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J.F. When you were born and where you were born?

G.M. I'm born in - in Eastern Transvaal, Lydenburg - I'm born on the 8th. April, 1923.

J.F. And what kind of - what did you grow up - what circumstances?

G.M. Well, we left earlier (?) where I'm born - we left while I was still very young, and my father bought a plot in Premier Mine, what they call calinium (?) where they've got these first class diamonds - then he bought a plot at Onverwacht - that was the area of Premier Mine - that's where I actually grew up and started to go to school.

J.F. Where - what area is that - is that in the Free State?

G.M. No, no, Transvaal - Lydenburg is in the Transvaal....

J.F. That's Eastern Transvaal?

G.M. Eastern Transvaal, and Onverwacht is just in the Pretoria area - it's also Eastern, but the north (?)....

J.F. And tell me your whole full name that I should use.

G.M. Graham Morodi.

J.F. So when your father bought that plot was he farming on the plot?

G.M. Ja, it was about five morgan - ja, he was farming there, then we had our house (?) there on the farm - he (there) was a lot of places just farming (?)

J.F. Did he have anyone working for him?

G.M. No, no (Laugh) no, not actually.

J.F. Small small?

G.M. Small farm - he was working Johannesburg - my mother was tilling the land and all this other thing.

J.F. So what did he do in Jo'burg?

G.M. He was working.

J.F. As what?

G.M. As - he was working in a flat as a cleaner of the flat.

J.F. So he left your mother to do the farming....

G.M. The - the farming, ja - he always came back when he got leave, towards Christmas and so on.

J.F. So only a few times a year did he come back?

G.M. Ja, once a year.

J.F. So he was a migrant?

G.M. Actually yes, I can say so, because (?) he was working at Jeppe at buildings.



- G.M. Then in 1933 I - I left to Johannesburg to go and stay with my father - then I started schooling in Benoni.
- J.F. But you stayed with your father in the back rooms of the flat?
- G.M. Yes, you know, they've got houses on top there, yes, and we stayed there - but until 1936 my mother came, then we stayed in Alexandra.
- J.F. You all moved to Alex?
- G.M. Alex, yes.
- J.F. All the whole family?
- G.M. Ja, the whole family stayed in Alex - the whole family stayed in Alex.
- J.F. So for you growing up in the rural areas, did you ever see any people except African people - did you ever see whites or Coloureds or Indians?
- G.M. No - yes, I did see them, I know - in - in Lydenburg in fact where we were staying it was a farm of Bob Gardener - it's a big farm - then, you see, the name Graham it's come from - it's the English name, you see - it's one of those people, Bob Gardener's people, who was Graham - then when I was born I was also named Graham, after naming me Gadapalal, which is our African name.
- J.F. What's your African name?
- G.M. Gadapalal, they never get finished.
- J.F. And that means it never gets finished?
- G.M. Yes, they never get finished (Laugh) and whatever (?) I've got doesn't get finished.
- J.F. And so you had the contact with those whites in the rural areas - when you moved to the flat what was it like - did you have to watch out that your - there wouldn't be raids, pass raids, or were you wary of the white police (?)....
- G.M. No, at that time it - pass raids was not so much.
- J.F. So did you feel at ease in the white city, in Pretoria?
- G.M. Yes, yes, yes, but it was not so easy because we were staying in a flat, you see - when you go up to - to the rooms you have to take care that the caretaker doesn't see you, because he'll start to say there's people staying up there - but I didn't stay long, because I stayed for a very short period then.
- J.F. In 1936 you moved to Alex?
- G.M. We moved to Alex.
- J.F. That was when you were 13 or something - how long did you stay in Alex?
- G.M. In Alex we stayed till 1940, which - in 1940 we sold that plot in Premier Mine and bought a ten morgan plot in Winterveld, Pretoria district - still in the Pretoria district.



- G.M. But now there I didn't stay - my parents moved to go there and stay there, and my father changed from working to - in the building - started to work in a factory - then he was working at Perry's Shirts (?) Manufacturing, which now he must get his own place - and I work in a photograph in 1940 at George Goch Station in Johannesburg, but it's through the time when the war was starting to fight, and I stayed in Jeppe - I had my own room there.
- J.F. What were you doing at George Goch Station?
- G.M. It was a photography - well, I was - people were coming in and I was taking care of the place, and to see that people are smartly, and cleaning the place and so on - to see that they are standing correctly and so on, and helping to wash the - develop the photography - although I was not a professionally, but I can do now, but that time really I was helping somebody washing the, develop the (.....) and (... ..) do the developing and printing.
- J.F. And how long did you work there?
- G.M. I worked there till '41.
- J.F. And then what did you do?
- G.M. 1941 I joined the army.
- J.F. Why did you join the army?
- G.M. I joined the army - I had some friends which I used to stay with them - now one of our friends went and joined the army, and we are very much interested in driving (?) as young men - we wanted to drive - now when he came back he had a D (?) - when we asked him what is this D, then he says : It means driver, I'm driving - I say : How much do you pay to learn driving there in the army - he says : It's free, they even pay you when you (Laugh) learn driving - then we went and joined the army with no other motives behind - ja, with no other motive behind - that is 1941, October.
- J.F. Did you think about fighting the nazis, or did you have any idea?
- G.M. No, no, I was reading (?) about the - the - the wars and (.....) soldiers, you know, from the photography up to the time that I - I was going - I worked in a - as a delivery in a restaurant in - inside (?) city - I was doing delivery of cakes, and most of the white women who were working together there, their husbands they were soldiers, so I saw them all, but in my mind I was not much worried what is happening - but what actually makes me to join is that I wanted to go and learn driving as a young man (Laugh)
- J.F. So where did they send you when you joined?
- G.M. When I joined I was sent to Boksburg East - that's a camp (?) - that's a - I forget the name - Springfontein (?) - something like that in Boksburg East.



G.M. Now when we get there then we're told to - we are examined by the doctors there - and to take off our clothing - I had a very nice suit which I liked, but I sold it for five shillings because you couldn't take your own clothing, and then you just take off - there was a shop, then you dump them there, he gives you any price that he wants - then after that we're put in a camp, sort of a mine camp - an old camp, and it's a camp we're not allowed to go out and you stay there.

From there I was transferred to Queenstown in the Cape - we're forming what we call Eighth Battalion, Native Military Corps....

J.F. Native Military Corps?

G.M. Ja, Eighth Battalion - now we had a A (?) - I mean the B Company in Queenstown - we were guarding (?) the airforce, the Royal Airforce camp.

J.F. Guarding the airforce?

G.M. Ja, ja, we are guards guarding the airforce camp in Queenstown - I stayed there in Queenstown from '41, '42, '43 we were the first group to open what we know the African there had no rank above sergeant (?) - now we were the first group to go for a staff course - to become staff sergeant - you get this three (?) stripes and a crown - we are the very first group - I was in the S2, the others they were S1, but we are the first - very first group, and the very first group to train with hand grenades in - in - in South Africa - then this was a three month course - when I came then I was promoted to a lance corporal.

Then I stayed there, because in 1943, the time that the Japanese were fighting a lot in the - in the East, in Asia, then we're told that the Japanese are - are not white people and we must fight them, you see, and are very dangerous, and because they are not what we (?) - we must learn how to shoot and (.....) - but they never taught us actually how to pull a trigger and how to fight, but we are taught all how overcome obstacle and so on everything, and when a parachute is parachuting down how to shoot it, but not actually using the gun as you should use it.

And we're told to sign V, V for Victory, but when you sign V because NMC, Native Military Corps, it means it's (.....) first they were NMP, which they were Native Military Police, which could not go out of South Africa - and then the next was NMG - NMG also Native Military Guards which will be guarding the installations - then come us (?) when we join in '4 - '41 it's NMC, Native Military Corps, which will fight right through up to Egypt - you can go as far as Egypt.

But now in '43 we signed V - now it means that you go right through up to Asia, Europe, all over you can go - it's for Victory - now from Queenstown in 1944 we were called up to go to the up north, but we are taken - all those who have signed V we are taken up to George in the Cape - from George then we are transferred to Bellville, close to Cape Town - when we come there we find that it was a wrong city (?) now - it means those who were in Kimberley, not from Queenstown, because Kimberley was 27 A (S) School (Corps) - now Queenstown was 24 S School, something like that....

J.F. A (?) school?



G.M. A (Air) School for the Royal Air Force - that's what we're guarding - now those who wanted to go up north were in Kimberley, but by mistake they called us, and we were returned back, then we're taken to George - that's where I stayed until, well, we used to go to Cape Town and all these other places.

Then in 1945 again then there was a call - then we went to - to Holfontein Springs (?) - when we came to Springs in 1945 we are going to go to Durban and go across now - that was correct, that was right - and go to Europe, in Italy, but the war ended - the war ended, so we are stopped there....

J.F. Stopped where?

G.M. At Springs, until the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and so on - then from there we are demobilised.

J.F. So did they ever teach you to shoot a gun?

G.M. No, no - we handled a gun but never to shoot - I know hand grenade - they teach us how to throw a hand grenade.

J.F. And what did they teach you about parachutes, just how to use the parachutes?

G.M. No, they taught the parachute when it comes you have to shoot it when it's this angle (?) - they just show you, not actually (Laugh) teach you - you must shoot the parachute before it lands - you shoot here - they just tell you that.

J.F. So why weren't they teaching you to shoot a gun?

G.M. You - you see, in 1940 I was very much close to reading the newspaper about the wars and so on - Dr. Malan was saying that whatever differences they have with the United Party they should - they must come together in the question of arming the African people, because the Afrikaners they didn't want to go to fight - they - most of them they said they had German blood - they can't go and fight their own blood - and people like Vorster they were detained, and many of this Cabinet they were detained for refusing, and they organised what they called Ossewabrandwag, which is a military wing - it was a military wing - and actually they come together when it comes to our question of not arming us in South Africa.

