meant looking at historical situations in other parts of the world like, for example, analogies were drawn between the dumas in Russia - the Tsarist dumas and participating and those things, and what it really did mean that was really a lot of information had been acquired by young people in the struggle in this country, and that the methodolical approach had been - was obviously far superior.

People had become - had a very clear and working understanding of even the, what one would like to call the class perspective of society, and in that respect, a lot of; Correction - and in that respect alone, I think, that was one of the interesting things when I was unbanned, and I think that process has gone on and I don't think actually that there's any coming back now.

- J.F. So that quite amazed you, to see how ...
- D.M. Yes, it was, yes and I think it should not have amazed me in a way, because in the same way that I could have had a new perspective, I'm sure a lot of other people would have been would have developed new perspective as well.
- J.F. What had fed into that was it kids reading was it talking to old timers and..
- D.M. I think it was everything it was everything, and it was quite clear that people were had internalised a lot of stuff from books and things, which had not been available, I think, before, and it would seem that people have been able to amquire, and to sit down, debate the issues, understand them clearly, and actually now, and actually implement you not in a blind and parrot fashion, by the way, but use skills that have been acquired analytical skills in actually solving problems political problems, and confront them, in the context of the South African struggle, but of course, drawing upon these other experiences quoting people, like: This is what Kabral (188) said this is what Lenin said, and that sort of thing.
- J.F. Would you say that the non racialism had become more profound was that like a key difference from the B.C. era?
- D.M. Oh, yes just from the way in which the UDF was established. It was quite yes, it was quite clear that this was now the era of non racialism.

I think, if you looked at \*83 - at that time, more than now, there was perhaps slightly - you could see in parts of the country pockets of B.C. struggling to keep alive. I think people like String Moodley, here in Natal, had just come out, and they were making a lot of noise - Seth Cooper and so on.

People like Monto Myeza (200) in Johannesburg, and so on, but one hardly hears anything about those sort of people nowa-days, so that, yes, non racialism was there - it was also ....

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D.M.

... being challenged by some of these people who had just come out from the Island and so on, but there were many more who had gone to the Island and come out having forsaken B.C., than had - who you could find: Correction: than had - than you could find who were supporting it when they came out here, so that - one of the things was also that, with this - of course, hand in hand in it this clear political analysis of the situation, clear understanding and class perspective was, of course, this non racial position in terms of organisations, and the general sort of struggle in South Africa,

- J.F. So you saw it you see it as a basic change it wasn't just: Yes, we also accept whites it was actually central to the evolved ideology it's just interesting to me because so many black South Africans I interview associate workers they can't name a white they've ever bumped into as any good until maybe quite recently, and it's not something that it's actually to me quite interesting how that would be internalised, and I'm just wondering how you found that being at your first public meeting whether it was just a sense of: No, B.C., we're rejecting that we do have whites in our organisations, or whether it was really a profound shift that they could defend and made the B.C. people ask...
- D.M. You see, if you look at it at that level at the level of activists, the problem I think is less than at, say the mass level, at the level of activists, because one of the, I think, strong points, I think, about B.C., one of the good things about it that it brought about was it brought about a reevaluation of the situation, and their own contribution amongst white students, for example.

I've no doubt that part of the reason why they went into organising trade unions and things was because they had no role to play at the student level, and they had to explore ways in which they could contribute.

The student arena was occupied by blacks who were black radicals, who were - which constantly challenging them to go and organise in their own white area - communities and so on, so this period is a period in which white people - white liberals and so on - white sympathisers and so on went back and re-examined their own participation in the struggle and what they were doing, and then people, I think, found themselves, in a similar way that some of us in B.C. rediscovered that there were alternative positions, like the non racial position and so on.

That people did realise that, in fact, to be white in South Africa meant just more than having tea with blacks or - socially and so on. It meant actually going back and participating in the struggle, and one of the ways in which people did that was to actually - to find out, and learn more about the South African society, and how they, as the white people, can contribute, so that at those sort of levels, like the UDF conference and you have a non racial position as being the dominant position now, you are actually finding people coming together who have re-evaluated the situation, and have - and a clear: Correction: and are clear what each has as their responsibility, and what they cam do and what they cannot do, so that, at the activist level, I think.....



D.M. it was quite clear to me that the non racial position is valid, because I had been through these experiences of finding white people, organising in the unions.

These are people who had been rejected by B.C., and they had really proven themselves, just as B.C. had challenged them to do - that: Stop patronising us - stop just coming and making parties and then going to salve your consciences. White guys must be: Correction: White guys must actually get involved in a meaningful way, and this was a meaningful way, and I don't think actually - and I think that actually begins to answer the second part of your question, which is at the mass level how - you find it difficult to understand how black people, having lived through apartheid, can actually still have some goodwill towards white people, and I think it is true these sort of experiences where - I have been in contact with white intellectuals who've left campus.

\*workers.

It is a very - it has a very big impact on a black worker, or, when they meet a white intellectual who has actually rejected his class background and his political position as a white person, and they see him struggling side by side with them every day.

It - I think it is something that re-educates one more powerfully than any amount of reading can do - the direct experience, and throughout my talk with you I've actually emphasised the question of the direct experience.

Just as apartheid tends to be legitimated in the minds of people through the experience that people have under the apartheid system, similarly when people meet people who actually do not live out of the stereotypes that even worker apartheid (286) - that re-educates them just as dramatically as the other way, so that non racial position has come about, I think, as a result, again, of B.C. rejecting white people, and some of the white people actually going out.

If you look later on - look at people like Aggett People like Agget have died in detention - medical doctor and so on, as union organisers, and that has had a tremendous impact, and people like Helen Joseph have a similar symbolic sort of message about what people can do, and I think, given that there is a re-educated leadership amongst blacks as well, who espouse the non racial position - these - the combination of all these things make it possible to actually - for the non racial position to spread like wildfire, because people can actually see these things happening in front of their eyes.

- J.F. The only other area that I wanted to ask you to touch on was your position as a black professional if you could just say something about your class position or being educated and having had access to education if that in any way has been a factor in your new analysis of class and race.
- D.M. .... How do you mean (Lots of umm ing!)

- J.F. Well, I mean, my one question which I could ask, but I = is whether you feel you have anything in common with people of other race groups who are in the same class position whether class, sometimes, can you talk about a class analysis, but does that mean something on the ground does that mean that you have to figure out ways to relate to the working class in a way not dissimilar to the way whites would have to assess their position, and then assess their commitment and get involved, taking that into account.
- D.M. Ja you see, my own position, which I'm not sure what you're going to use this interview for the information that we I still hope to.......

## END OF SIDE ONE.

- D.M. The question was just rephrase the question again.
- J.F. As I said, I don't know that my question's very well phrased I mean one way of asking it could be as a doctor as a surgeon, as a person in a professional class in whatever race group in whatever part of the world, would you see yourself as having something in common with even a white who has to assess their class position before getting involved if you ask a B.C. person they'll say: No,way I'm black we're all brothers, finished it's actually really offensive that I've asked the question, but I'm asking that, honestly, from your experience in giving your class analysis of the situation has it been a factor for you to consider in terms of what your involvement would be I don't think that I think that your answer was going in that direction, so I ...
- D.M. Ja, I think I see myself first and not as a black professional as such, but as it's difficult in South Africa, even as a professional person, to actually see yourself on a par as a black professional, to see yourself on a par with a white colleague, because you suffer certain political disadvantages which he does not.

A very practical example is, in this hospital where we were meeting in, I stayed twenty kilometers outside - I would have liked to be about five kilometers - there are, infact, houses available across there, but I cannot because of group areas, so that is the first and important impact, which is to just bind me with other profession: Correction: bind me as a professional.

Now\*there's political disadvantages immediately bind me with my people - there's no two ways about it - I - and then - I then find myself as a professional whose skills are to the service of my people, as much as I can to uplift the common position of my people, because I realise that I cannot break out - I cannot break loose from this national oppression which we, as Africans, suffer in this country - that is the first point. Perhaps if the society was a more fair society ....

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D.M. ... - a more open society, where economic, perhaps, factors were the ones that operated only, I would not be thinking in the way that I do, but unfortunately I do at the present time, and, yes, and I think anybody who does not see through this is likely to end up in the blue waters. \*These.

Now this leads me actually to the thing about - Botha's thing about creating a black middle class and all - I think it ties up with (that) (439) - I think what that - why that is also bound to fail is because of exactly what I've said, that the economic concessions that are being given to the so-called black middle class can in no way allow the black middle class actually, as a middle class, to realise their aspirations.

If you look at the arena of housing, if you look at the arena of finances, you know that even in - even building societies in this province do not give loans to black people for building houses, so what - so there are a whole host of restrictions that make it impossible for black professionals, I think, to break loose and - outside their national grouping.

- J.F. Things are moving so fast in this country if you look at the former Rhodesia, at a certain point came the Muzorewa solution, the black professionals moved in to certain areas the area I live in, Harare, it's actually Coloured and Indian and black bourgeoisie from '78 now with that do you see that on the horizon the kind of people always say group areas is the linch pin I don't think group areas in the linch pin I think they'll make a black housing area it might even be five kilometers away do you see that as a looming trap for the black professionals now sure?
- D.M. I think if that had been done in 1910 things would have been different. The economic structure of South Africa is such that, as far as I'm concerned there are no even potential black capitalists or black bourgeoisie, in the true sense of the word.