Even in Middle East, those who went to - to the Middle East, in Egypt, they were armed because there was a (.....) between the white and the black, because some African were supposed to go on duty, soldiers, the enemy (.....) - he was supposed to go on duty, but they came drunk - then they wanted to lock them up, the white officers - then they refused - then it was a clash which they fought and they - I think there was the Australian intervene (?) and they asked the Coloureds to help them, but the Coloureds refused to help them, and it was stop by the (?) Australian - in fact the Australian, the British and the other people, they - they were starting to question the question of assegai....

J.F. Assegai - what was that....

G.M. Spear - the Australian and the - the British....

J.F. What do you mean the question of assegai?



- G.M. How long can it fly (?) - how can you fight a man with a gun shooting from that distance, how can you stop (?) him with this thing....
- J.F. But they only gave assegais?
- G.M. Ja, we were carrying assegais, yes, but the - the first division which went with the NMC, they also went with - with assegai - but now it was questioned, that's where they started to give them guns, in Egypt, and teach them how to shoot, ja.
- J.F. So how did you feel about that yourself?
- G.M. You know, we - we didn't like it totally - we didn't like it - in fact instead of looking to our men here, the Springboks, as who are (?) the same people from South Africa fighting to - who are going to fight together (?) but we look at them as if (?) they're more - Germans were better than them, you see, because this apartheid was there - but from the beginning when I joined the army I - it was not like that, but it comes when I was in the army - I was grown (?) I was mixed (?) with the people in - in those politics (?) - now we're reading, I joined the Springbok Legion.
- J.F. Did you join the Springbok Legion?
- G.M. Legion, ja, I joined the Springbok Legion in 1943, and they were sending us (.....) and we started to see what is happening then, but we are very united....
- J.F. The blacks?
- G.M. Ja, the - ja, the blacks was very united - if a white officer who's in charge of us he do something wrong, we - we - he will be chased away - there will be change in a short space of a time because we didn't - we are very united - now I was saying then we are demobilised in 1945, August 5th. - I was given a khaki suit, the blanket and lot of certificates....
- J.F. Lot of what?
- G.M. Certificate and some medals, and nothing else - five pounds pocket money, and promised that we'll get something when we're at home - we won't carry pass, and we'll be given houses which we are not going to rent so much, and we'll pay for water and garbage, but all this - those things never happened - all those things - in fact they thought that to say we must now buy houses - then as a member of the Springbok Legion, then we came together as British Empire Legion to fight against people, because we are told that we can pay deposits and buy those houses in Dube in (and) Johannesburg, but some of us refused, you see, and others they say : No, let's get into the houses and pay deposits, and when we are in the houses then we can fight with - we said : No, we are not going to fight within (?) - we must fight from outside and not to get it - then we are divided - others went in and the whole thing was dismantled.
- Then at that time then I started to take passes (?) - we find out that the monies that were sent home, also money for tax was deducted, but we are told that we are not paying tax - then I started to say now to - I'm going to join the ANC and fight against this government which has robbed me and tell me lot of lies - then I was attending meetings of the ANC - all these public meeting, and I had a lot of friends from the ANC which were working together, although I didn't have a card carrying until 1950 after the - the strike where people were shot in 1950 in May Day - from that date I join and get a card for the ANC - then I was prepared to fight.



- J.F. Tell me who recruited you to the Springbok Legion - how did you hear about it in the army?
- G.M. In the army?
- J.F. How did you get to the Springbok Legion?
- G.M. We had a newspaper of - which was called Elephant Claw....
- J.F. Called what?
- G.M. Claw (?) - Elephant - T l o u - it means elephant, because our (.....) was also elephant - now we had this paper distributed among the - our army....
- J.F. Who wrote that paper?
- G.M. I don't know - I think it's come from the Bantu World (?) sometimes a part of it - then the Springbok Legion was advertised there, that you must all join the Springbok Legion, and you pay so much you become a member - then I did join like that from that - they got box number, then we - you send five shilling, then they send you the badge of the Springbok Legion and a card, and that's how we joined the Springbok Legion.
- J.F. So what did the badge look like?
- G.M. It's this wreath - something like laurel wreath - it's something like wires (.....) - it's like wires but it's....
- J.F. In a wreath shape?
- G.M. Ja, ja, ja - so that's how I joined the Springbok Legion, and the others too.
- J.F. And what was good about the Springbok Legion - what were they saying?
- G.M. No, they were saying : You can write the (?) stories of where you are - and so we would keep on writing on the paper, you see, about - and they tell us the benefit that we can get after the war - they were telling us about the benefit that we'll get after the war.
- J.F. Were they saying in the Springbok Legion blacks are being discriminated against in the army?
- G.M. No, they didn't talk about discrimination - they didn't talk about discrimination, but they talked about - about what we do and we should write stories about football, what we play and so on, and they also in the papers - then they say - they tell us what are we going to benefit after the - the war.
- J.F. What was the name of the paper - was there a Springbok Legion paper?
- G.M. No, it's Tlou - T l o u, elephant.
- J.F. What language is that?
- G.M. It was written in English.
- J.F. But Tlou is what language?
- G.M. It's Sotho.



J.F. Were there any whites in the Springbok Legion?

G.M. Yes.

J.F. It was white....

G.M. Yes, there is white, because I met some of them here they said they were in the Springbok Legion or (?) after the war.

J.F. But did you know them during that time?

G.M. No, I only knew where they came (.....) - I didn't know anybody outside there where I am.

J.F. In the camp you were in?

G.M. Ja, ja - now in the camps where I - I used to be is the Royal Air Force School, so there was very few South African, unless those who are (?) - are controllers (?) the OC (?) and the staff sergeant and others.

J.F. So it was British?

G.M. Royal Air Force is British.

J.F. So they had British Air Force people in the....

G.M. Ja, ja.

J.F. And you were guarding the British Air Force?

G.M. Yes, we are guarding the British Air Force - as I'm saying, the Afrikaaner they were beaten (?) for rebellions, you see - now all the important installation were guarded by us in South Africa....

J.F. All the what?

G.M. The - all important installation, ammunition dump (?) the air - air - airport - air schools, which the Royal Air Force were training here, because that side there was lot of bomb and they couldn't have a chance (?) - now they had most in South Africa their air schools where they train before they go to the front.

J.F. And you were saying most what was in South Africa - what was the word you were saying, most?

G.M. I say the most of the Afrikaaner there (they) were rebellions, so they couldn't guard this installation, even....

J.F. Installations?

G.M. Ja, the - the important installation, like the air - air - air force camps, ammunition dumps, all these important - petrols and all (?) we are guarding them.

J.F. And the British you were guarding?

G.M. No, no....

J.F. Not the Royal Air Force....

G.M. The ANC (?) and we were guarding the camps of the Royal Air Force.



- J.F. So you were guarding British troops?
- G.M. Ja, not the - the troops itself, but the Air Force they've got many things there, the storeroom....
- J.F. Aircraft?
- G.M. Ja, we would look after them.
- J.F. So it wasn't actually British Air Force officers?
- G.M. There were British Air Force officers, but they were not guarded by us.
- J.F. So what made you to support the Springbok Legion?
- G.M. Really it - to me it was something that I - I thought for the future - for the future after the war - it's what we're going to ask for our benefits through the Springbok Legion.
- J.F. And did you know the Springbok Legion to be an organisation that had whites and blacks at the time....
- G.M. No....
- J.F. You thought it was just a black group....
- G.M. No, just a black organisation - I thought it was a black organisation.
- J.F. Did you ever know about the Torch Commando - did you hear of that?
- G.M. The Torch Commando, yes I heard about the Torch Commando - I heard about the Torch Commando.
- J.F. So what was that, what did you hear, what was it?
- G.M. The Torch Commando I think is this group of rebellion too (?) - like the Ossewabrandwag.
- J.F. No, the Torch Commando was white servicemen after the war.
- G.M. After the war, ja....
- J.F. Who said - remember the ones that were a bit liberal....
- G.M. Ja.
- J.F. And they said : This isn't what we fought for, there should be an end to this kind of discrimination and this kind of....
- G.M. Ja, I heard about the Torch Commando, but I didn't follow it much - I didn't follow it much, ja.
- J.F. So 1945 you went back to Alex, or where did you go when you got your five pounds - where did you go?
- G.M. I went to Sophiatown.
- J.F. Why did you go there?
- G.M. It's a place that was one of my relatives was staying - after demobilisation I didn't like to go to the plot to - to Winterveld, but I went to Sophiatown because I wanted to - I was used to Johannesburg - I wanted to work in Johannesburg.



J.F. And so did you go and live in Sophiatown?

G.M. I left - I went and lived in Sophiatown.

J.F. And were you working?

G.M. Ja.

J.F. What work were you doing?

G.M. I started to work with African Sales Company - they were doing millinery you know....

J.F. Millinery?

G.M. Ja, for ladies hats and cosmetics.

J.F. So is it a factory?

G.M. No, no, it was sort of wholesale - it was a agent for this cosmetic of America - all this nail polish and all the millineries too....

J.F. And did any of these white bosses get impressed that you were an ex-serviceman, that you were - used to be in the army, or did they not care - did it help you to say : I was in the army - or did they not care - they just....

G.M. No, they didn't care - they treat us whether you are in the army or not the same and the same wages, because we are told that when we start to work our wages will be increased by the Springbok Legion - we won't get the thing which is as (?) the people who are at home who never joined the army, but we are getting the same treatment, the same wages and carrying the same pass.

J.F. So the Springbok Legion didn't fulfil its promises?

G.M. No, it didn't fulfil, but it's the government that didn't fulfil its promises.

J.F. So tell me how you - in 1945 you came, you got your five pounds, you went to work, you lived in Sophiatown - how did you hear of the ANC - had you heard of the ANC in your youth, had you heard of it in the army - when did you first hear people speaking?

G.M. I heard the ANC while I was still a youth, but I didn't know Richard Baloil (?) Jume, Dr, Jume (?) - they were calling for meetings and so on, and leaflets were distributed calling people to join, but I - I didn't much notice what is it, but I heard of the ANC, and I heard of the ANC when it says people should not join the army.

J.F. So the ANC said don't join the army?

G.M. Ja, the ANC said don't join the army.

J.F. But you joined anyway?

G.M. I join - I joined (Laugh) because I was just attracted by driving, and I didn't know exactly what the ANC is, because at that time to the ANC was very small - was an organisation of rich people and intellectuals - it was not much of everybody, although in 1944 it changed.

J.F. 1944?

G.M. 1944.



J.F. How did it change in '44?

G.M. It's when they formed the youth league - now at that time the youth were Mandela, Tambo and all these other - they were the youth, and the youth now when they start it become more strong because they were organising everybody - it went militant, but that time I was in the army myself.

J.F. When you heard the ANC saying don't join the army, why do you think they were saying that - did you pay attention?

G.M. No, I didn't pay attention really.

J.F. But then you came back and you heard of the ANC in '45, but did a friend tell you or were there signs in Sophiatown - how did you find....

G.M. I had friends which were ANC members which we are together in the army, and they were organising, but I was not much interested because I was interested in sports, but I usually go to public meetings - in Sophiatown the youth was very strong during that time of '45, 46 - the mine strike, you know, the mine strike - then I started to - to see what the ANC is - I started to see what the ANC is because of the mine strike and other strikes that were going on, public meetings and so on.

Then I was staying in Sophiatown working in town, you see - we come back, there's a strike, we can't get into - go and go to work today - I used to enjoy when they say you are not going to work, people are shot (?) that side - then I feel that now I can take part in fighting this government - they were saying the pass laws are no good and this and this, and when you go to the passport office you have lost your work (?) - you'll find all this thing happening - you queue, you have to undress - of all kind of age you queue naked and so on, and I didn't like that.

Then I start to think that I spent too much time in the army and promised that I'll live a better life than this, but it's worse, you see - in 1950 when the shooting goes on on the strike of (?) (.....) then I started to join the ANC.

J.F. Why did that May Day strike have such an effect on you - did you have friends who were in the strike, or did you know the people who were shot, or how did - where was the strike exactly?

G.M. It was all over South Africa, but mostly I - I had a friend in - I was staying in Pymville now - now during the strike I went to Orlando - there was shelters - it was a - a friend that we are working together - during the weekend he used to do carpentry - now sometime I go and help him - now during the strike of May Day I decided we are not going to work - to go to him, and while I was going back to get my train to - to Pymville from Orlando Station the - the police started to shoot and one person was shot dead - then I got fed up, you know.

I got fed up - I said : But how can they just shoot a person who's unarmed - now all these thing come into my mind - at that time now I said : I'm going to join the ANC - and really the very same week I joined the ANC.

J.F. And when you were getting fed up did you think it - this is a fight against the white people at that stage - was that your idea, I will join....

G.M. Ja, ja....

J.F. .... to beat the whites?



- G.M. Ja, ja, that's right - ja, that's right - at - at that time I said : I'm joining and we are going to raid and beat the whites - that was my mind I was (.....)
- J.F. And what about Coloureds and Indians, what side were they on, did you think?
- G.M. No, no, I never take notice of them, although the Coloureds would sometime tell them that they should join us, but I - I - I never take notice of them, and even the Indians too.
- J.F. Never had friends who were Coloureds and Indians?
- G.M. No, I had friends - I had friends.
- J.F. You didn't at that time?
- G.M. Even at that time I had friends of Indians and Coloureds which I just know.
- J.F. But did you see them as black people supporting you, or did you see them as people who were close to the whites who might sell you out - how did you see them?
- G.M. You see, we - I regarded the Coloureds people as a nation that is in between the whites and the black - I regarded them as my sister's child, but the father being a white man - you see, that's how I regarded - that's how we always talk about the Coloureds - that's why, you know, in Orlando there's a township called (.....) - that's where the Coloureds stay - they were separate - staying separately, and everything that happens in - in - inside Orlando, strike, sometime they go to work - then we used to say they - they are afraid to suborn (?) their fathers, you see, but they're our - our sister's children - we didn't have a - a hatred to them.
- Now the Indian really I didn't care, because there was the Indian - Transvaal Indian Congress, which also was taking part - it was taking part - but the Coloureds they were very weak - they had an organisation but they - it was very weak - I think they had very few people, Sophie Williams and very few - another man who (?) was blind - it's not like now when it's so strong - but we didn't care much about them.
- J.F. What's the name of that place....
- G.M. (.....)
- J.F. How do you spell it?
- G.M. S c h o n s i g h s i g.
- J.F. So then 1950 was the time you joined?
- G.M. I joined the - the ANC.
- J.F. But was it '45 or '50....
- G.M. '50 - '50....
- J.F. After May Day....
- G.M. '45 I was just going to their meeting - I mean '45, all this, '46, '47 I used to go to their meeting, and I had more friends now because I attended the public meeting, but I didn't have a card.



G.M. Some of them thought I'm a member because I used to go to their public meeting, but I didn't have a card....

J.F. You joined - did you go to the office or?

G.M. No, I was organised by a friend - in a public meeting he came, he said : Today I'm bringing your - your card - I paid, then he gave me a card in a public meeting - from there I started to get letters for general members meeting, and in fact I was elected - elected to some committees, since I'm committed (?) from that time - in 1952 I was called upon - I volunteered to go for defiance campaign, but I had a new job - I left that job in - in this place, African Sales - I went to a - a - Lazarus Clothing Manufacturers, and when they started the defiance campaign I was just getting into this new job.

Now the chief volunteer says to me : Because you got a new job, no, work (wait) a bit, we are - we are not going to take you with the batch (?) that was going to go into defiance, so because you are a new man we have left some teachers who were new teachers, so we got plenty people to go, but you can keep on working, we'll call you - but they never called me for defiance campaign.

J.F. So you wanted to be a volunteer?

G.M. I - I was a volunteer - I had everything to go and defy, but I was not called.

J.F. Then what other activities were there after '52 that you were involved with?

G.M. That's a lot of activities (Laugh) - I think all conferences, all national activities and meetings that went into the City Hall, I was there - the bus boycott, I was in their committee, the National Witwatersrand and Pretoria Council, which was the highest committee, running - directing the bus boycott - we are together with Bishop Reeves, and that's when I started to know Bishop Reeves - Bishop Huddleston, I know him for a long time, and Helen Joseph I know for a long time, and Norman Levy, all these I know them.

Then - then we went on - on this bus boycott - I was representing White City Jabavu - then we carried on for three - for three months - we are together in the committee with the present treasurer (?) general, Cde. Nkobi, the present general secretary of ANC, Cde. - this Nzo, and other - most other people were together in the - the bus boycott.

J.F. Was it the Alex bus boycott?

G.M. That's right - ja, it was Alex and Pretoria, Lady Selborne - then after Schoeman went to abroad - when he came to London he heard about this bus boycott, then he said : Cut their money, those who are walking by foot if they come late to work, and don't give them lift - because the Liberal Party was giving the people lift - then we started to organise public (.....) - he said this on Friday - then we started to organise a - a meeting for Sunday - now in Orlando - I was staying (.....) - in Orlando, you see, you have to get a permit at least for seven days, but we used the advisory boards to call a meeting, because they - they got the right to call a meeting - then we told the people that what Schoeman has said, we must now call a sympathy bus boycott in this area to sympathise with our people in - in Alexandra and Lady Selborne in Pretoria.



G.M. Then we had a wonderful support - it was on a Sunday when we called the meeting - we had two meeting, one in Lutuli Square, one in Isaac Mavison (?) Hall, and there was no opposition - no opposition, although some - some of the advisory board members after the meeting went to the people and said : No, don't boycott, don't boycott, why are you boycotting, you are - your fares are not increase here - but the people followed us - there was hundred percent bus boycott.

I got up about three o'clock in the morning to go and see - I saw people walking, up to six o'clock when I went and wash (watch) and go to work myself - I was in that committee until the end of the bus boycott.

J.F. '55?

G.M. No, no, there's (.....) it's '57 - the treason trial started in '56, December, then '57 the bus boycott.

J.F. Tell me, you said you didn't have much to do with Coloureds or Indians or whites and suddenly you mention Huddleston, Reeves, Norman Levy - how did you go from being a person who didn't know much about whites to accepting these....

G.M. No, no, no, it's not (?) before - I'm talking about before I become a member of the ANC - when I was in the ANC then I started to see them, then I definitely accept them.

J.F. But what was that process like - were you a bit surprised when you first saw them - do you remember when you first saw Norman Levy or Helen Joseph did you - was it so simple to just say : Oh, there they are, the whites are supporting us - or what was it like for you first to understand that there were whites who....

G.M. No, there was a explanation that....

J.F. What was the explanation?

G.M. .... that we got was that (.....) are supporting us - that we've got whites that will be with us - with us in the struggle, and (.....) I don't know who, somebody - it was this (.....) in Orlando where a white man, a Scot, Reverend Scott, he went and stayed there with the blacks....

J.F. The what in Orlando?

G.M. The shanty town - you know, the (.....) - these shelters - you know, people just go and build bags (?) like tents homes, because they were tired they didn't get houses, you see - then one white man went and stayed there - I just forget his name - Rev. Scott....

J.F. Michael Scott?

G.M. Michael Scott, ja, went and stayed with them there - and as we go on Huddleston, they were addressing meetings and so on - I saw them myself personally, and I started to - to understand - other people explained to me our struggle, that we are not a racialist group - we are fighting apartheid, we can't be - have another apartheid - although for the first - for the first I said : No, but they don't know what (why) they are fighting - because I thought that we are fighting the white people, you see, but I accept it.



G.M. When I see these Norman Levy (?) in SACTO, all these other place - because I was also a trade unionist.....

END OF SIDE ONE.