Only you have small businessmen with small shops, employing at the most, say 25, 50 people and that is all. Maybe amongst the Indian people there are some factory owners and so on, but I think the economic control in these countries is not in the hands of blacks.

These are artificial means to promote a middle class and bourgeoisie - a black bourgeoisie, I think - I'm often hesitant even to talk about a black bourgeoisie, but of course, there are some of these privileged classes, but they're so weak, numerically, and in terms of the economic power that I don't think they will come to anything when they're matched against the real power - economic giants in this country - that's the first point.

The other point, I think, is that they're so discredited and they have no links at all, most of them, with the people - that they cannot influence the direction of things anyway, and this is why I think it is a miscalculation for the state to sort of target (469) these people.

Of course, they are always hoping that amongst them they can get people who can then divert peoples from their struggle and so on. Some of these elements are to be found in the UCASA - these urban councillors and so on, but what the recent events have shown - that all these bodies are discredited, ....



- D.M. ... and, in fact, these people have to be protected from the very people that they're supposed to be representing, so although it is up as a strategy, but I don't think that it's got much to keep it going..
- J.F. That's interesting - I hadn't thought of it, because part of - you were saying that - you've got - I only know the 0 Transvaal, where you've got the most (.....) (477) it's not just 25 (.....) black chain and NAFCOC people or there are millionaires as the (.....) (478) point out -I think actually the point you've made that's quite sure is that the people will discipline them - if you kill the community councillors, the first guy who moves into a white special black area - I hadn't thought about that being - I think, to me, that's more a countervailing factor than : We're all brothers in the struggle and - I think that buying out process - I don't believe that - I appreciate your answer because so often, if I interview someone - not that I've done it that often, but blacks will contradict themselves and say : Oh, no, in the final analysis - even an Indian person I interviewed started saying: Oh, but we have the same customs and an hour before she'd said : Oh, no, she didn't care if she was Moslem or Hindu, and suddenly - and I think whites do the same thing - they want to say, oh, they don't have this background, but I think that's a very important point you raised which I never thought about.
  - O.K., tell me your job that you have is called what.
- D.M. I'm just a registrar, really I'm a registrar in training....
- J.F. But by the time this comes out you might be a surgeon.
- D.M. Oh, yes, if I'm successful in my exams I'll be a surgeon.
- J.F. 0.K., and then are you office holder in any organisations?
- D.M. Yes, I'm a president of the National Medical and Dental Association.
- J.F. (.....) (491) president?
- D.M. (.....) you've heard of Inanda?
- J.F. Yes and what else?
- D.M. I don't hold office in any other organisations.
- J.F. But have you been involved in community work UDF.
- D.M. I've been involved affiliate organisations with the UDF at the local level, yes like the Clairmont youth league I'm involved in that. I've been involved in the UDF work through the affiliate its affiliate which is in my area.
- J.F. Can you say just one sentence about NAMDA just something, because I just want to place how you do you see that as your political...

D.M.

No, no, no - I think it's an important arena, because I believe that one should struggle wherever one is, whether it's be on the factory floor, in the communities, as youth people, as - in the churches, as professionals I think - NAMDA's role is that, but I see it in a secondary sort of sense as opposed, for example, to political struggle in a sort of primary sense, but I don't think one can underscore the importance of all type of bodies coming together and actually getting involved in the struggle, because I do believe in the national democratic struggle, which is a coming together of a host of forces against the apartheid system in this country, and for - even to bring about change.

I believe all these different organisations - professional organisations, youth, sporting bodies, church bodies, and I think the recent events in this country have borne that out, and the UDF is a big phenomenon because - exactly - of the fact that it brings things together - all these sort of groupings, so to say NAMDA really is my political expression at this time is not quite true, although I do say it is important ideological role within the health sphere, to play, because that is neglected and, in fact, up till NAMDA came around, was one of the most exploited arenas by the state.

If you look at overseas propaganda in terms of the high technology medicine profile they try to paint and so on, and how
they have/transplants here and so on, and we've been able
actually to reverse the tables on them, and to show that, in
fact, malnutrition, kwashokor (520) and the diseases of poverty
and starvation, like typhoid, TB, are in fact the order of
the day, and I think that's important at the ideological level,
to keep things in perspective. /heart.

- J.F. And detentions and...
- D.M. And detentions without trial, and all these are crucial areas.
- J.F. 0.K. can I ask you the terrible question of what ethnic group you're from?
- D.M. (Laugh) it is terrible Xosa.

END OF INTERVIEW.