G.M. .... I - I started to see when I see all these whites now in the struggle, working together with Bishop Reeves and so on, Helen Joseph and other people - then I started to see that it - it's a correct thing because we - we must unite ourselves because even the government is using the blacks to come and arrest us, you see, and the blacks to come and get information from us - why should we say the whites should not be with us - so that's how I - I accepted the whites - although there was groups like what we call Africanist, which is a PAC now, which they were advocating that we should not have nothing to do with other racial group - then I come to accept the whites.

J.F. Were there some of these Africanists in your area?

G.M. Yes, yes - yes, there were.

J.F. And did you ever argue with them or did you ever speak to them?

G.M. A lot - a lot - a lot - we - we have argued because we - we are together in the ANC, you see, but well, they were toeing (?) another line, then we - we - we argue with them.

J.F. Were you in the youth league of the ANC?

G.M. No, not at all, because when I joined in 1950 I was already (Laugh) big - old, so I didn't go to the youth - I just started on the mother body.

J.F. Why did you argue with those Africanist people - why didn't you support their line - what made you to argue with them?

G.M. Because I felt their line was wrong that we should have nothing to do with other racials group.

J.F. Why did you think it was wrong?

G.M. Because it supports apartheid - why should we fight apartheid while you yourself you want apartheid - I believe that we cannot just - it's not a matter of moving a white person and replacing him with a black (.....) that's all, but I thought a non-racial society where everybody lives together and enjoy the wealth of the country is better - it will be a better society, it will be a peaceful society, because it ends hatreds among people, you see.

J.F. And why did you think those Africanists were pushing that line - what made them to be anti-white, anti-Coloured, anti-Indian - what do you think was the reason - you remember some of the people that you were speaking with who were pushing an Africanist line - why - how are they different than you - why didn't they see....



- G.M. No, they - their line they said that Africa belongs to African and we can never have any other person who can come and govern this country without Africa - African, and by accepting the whites we mean that this what will (?) remain in their position even if we take over, and they, their argument varies (?) from time to time, and sometime they go to say it's because we think that we can't think for ourself, it's the whites that will think for you in our struggle, and they think that the whites will never take a positive action against other whites, you see - that's how they think, their argument.
- J.F. But you disagreed with that?
- G.M. I disagree - I disagree totally.
- J.F. What about those whites from the Liberal Party who were providing lifts for people....
- G.M. During the bus boycott....
- J.F. Did you see a difference between the Liberals and the Congress of Democrat whites, or did you - did you see any difference between those whites who were liberal whites and those whites who were congress whites?
- G.M. You see, the Congress of Democrats it was mixed membership - it was those who were communist and those who are non-communist like Helen Joseph, so you can't just (Laugh) make (?) the difference there - I don't know.
- J.F. But Helen Joseph, she's not a communist, but she's not a liberal either, she's - she never was in the Liberal Party....
- G.M. No, she's not in the Liberal Party - you mean with the Liberal Party?
- J.F. Yes, the liberals who....
- G.M. No, the Liberal Party I look at them - you see, we - we used to analyse them that are people who in fact have small businesses (Laugh) - now their custom are the blacks mostly, because some of them they got second hand clothing shop, little shoemaker there and their (?) fish and chips - their customs (customers) mostly are - are - some of them are lawyers who in fact defend the - the African - now they want to show themself (?) to associate themself with the Africans because they know that they'll popularise their businesses - that's how I look at it - that's how I look at it - not now - now I'm looking at it at a different angle.
- J.F. How is it different now?
- G.M. Now - now - you see, now I - I - I feel they are very honest - they are honest of what they are saying what they want to do, because now they say now if they take over - if they take over then they'll - their vote, it won't only be - you know, that time they used to say this thing - they used to say : If you become a member of the Liberal Party you should have matric - should have passed matric, or have a - an - a property worth 300 pounds, you see, which is difficult for Africans to have those thing, and even matrics they - there were very few that time in the qualification, (.....) qualification, but now I don't think so.
- J.F. So it was a qualified franchise?
- G.M. Ja, ja, ja.



- J.F. And the advisory board that was breaking the strike, is that a white or black....
- G.M. Black, black, black - advisory board is black, not white.
- J.F. So do you think the fact that you saw blacks who were sell-outs in police and advisory board, did that help you become non-racial?
- G.M. Very much - much (?) - much (?)
- J.F. How so - can you explain that?
- G.M. No, you see, I - I saw the whites, the ruling whites, you know, they use our own brothers, our own African to come and arrest us and to get information from us and pass it over to them, and the police are in uniform paid - now the whites who want to help us here - at certain place you can't walk at night and deliver leaflets without having a pass, but these white men can go and deliver a leaflet, and if he's coming to our side why should we discriminate him and say we don't want him because of his colour - that's how I believed.
- J.F. So you thought it was pretty good that whites on your side could make use of their privilege....
- G.M. Yes, to - to the struggle - to the struggle, accepting them as really members and friends of ours, a member of the organisation, although the membership was not open that time for a white man to become a member of the ANC - it's either he belong to the Congress of Democrats or to the trades union.
- J.F. And what about the Coloureds and Indians....
- G.M. No, the - the Indian Congress was there.
- J.F. But your attitude, you told me how you felt initially - you were not interested in the Coloureds and Indians....
- G.M. Ja, ja....
- J.F. In the '50s with the Congress Alliance did you change a bit - did you have more contact with Coloureds and Indians, or did you have any - did you think they still were weak?
- G.M. No, you know, when we were doing campaign for the Freedom Charter, which started in 1954 when I practically went on (?) - then the Freedom Charter says South Africa belong to all who live in it - then we went in (?) - before the Freedom Charter was really a Freedom Charter we are wenting (?) house to house asking people their opinion, because at that time too, you see, the Africanist within the ANC, this PAC, they were rejecting any racial group to be associated with the ANC - even during the bus boycott they didn't want Bishop Reeves to come to us and discuss about the bus boycott, and they didn't want this member of parliament who was in Springs which we always meet and discuss with him about the bus boycott, and we had Berman, Mr. Berman - they didn't like those people, you see.

Now they were pushing a line that we must carry out the bus boycott into a revolution - it should not stop - then we said : The people are tired - when the people are tired they should not break the struggle by themselves and start going to the buses - and we say we are leading them - if we are leading them we must call them off so we can use them for the other time.



G.M. But they were saying it should go up to a revolution - the people should not go back to the buses - now the, you know - these differences which were there with the PAC and so on, and we had these friends of ours, Bishop Reeves and also (?) siding with us on the same thing.

I remember the - the day that the bu - the people, they must go back to the buses - there were three meeting in - because in - in sympathy we couldn't (?) - there were three meeting in - in Alexandra - one of them it was Number Six Square (?) where it was addressed by Madzunya Nkonyani and so on....

J.F. Madzunya the Africanist?

G.M. Ja, the Africanist - he was in the Liberal Party.

J.F. An African in the Liberal Party?

G.M. Ja, in the - the Liberal Party was taking, as I say, on qualifications at that time - he was in the Liberal Party - and most of the audience that were addressing it's people who were moving with bicycle - we used to call them Sjambok Group, because they could ride the bicycle early in the morning and stop at the bus stop - anybody come taking chance to get into the bus they sjambok him (Laugh) - now they were addressing such people.

Now these other two stadium, there - they were addressing people who really (.....) to walking to work and back - now these two places vote to go back to the buses, and this other group with the - vote with the bus leaving the papers (?) - they say : No, (.....) we are not going back to the buses - influenced by this (.....)

Now what happened, at twelve o'clock we had a meeting arguing - Madzunya Nkonyani saying that they don't agree with the people that are going back to the buses, because their meeting vote for Azikwela - then we said (?) two big meetings voted for to go back to the buses - now - now we - the government wanted if we are going to be divided there's going to be a fight, because he couldn't ban meetings in Alexandra - when there is a fight that (?) blood is shed, then he was able to ban the meeting - then we explain this to them, but they remain stubborn and saying : We are not going back to the buses tomorrow.

Bishop Reeves was there and he said : Look, the buses are leaving Pretoria now, and they'll be here to come and pick up the people, and the people that voted to go back to the buses will enter the buses, and those who are not going to go back to the buses they are going to fight them - you as leaders, what do you say, because we must have a unif - if we are not going back to the buses let's everybody stay - if we are going back to the buses let everybody goes in (?) - and we said : The only thing is that the people who voted to go back to the buses are in majority, and we accept that they should go back to the buses - they stay stubborn, but they were unfortunately very much disappointed because everybody went to the buses and there was no problem.

J.F. Everybody went?

G.M. Went to the buses - only in Pretoria there was a problem.



- G.M. They didn't go back to the buses because they were not covered by the scheme - the Chamber of Commerce was - was paying the increase pennies (?) - the Chamber of Commerce was paying the increase pennies, so the people remain to pay their - but that scheme did not cover Pretoria.
- J.F. So they didn't want to go back?
- G.M. Ja, so Sophiatown and Alexandra went back, but Pretoria was not covered, so we didn't know - we in the sympathy bus boycott, we remain boycotting because we wanted to cover Pretoria.
- J.F. In a sympathy?
- G.M. Ja, in sympathy - we were - we were boycotting for sympathy only then until PUTCO was taken out of Lady Selborne - there was fights and people were shot there, and PUTCO was taken off, then we call off the strike - we actually stopped - even today, well (?) PUTCO - until Lady Selborne was moved - PUTCO never enter Lady Selborne.
- J.F. So you wanted to end the bus boycott because there had been a concession from the bus companies from the city - they had made - they had said that they - I'm just trying to understand why you were arguing to go back to the buses - had you won?
- G.M. You see, what was happening is that the Chamber of Commerce agreed to pay the difference, they increased five cents....
- J.F. So you had won in?
- G.M. Ja, we have won, ja (Laugh)
- J.F. And why do you think it was that those people said - the Africanists said : Oh, on to revolution - do you think it was immaturity or a greater commitment or....
- G.M. No, it - it was - it's not a greater commitment and it's not majority - I think it's just anarchy because they just wanted to - to find themselves - people getting to be shot - they had nothing to offer for revolution.
- J.F. And this - was Madzunya sharing a platform with Nkonyani - was he the same side?
- G.M. Ja, same side.
- J.F. With a liberal?
- G.M. Ja, same side all the time.
- J.F. So did you ever point out - did you ever think that was important to note that the Africanists were with the Liberal Party black, that Madzunya was with Nkonyani - politically it's quite interesting that Africanist is together with liberal?
- G.M. Ja, a black what?
- J.F. A black (.....) - still he's a liberal, right?
- G.M. Ja, he's a liberal, because he belonged to the Liberal Party, as far as I - the information I got - he was not in the Africanist, but he was in the - there was a man, white man called Schwartz - he's a liberal.



- J.F. A white man called Schwartz?
- G.M. Swart - he was the man who's in the same party with Nkonyani.
- J.F. But I'm still interested as to whether you pushed them on that issue - did you ever say to them : What are you doing with Nkonyani, he's a liberal - or did you ever....
- G.M. No, no, no, we didn't - we just bundle them together as one thing and forget to ask why is Nkonyani there and so on.
- J.F. But do you think the Africanists were a bit liberal?
- G.M. No, they were - they were extreme what you call - anti-other racialist - they were not liberals.
- J.F. Because some people say that the Africanists were actually close to the liberals and that they were so anti-communist and they didn't have any clear understanding of the role of the working class - that kind of thing.
- G.M. Ja, they were very much anti-communist.
- J.F. Why were they anti-communist - if you think back to the people you knew, where did that come from - why should African people be anti-communist - where was that from?
- G.M. Really I don't know, because even the white liberals, like the former - son of the former governor of South Africa, (.....) Duncan....
- J.F. Patrick Duncan?
- G.M. Duncan, ja, Patrick Duncan, he - he was anti-communist, but he was banned under the red - he was banned as a communist (Laugh) - he was banned as a communist - he was banned under the Red Act, and they run away to Lesotho - he went to Algeria.
- J.F. Under the what act?
- G.M. The Red Act.
- J.F. The Suppression of Communism Act?
- G.M. The Suppression of Communist Act - I was banned under that too - I'm not a communist, but I was banned under that - so in South Africa really what it mean communist.
- J.F. You were banned under it?
- G.M. Ja, I was banned under that too, the Red Act, Suppression of Communist Act - for five years I - I - I was told to report three times a week at the police station and not to work in any enterprise like a factory, or where they are printing, and not to talk to any school child except my own child, you see.
- J.F. What year was that?
- G.M. '64.
- J.F. You were banned in '64?
- G.M. In '64, January.
- J.F. Before that were you ever arrested or detained or?



G.M. Yes, I was detained for the 90 days detention in 1963.

J.F. In '63?

G.M. Ja.

J.F. Was that the first time you were detained?

G.M. Ja, detained under the 90 days detention.

J.F. Let me wait for '63 for a second and ask you - I think it's more understandable that whites are anti-communist because it's part of (.....) - it's part of a fear of the majority, but why do you think those PAC people, those Africanist people even before the PAC, why were they anti-communist?

G.M. You know, when you look at the whole formation of PAC when it was formed, it's formed in van Brandis Street at American Information Centre, so they are formed by America because they believe the ANC it's a communist party, you see - the - the ANC is almost communist inclined, you see - that's how they look at it, because the ANC's never anti-communist, never - up to now it's not anti-communist, you see - now they - I think they look at that and they influence these people to be anti-communist.

J.F. What about your own views on communism?

G.M. Well, I'm not a communist, and I don't hate communists - I think at present that we are (?) here now fighting - we are fighting the same enemy against racialist and fascism, and I think to be allies with the communists, because they are prepared to fight, let's go in - I - I'm not anti and I don't want to say whether I'll be anti-communist in a long run, I don't know, but at present I've got no anti-communist at all since - since - since I know about communist Dr. Dadoo and all these - Joe Slovo, I've - I've no - J.B. Marks, Moses Kotane and all these, I - I've never grown anti-communist.

J.F. Did you know some of those people - which CP people have you known - had you ever worked with them in campaigns?

G.M. J.B. Marks was the leader of the 1946 mine strike - Moses Kotane, he was the - they are both member of the national executive, and outside they become treasury - Moses Kotane was the treasurer of the ANC, general treasury.

J.F. But did you know them personally?

G.M. Yes, I know them....

J.F. You worked with them?

G.M. Yes, yes, but it's - one thing is that I worked with J.B., I worked with Kotane - like O.R. Tambo they are not communist - O.R. Tambo, Mandela, I've worked with them - many, many other leaders - as I say, I was with the general secretary, now the present general secretary, Nkobi, in the bus boycotts committee, but they are not communist - I mean J.B. was a communist and Kotane was a communist, but Kotane always says when he address the ANC cadres, he says : Those who think they are communist - those who think they are communist with - here in the ANC, they should not discuss their communist politics with the ANC - they must discuss ANC politics, or else they must get out from the ANC - that's Kotane every time he addressed, because this thing we saw (?) division - we saw division, see.



G.M. The idea is to push the fascist out.

J.F. With all forces?

G.M. With all forces that are interested.

J.F. And you said also that you were a trade unionist - what trade union were you in?

G.M. Well, I was - my last place of work is - it was the United Tobacco, and I belong to the African Tobacco Workers Union - after detention then I left working - my colleagues in the factory, the factory committee let me to be an organising secretary - then when I was the organising secretary they - the SACTU group said I must organise General Workers Union to form new unions and specialise in my Tobacco Workers Union, but I couldn't last four months - I was banned and I left the country.

J.F. You mean you mustn't specialise any more, you must move to general?

G.M. Ja - no, I was organising general - you know, organise unorganised workers, and form that industry when I've got membership in that industry in many places, in Natal, Cape Free State, if it's to our - if it's something iron, steel or any other, just for example - then I form them into a trade union and affiliate to SACTU.

J.F. So was the Tobacco Workers a SACTU union?

G.M. Ja, ja.

J.F. When did you first join SACTU?

G.M. SACTU I joined SACTU by helping the iron and steel while I was working in Tobacco.

J.F. So what year was that that you joined SACTU?

G.M. 1960, when the ANC was banned.

J.F. But SACTU wasn't....

G.M. SACTU it's never banned.

J.F. You carried on with SACTU?

G.M. Ja, ja, but I was working carrying on with SACTU - I was executive member of the Iron and Steel.

J.F. Iron and Steel Workers....

G.M. Union, ja.

J.F. And what about the role of the workers in the struggle - did you ever worry that with all the talk of non-racialism there'd be whites in (?) and there wouldn't be workers represented, that someone like Norman Levy couldn't represent the interests of the working class because his position wasn't a working class position - how about that whole issue of the workers role in the struggle as the leader?



G.M. Really we did not discuss much about that, but we said we organise all the working class, all the factories, all the workers, in order that (.....) we put them into a progressive trade union, and we could like to have the whites, Coloureds, Indian, so (?) the trade union there is divided in racial group by the government itself in - in - in - in Tobacco we had women trade union working in the same factory - Coloureds trade union, Indians trade union, African trade union and African women trade union working in the same factory - but we look at this that the bosses were doing this purposely that we should not unite - if we want to call for a strike, then the other one say : No, I belong to the Coloured trade union, we are - our trade union (.....) - and we can't be unite, so -

And one day we tested - we organised a strike in - in - in U - Ut - UTH, United Tobacco - in lunch time (?) we had a meeting - we contact the Coloureds group, contact the Indian - were very, very few - we contact the women, and say when we getting only their leaders you tell your people they don't start the machine until our demand is met - and it was a first class unity and the - the - the bosses were frightened, see - they wanted to know how did this thing start - immediately they come and promise - they sent - sent about two people, carry on work, we discuss - when the people come there was an increment - that's why they're afraid of unity of the workers - that's how we discussed these things, that we must bring together all the racial group so when we strike, once and for all we win our - what we need.

J.F. But how was it actually organising workers that were not African - did you organise Coloured workers or Indian workers....

G.M. Yes, yes - we had Coloured workers who actually are - they are not happy to have their own trade union alone there - we had the African women also who were not happy to have their trade - to trade - trade union by themselves - now you look at these people how it - it comes that you find in this section of nationality that it's people who wants to come together - you look at them, you find some of them belong to the Coloured People's Organisation, as it was called that time, some of them, women's section, they belong to the ANC, and the men too - I was belonging to the ANC with other colleagues of mine who were working there.

So being politician we are able to organise these other people and show them the light - how can we make use of our - if - our demand - we should not be divided.

J.F. So you - that's how you argued to them - you said : It's stupid for you to be by yourself - what did the Coloureds say if they didn't want to be in that union by themselves - what was their argument?

G.M. Their argument is that there are not many in the factory and they can't go it alone, and we are showing them, and they were also saying this : We must be together - in fact in every strike we always strike together.

J.F. Unity is strength?

G.M. Ja, we always strike together.

J.F. Did you ever speak to them about non-racialism - would you ever say : Look, it's not only that it's not a good tactic but it's also not a clear politics - or did you not talk that way - would you ever say : The future South Africa mustn't be separating the races, Coloureds must join us because non-racialism is important - would you ever have used the word non-racialism?



G.M. No, no, I won't tell lie (?) - I never use it, but I always - always use the language that of unity, and use the Freedom Charter after it was implemented in 1955 - the clause that South Africa belong to everybody and both black and white - I mean I was discussing with the - the white ladies which were working together - he was our supervisor there - I used to organise....

J.F. The white ladies?

G.M. The white ladies - I used to organise her, and she - she agreed, but she says : Look, you are better off - if I strike the government it's going to shoot me - even during the election of 1953 - '63 - I think it's '53, I talked to one when he was going to (.....) I say : Which government are you going to elect - he says : Look, I'm a Afrikaaner - although I drink a black coffee with no sugar, I can't go against them, otherwise they will kill me - I must just go and vote because they are - they - the government is Afrikaaner, not because I'm getting anything better - Mrs. Koos - you see.

We organise others who, you know, these who are sitting when - oh, you don't know South Africa (Laugh) - when there's railway trucks delivering - there's some white man (men), Afrikaaner sitting behind there watching the goods here - when we are going to strike we used to tell them : If you are not going to - are you going to work tomorrow - he says no - said : No, you must stay at home - then they say : Yes, but we can't stay at home - they got one reason that they are going to be shot - they are not allowed to strike as whites, because they'll be going against their government, you see, but they were too happy that if you get increase we know we are going to get it too, double - we support you but we can't go out in support - this poor Afrikaaner - this poor Afrikaaner - the only thing is the law that was stopping them.

That's why even today I - I - I - I know because I've spoken to people who were very backward, the whites, and who didn't understand about politic but they were supporting our cause because they feel it's correct - the never go against this, unless it's a policeman, and this rich - this rich one, well (Laugh) you can't talk to them like that, you see, because they believe in having servants working there.

J.F. So you mean you think you have faith in the white workers in South Africa?

G.M. Definite - definite, although not all, but I have faith - but now - now I think it's more - it's more now, because - ja, more - I have more faith than before - I had faith but now it's more, because now they are politicised they can see what is happening, you see.

J.F. What about....

G.M. Because before the - there was those who says the black man is a black man, I don't care what - he's educated or not, but it's a black man, I can't associate myself with him - there were those who were saying that - there were those which we worked together, he invites you to go to his house, he drink with the same cup, as long the policeman doesn't come, or a friend or a relative he doesn't visit - but when we are sitting there with two and his families (?) he doesn't regard you as a black.

J.F. What were you sitting there for, for politics or just?



G.M. No, no, no - you know, in South Africa we started to get - to - to be allowed to buy drinks like beer, brandy and wine in 1962, October - all the time we are banned (?) as black men - well, I come from (?) - and I had some permit which I can get one bottle of - of brandy and wine (?) and two beers a month, you see - now in order, if you got a party you want these drinks, you create a white friend - then you go to him, he goes and buys at the bottle store and gives it to you, you dodge (?) the police and go home.

Sometimes he invites you to come and sit down and you drink together, you see.

J.F. So the whites would buy for you - they didn't mind?

G.M. No, no - not politician - I'm not talking about politician, I'm talking about ordinary Afrikaaner who stays in Jeppe - Mayfair, Jeppe - poor ones - and they used to come to Sophiatown and buy our African drinks there and go and drink there, or sometimes sit with us and drink, as long the policeman does not come there and arrest them.

J.F. Why did they want to buy drinks from Sophiatown?

G.M. The African one, you see....

J.F. They liked it?

G.M. They liked it, ja, and it's cheaper (Laugh) - because they stay in this Jeppe, Mayfair hostel (?) towns.

J.F. But what about the fact that some of these white workers are the ones that are (.....) and they're beating up blacks and some of the white workers who are quite racist....

G.M. Ja, some, some....

J.F. You look at Terblanche....

G.M. That's right, some - there some - some of them they've beat me up too in what they called hostel (?) when you go to Sophiatown, but some of them, you see, they are young policemen - when they get home they take off their uniform, they start to hit black men in the streets - it's group of hooligans, not the very much responsible people - there's a group of hooligans, as anywhere you find them - anywhere you find them - although I don't say the majority of whites they used to do this - some of them they were just neutral, you know.

J.F. But you're saying that the whites would support if blacks went out on strike - let me understand - you're saying they're saying it's because it's correct - do you mean they're saying it's because it's just, it's because it's a morally right, or is it because if you guys start - the black guys start striking then you'll beat the bosses, and then the whites will help and then you can beat the bosses - what's the reason - I'm just wondering when you said they support us because it's correct - I'm confused at why.

G.M. No, it - they are not politician, these people, so they don't know much of this other thing, but they support us because they - if we win for increase they are going to get double themselves - that's how they support, nothing - I don't know any political motivation behind them, but they do such talk (?) to them really, they are just supporting because - like the one I tell you, Mrs. Koos, who said : I'm going to vote for the Nationalist Party because it's an Afrikaaners and I stay among them - I'm an Afrikaaner myself.



- G.M. If I vote for anybody I won't sleep me (?) in my house, although I'm drinking a black coffee with no sugar, because I have nothing....
- J.F. Although I'm poor?
- G.M. Ja, ja, it - it means the government doesn't help me at all - Ek drink swaart koffie sonder suiker (Laugh) - I'm drinking a black coffee without sugar - I can't afford to buy sugar - it means the government is doing nothing for them - it's taxing them more - that's what she meant - but all the others they were just happy when we tell them - when I tell them, those who I spoke to them, because they know if we win they are going to gain, but they can't strike because they are going to be shot - it's treason for them.
- J.F. But did they ever support you because they didn't like to see black people oppressed or did they - were they happy to see you being badly treated?
- G.M. I say these people that I'm - I talk to they are not politician - they don't know whether they are oppressed or we are not oppressed - they - they look at an - a black man as an inferior person by birth and that that is God's will that he must be inferior, and they look at their own suffering, you see, as poor people - they look at their own suffering and say : If this man can get to that step I'll go two steps up - that's why they support to our struggle - not exactly that they see that we are oppressed or not, they might, those who are politicians, but those are stopped (?) and they're ordinary people - ordinary Afrikaaner.
- J.F. And what about the current whites - you really have faith that the white working class of South Africa will support the ANC when it takes over?
- G.M. Ja, ja, definite.
- J.F. Why do you think they will?
- G.M. I think they are tired of their own government - I mean now present time - they are tired of being told lies that these people who want freedom they are communists - they know that we are South African and we have grown up in South Africa and we were not communist - because they think that a commun - you know, they don't understand even what is a communist - they think a communist is a person that come from the Soviet Union - people that is given guns to shoot everybody - people who doesn't like church, who doesn't like this, people who - the way the propaganda they are given - people who just, when you find somebody having some money, takes away that money and, you know, people who are terrorists really, who have no respect to human lives and all this other thing.
- Nowadays they understand - nowadays most of them they understand that, you know, these people are not communist - I think they understand that a communist too is a human being.
- J.F. One other thing about the '50s, and then I'd like to ask you more about the '60s, is lots of times people who are writing about the '50s say : You must remember the lessons of the '50s about SACTU, that the ANC and SACTU.....(Interruption.)

END OF SIDE TWO.



- J.F. There was the - there were people who say that the problem with SACTU was it got involved with the ANC's politics and that was bad for the trade union movement, and they say the lessons of the '50s was that SACTU shouldn't have gotten involved and therefore FOSATU or even COSATU should stay distant from community struggles - from your perception of working and organising in the townships, but also being a worker, when you were in the unions did you ever think it would just save you, you wouldn't have as much police harassment if you stayed a bit away from the ANC or you didn't pick up on a struggle in the townships?
- G.M. You see, I believed a trade union - a trade union is not only fighting for bread and butter - I believe that the people who are suffering are those people who are working - specially in South Africa because they are put away very far from their working place, and the money that they get they pay the for train fare, rent, and very little for food, and so if they can get away they fight, join the - a movement like the ANC - it's better for them that they fight to have a better government, that they - as workers they'll choose to stay closer to their place of work so they don't have to spend so much money.
- It's 12 miles from Johannesburg to Soweto and you pay - you must go there by train or if you late (?) you take a taxi, and the money that you earn it's very little, and so I believed fully that the workers should participate fully in the - their country's politics.
- J.F. Even if it meant that they - the union might be smashed?
- G.M. Well, you can't do otherwise, you can't hide - if you want to save the union the union it - it will remain where it is - it won't be something that will be fighting for the workers, because if you're afraid that it's going to smash, you're only the secretariat of the union or (?) who the people who are full time (?) will gain because the workers don't pay their (Laugh) annual monies and you pay yourself, but the workers they will never improve.
- In the first place, if they don't participate in the politics of the country, they've got no right to strike - it's against the government.
- J.F. What about when the PAC was formed in 1959, do you remember....
- G.M. Ja, I was there....
- J.F. Can you tell me a bit about what your view of that was?
- G.M. I was there - I was one of the delegates....
- J.F. At what?
- G.M. At the meeting, the conference that they break away.
- J.F. When they left?
- G.M. Ja, ja.
- J.F. So tell me a bit about it - that was when - that was in - when....
- G.M. In Orlando Communion (?) Hall.
- J.F. In 1959?



G.M. '59 - the conference started on Saturday.

J.F. What month was it?

G.M. It was I think June - not too sure of the month, because the next day it was - no, it was October, somewhere there, because it was hot - because the only national leaders it was Tambo and - and - Tambo was the general secretary and Chief Lutuli - all the others they were in the prisoner - treason trial - they were banned, and those who were not in the treason trial they were banned - they could not attend any gathering.

Now when the delegates came then started - the fight started inside the - the hall - it was free for all - nobody knows who's fighting who....

J.F. A physical fight?

G.M. Physical fight - it took about two hours - we are just fighting one another inside, you see - later it was controlled, you see, by Lutuli and Tambo because they were - the two of them were there - it was controlled - then we started to see that these people they are on something - they started to condemn the Freedom Charter, they started to call the - the - the leaders - Lutuli as a sell-out who wants Indian, whites into the organisation - he's selling the struggle of the African people - they were saying lot of things there, and we saw them, look they - they were armed with (?) Madzunya and others - Peter - Peter Moeloetsi and the other Peter other surname (?) they were in forefront, and Sobukwe we see (?) was always pushed to toe their line - as I look at him he was not toeing the line, but they was forcing - as a university lecturer they knew they will capture the students there.

I don't know whether he was with them, but at that conference I saw him - they were always going to him saying : Look, look, look - I think they were promising that we are going to make you a president - it went on until midnight, then it was closed - we all went away to our places - the next morning we came back very organised, the ANC, very, very organised - we got a group that stands outside the door, all the other - I was a delegate - I didn't go in - I volunteer to - to guard - all the other delegates went inside the - the hall - the conference went on.

And when they came, first there was a policeman, a special branch man, who discussed like one of the PAC, then you....

J.F. (.....)

G.M. Ja, you got a blanket on - there were lot of special branch standing outside the fence, whites and black - then when he was coming our volunteers stop him - then he keep on coming, they beat him up - he went back to his bosses (?) bleeding and his bosses told him : What do you want, don't you see these people are fighting (Laugh) - what do you want there, they (.....) - not the Boers, they don't care - then he went away.

Then they came - Rasata (?) came with a letter....

J.F. Who did?

G.M. Rosetta came with a letter....

J.F. Rosetta - how do you spell that?



G.M. R o s e t t - Rosett....

J.F. Was that a - who....

G.M. PAC - then they came with a letter - they ask for an excuse that they should deliver this letter to O.R. (?) - then we gave them the chance, open the door, they deliver the letter, and their letter was saying that they are breaking away from the ANC, they are going to form their own organisation with its men will be (?) Pan African Congress and - you see, that time it was a Pan African conference in Ghana, so they named after that conference - and they march away - it's how they break away.

They were anti-communist, anti-racial - I mean they were anti everything - but when they come outside in 1960 then they were associated with China - China's a communist country, and they started to say now they are communist - even Patrick Duncan came out and they were getting their training in China, which is a communist country, and they were no more against communist, you see - and what we did - what the - the leadership did, because of the Sharpeville issue, outside they - they didn't know how that thing happened - they thought that PAC it's the most strongest organisation, well organised, and they recognised it so fast, and the ANC's voice was very low - that's why O.R. Tambo was elected to come out and fight this thing.

Now when he comes out then they form a joint representative, a committee of PAC and ANC, but the ANC only formed that committee to order to waken (?) up these PACs - it was not a unity - to find out what actually they - what is these people, because the - Nkrumah, everybody, PAC was very high (?)

J.F. Was very what?

G.M. Very, very, you know, something that....

J.F. Regarded?

G.M. Ja, as a (?) very revolutionary organisation - after that it just died and we disintegrate from them - they were standing on the platform shouting against the ANC - whatever they address is nothing against the regime - they were shouting the ANC, but the ANC was prepared not to answer back.

J.F. When?

G.M. The - the '60s outside there - '64, '65, '63, so on.

J.F. What about when you were inside the country after they were formed - what did - did you see people going to join them, did you worry about it?

G.M. No, we - we are not worried even the first strike of Sharpeville, because what happened, the ANC was preparing for the 31st. March to burn (?) the buses, because all this planning they were inside the ANC and holding positions in - in - inside the ANC - they knew what is going to happen - when they break away they want to take over and they become their leaders - now what they did in Sharpeville now they call the people to come and see the end of the buses - when the people were gathered there the police just got frightened and start firing to the people, you see, and they went to jail and come back with their passes (?)



- G.M. And that have pushed them to be known outside, but inside was nothing, because in Johannesburg there was no strike many town (?) - it was only Sharpeville, and it was supported to (.....) Stanley Nkosi who used the (.....) and....
- J.F. The what?
- G.M. Stanley Nkosi.
- J.F. He used the what?
- G.M. (.....) - we had some radios that you don't (.....) like radio station (.....) which we will just pay five shilling a month, they put it in the house, they play music there, and time (?) of music, even the news that they like - now Stanley Nkosi was working in that, so he publicised the stay-away of PAC the next day.
- J.F. Was he working for the SABC?
- G.M. Ja.
- J.F. So the SABC publicised it?
- G.M. Ja.
- J.F. On Radio Bantu?
- G.M. Ja, - no, the - ja, on Radio Bantu - now the people they thought hey, this thing is big, you see, but all those people were organised by the ANC, but they knew - in Johannesburg absolutely nothing happened - I went to work in the morning, I find people that - some people were taken off from the buses - now when I get in the morning I saw these boys, I saw these PAC - they came to me, I say : I'm not striking - I'm not striking - now they say - other people say : No, this the ANC we want - these are the people who are going with the whites - that's what (.....) the really people that we want, you see - and from that time they - there was no strike.
- But because of Sharpeville and Langa, you see, the situation really changed - in Johannesburg immediately they suspended the pass laws - immediately they suspended the pass laws - after suspending the pass laws, because the ANC was prepared to - to burn the passes on the 31st., then they said that so that (?) they don't be (?) too much behind - then on the 28th. they also burned the passes - we burned the passes all over - all over we burned the passes, and that's how 1960 comes about - then after that the - the banning of the ANC and the PAC same time.
- J.F.
- J.F. But the passes were just temporarily banned, right?
- G.M. The passes - ja, we burned them - we wanted to burn them but....
- J.F. Oh, burning....
- G.M. Ja, burning them, but the PAC didn't burn the passes - the PAC took the passes with them to jail.
- J.F. So what was the thing called, Radiovision - how do you spell that?
- G.M. R e d u f i s s i o n - it's a radio that you don't control yourself, but you can switch it off, but you just switch it on - it starts at six, it ends at ten.
- J.F. Where is it - where was it....



G.M. It was in Soweto.

J.F. In the houses?

G.M. In the houses, but you apply for it - you pay five shilling, and you pay five shilling a month - they put it in your house.

J.F. So was it SABC propaganda?

G.M. Ja, was SABC propoganda.

J.F. And what was this Stanley Nkosi....

G.M. He was working there - he was employed there.

J.F. So he was actually PAC?

G.M. He was PAC.

J.F. Were there no ANC people on Redifussion?

G.M. No, they didn't have them at that time - there was a PAC, and it - it was not in its programme to - to - to - to do that, but it did it out - out of its own, and he was sacked afterwards.

J.F. So then in 1960 were you arrested - were you - during the emergency?

G.M. No, I didn't sleep at home at all.

J.F. You went underground?

G.M. No, I was underground - they came twice in my house but they didn't find me.

J,F. And are you married?

G.M. Yes.

J.F. Were you married then?

G.M. Yes.

J.F. And do you have kids?

G.M. Yes, my first child is born 1950.

J.F. And how many kids do you have?

G.M. I had five, but the other one is murdered in 1979.

J.F. In South Africa?

G.M. In South Africa, in Soweto.

J.F. By who - was....

G.M. By the other who left - the other young boys - it was a party - it was stabbed (?) in the party.

J.F. And are the other ones in South Africa?

G.M. Ja, I've got two in South Africa - the other one it's a nurse, the other one it's a driver, and I've got two outside - the other one it's a - it's in Mazimbu in the school.



J.F. So you left your family and went underground then?

G.M. Yes, in 1960 (?) before I (?) - I left and I went underground, but what happened, I went underground and came here - at that time it was...

J.F. Came here?

G.M. You mean 1960?

J.F. 1960....

G.M. No, I went underground - I was in the township sleeping there and there and there and there, and going to work every day.

J.F. And then how long did you have to sleep away from home?

G.M. Until the state of emergency was lifted.

J.F. And then what did you do?

G.M. I went back home when it was lifted.

J.F. But there was - the ANC was banned - what happened to your politics?

G.M. No, what we do after the ANC was banned, we are instructed to go underground - then we form what we call civic association.

J.F. Civic association?

G.M. Ja - ja, like we used to have those civic association for a long time, but at this time the very members of the ANC, we just select some members, we went underground - I was the secretary of that - this thing was used when you apply for - for a public meeting, then you - you apply with - on the name of civic association.

J.F. So what was it called, the - the Soweto....

G.M. No, Residents - Residents Association - I think of this now which is the Residents Association.

J.F. So was it the Soweto Residents, Orlando Residents?

G.M. Ja, we just call it according to the township because Soweto is a complex of 22 township - I was staying in White City Jabavu, I call it - we call it White City Jabavu Residents Association.

J.F. So that was your organising means?

G.M. Ja, when we want public meeting then we use this Resident Asso - but we are holding our meeting of ANC just usual - as usual.

J.F. Underground?

G.M. Ja, underground - it's that it's not published to members that we don't trust, but we carry on whatever we're doing.

J.F. And did you find people were scared to be in the ANC since it was banned?

G.M. No, no, they were joining more - in fact some of them we exposed them because we didn't know that (.....) fund-raising these parties.



- G.M. Then when we had a party the police always come and find people which they don't know being members of the ANC, then they ask for their passes and addresses - that's how most of our people were exposed - otherwise sometime I walk with a friend, not even that he's joining - we meet a special branch on the way, stops us - he doesn't ask me anything else, this one, what - where's your pass, what is your address, your working address and so on - right he goes.
- J.F. Why doesn't he ask you?
- G.M. No, he knows that I'm a member of the ANC - he knows me for a long time, you see - he knows me for a long time standing on the public meeting, but if he see somebody new they take the address, because they think that he have also - we are (?) joining them....
- J.F. So weren't they scared....
- G.M. .... or recruiting them - they were scared, ja.
- J.F. The people to be seen with you?
- G.M. No, no - in fact they were happy - they were very much happy - I remember when I was detained in 1963 - you know, people used to take food, meat to my wife - they were used to support my wife.
- J.F. Did you still work with whites and Coloureds and Indians after the banning or did it become difficult - did you still have this non-racial way of organising?
- G.M. We have this congress alliance which was formed in 1955, but because the Indian Congress it was not banned, the Congress of Democrat it was not banned, the Coloured People Organisation it was not banned - they were operating openly, so we still meet them underground in some certain committee, because this congress alliance form a committee, consultation committee, where if they go for a common thing - if we are going to do a common thing, then this committee meet and take a decision - then when it goes down we also have to meet in that way - we are still meeting.
- J.F. And so from '60 to '63 you continued underground ANC?
- G.M. Ja, ja, to '63 I was detained and I spent 90 days, but 86 days - then I was released.
- J.F. And then what?
- G.M. I was released.
- J.F. And then you were banned?
- G.M. Then I - I lost my old job, my work at the United Tobacco - then I start organising the trades union - in '64, January I was banned - the same month in '64 because I was banned not to go to any township, and confined to the magistrate of Johannesburg and reporting three times, and to work, you know, you - I can't work in a shop - there's no money - they were paying very little - I'm used to factory, where I get some better wages, so I decided to go out - I left on the 22nd. January.
- J.F. And did you go out alone?
- G.M. '64 - no, I was with some other people - we were three in fact - the other two is dead - the other one died here on a car accident - the other one just died this last year, cancer - he was a brother to Winnie Mandela.



- J.F. So you left to where?
- G.M. I left '64, 22nd....
- J.F. Where did you go?
- G.M. I went to Tanzania through here - it was not independent yet when we pass here, but Kaunda was already a chief minister.
- J.F. What's that?
- G.M. Kaunda was a chief minister.
- J.F. Who was?
- G.M. Chief minister.
- J.F. Who was the chief minister?
- G.M. Kaunda, that's present president - then I left, I went to Tanzania - in Tanzania, well, I find our people there as refugees - we stay there - then I went to Egypt - I get my military training (Laugh)....
- J.F. In '65 or '64?
- G.M. '64 - I came back - I went to Soviet Union and get my military training....
- J.F. More training?
- G.M. More training, because there I was three months, now here was ten months - I came back, then we form what we call Lutuli Detachment - then I came back to Zambia in 1966 in order to go back home now and fight - but the question it was how are we getting home, because most of our people are getting arrested when they go through Botswana - it was newly independent, and Mozambique was a long way, and we had no other means, so we - we - we preferred to - to go through Rhodesia and fight whatever we meet on the way - 1967 we did that.
- Then we fought in Wankie - we are arrested in Botswana and sentences (?)
- J.F. Arrested in Botswana and?
- G.M. And sentenced after fighting in - in Rhodesia.
- J.F. So you didn't get caught in Rhodesia?
- G.M. No, we are fighting - we didn't get caught in Rhodesia - we fought our way through, and they were running away after any contact with us, so I was arrested with the others in Botswana, because we were going to look for fresh water and some food, we run away - we run out of food - because we are already past, going towards Plumtree, through what they call Tsholotsho cattle post where the - that's where we meet our enemy.
- J.F. In Botswana, just over the border?
- G.M. In - in - in - in Rhodesia - then we went to Botswana to go and get some food and come back - when we get to Botswana we are arrested and taken to - to prison, our sentence (?) - I got three years in Botswana - I got three years, but on appeal six months was reduce, and again through the OAU then more was reduce - then I only work for 14 month, I was released.
- J.F. Worked?



- G.M. Ja, in prison.
- J.F. In Botswana?
- G.M. In Botswana, yes.
- J.F. So the Botswana court sentenced you?
- G.M. Yes - even now they still do so - the court (.....) sentence.
- J.F. But not as bad as South African - if you were caught in South Africa you wouldn't get through....
- G.M. No, no, those who were caught in South Africa they are still there in jails - those who went up to South Africa.
- J.F. So who arrested you in Botswana, South African police?
- G.M. No, no, Botswana police....
- J.F. Police or soldiers?
- G.M. Police - Botswana police, who (?) at that time didn't have an army - they had what they call paramilitary police.
- J.F. And in prison was - were you with just the two other people in Botswana prison?
- G.M. No, we are separate, but we are a big group - we are about 26 with - with some ZAPU.
- J.F. And were you with ZAPU when you were arrested?
- G.M. Ja, ja, we are fighting side to side mixed with ZAPU - it was a joint operation, but we are going to South Africa, they were going to remain in Rhodesia.
- J.F. So was - I'm just interested in the ethnic thing, that you were with - ZAPU people that you were with, people from Zimbabwe, mostly Ndebele people - did that make any difference in terms of you fighting together - they weren't South Africans?
- G.M. Ja - no, no, they makes no difference - we are fighting together....
- J.F. What language did you speak at home - what African language....
- G.M. Well, I speak most South African language, but my language is Sotho, not - North (?) Sotho, ja.
- J.F. So could you understand the Ndebele people?
- G.M. Ja, it's almost like Zulu.
- J.F. So what language did you speak with the ZAPU people?
- G.M. We - we - we speak in Zulu and....
- J.F. They spoke Ndebele, you spoke Zulu?
- G.M. Ja, it - Shonas were there too.
- J.F. Is it?
- G.M. Ja, they are mixed - it was ZAPU that time - they had some Shonas too which was there.



J.F. So how did you speak to them?

G.M. Well, we speak in English if they don't understand, but mostly of them they understand Ndebele - Ndebele is Zulu and we all know Zulu, and some - most of them they worked in Johannesburg - they worked in South Africa - there was no difficult of corresponding - even the people inside Tsholotsho there was no difficult corresponding with them, communication.

J.F. Did the people inside know that you were ANC?

G.M. You see, according to guerilla movement you should not expose yourself who are you, and they were told that there will be people sometime to come here, don't ask them who are they, don't ask them where they come from, don't ask them where they are going to - give them what they want - when we ask for food they give us food, but they didn't want to know our mission.

J.F. Do you think they thought you were ZAPU or....

G.M. No, no, most of these people who were in (?) South Africa they can see that we are South Africans and they see that these are ZAPUs.

J.F. How can they see, from how you look?

G.M. Ja, from the, you know - many people can make the difference between Zimbabwean and South African or a Zambian or a South African.

J.F. Just from looks?

G.M. Yes, just from looks - now when you've come to discuss and when you talk, communicating, you see, our Zulu is different than theirs - they can also hear, no, this is not one - when they call (.....) they say - I mean when they call monkey nuts, these peanuts, they say amazambai (?) - now we say (.....) we say this (.....) - now if you - if you ask for a peanut then you say : Give me (.....) - then he knows exactly that you are not a (Laugh) - a Zimbabwean, you see.

J.F. And then were you training with ZAPU people in....

G.M. Ja, but different - different.

J.F. You weren't training together?

G.M. No, no.

J.F. So you just came together with the Lutuli....

G.M. Ja, ja - no, Lutuli Detachment we came together when we are going to cross, because we wanted to cross together - they know the terrain that side better than us, so when we pass they know the terrain, they know the language, they know where we can get this and that, so that's how we came together.

J.F. And then in Botswana was the prison tough or how was it....

G.M. No, no, it was not tough at all.

J.F. And it was - was it just ANC in prison or AZAPO (?) also?

G.M. AZAPO (?) also.



- J.F. So did you get along O.K. in prison ZAPU (AZAPO) and yourself?
- G.M. Ja, no problems, no - we were just one thing.
- J.F. Even the Shonas also?
- G.M. Ja, we are just one thing - even PAC, some PAC members came later, but we were all one thing - we did - we are in a - in a big number, but ours it was not to fight anybody - we didn't like to put them aside - although ANC was more than all the other groups there - even PAC we keep them as our South African brothers - we forget about differences of politics.
- J.F. What made you to come out - when you came out to Tanzania did you come out with an idea of getting military training?
- G.M. That's right, exactly, because I was fed up from detention - I said : Now I'm coming to go out and learn the - the - the war art, and come back and fight.
- J.F. But when you were doing underground ANC work in 1960 to '63 was there any talk of MK military, recruiting....
- G.M. Well, MK is formed in 1961, so it - it was there definitely - it was exploding (?) pylon, exploding many thing, putting bombs all over - and it was a main talk (?) and it was underground, and it was recruiting people to come out - although secretly, but we knew - we knew that, and we were doing the recruit myself too - so until the time I say now I'm going out myself - after that then I say : Now I'm going out.
- J.F. But when they detained you they didn't detain you knowing that you had any underground military recruiting?
- G.M. No, they didn't know - they didn't know exactly whether, because they ask me I'm a underground, I said : No, I'm not in the underground - and they couldn't prove that I'm not in the underground - that's why they release me.
- J.F. When did the idea come to you to say : I want to join MK - was it before the detention or was it only after, or was it during?
- G.M. In fact just immediately after exposing that the MK, there is existence of MK I - I wanted to join the MK.
- J.F. And why did you wait from '61 to '63 or '64?
- G.M. It - it's '61 - well, I was doing other work.
- J.F. Other political....
- G.M. Underground work - political underground work, you see, and to join the MK that time it's not a matter of you don't know who - who - where I can go to join the - until you are recruited into the MK - you can't just say : I'm going to join the MK.
- J.F. And did you have an idea that this MK was African, or did you think that it could include Coloureds, Indians and whites?
- G.M. Before I join it?
- J.F. Before.



- G.M. Well, I - I didn't know - before I join it I didn't know what is MK really, what the composition (?) of MK, because I didn't know the members of MK.
- J.F. But did you think it was a black African organisation or did you think maybe I'll see (?) whites, or did you think no, it could only be Africans, or did you have any idea?
- G.M. No, the - the - I - I think that whites were there because the student in Wits they were assisting - the student in Wits they were assisting the MK to, you know....
- J.F. You knew that?
- G.M. (Laugh) Well, I had a friend who - who leak it out.
- J.F. And were you surprised to hear the students at Wits were....
- G.M. No, I was not surprised - I was not surprised at all because I - that time I knew that we are working with some whites and some students.
- J.F. And when you went to do military training were there any non-Africans - were there whites and Coloureds and Indians doing military training?
- G.M. For the first time in Egypt we were only Africans - at that time, you see, because the Coloured people organisation was not banned - the Indian Congress it was not banned - the Congress of Democrats it was not banned, and so they were working above - to put them into the military wing of the ANC, then they will affect their organisation - but at later then it was thought that every person who join MK, the military wing of the ANC, he pays his allegiance to the ANC, and he can join or elected to any position of the ANC - that's where we have some Coloured, but they were not a lot, and some Indians.
- J.F. That came when?
- G.M. That's '64 - '64, ja, they started coming out - Peter, (.....), Peterson, who died here - he was from Rhodesia (?)....
- J.F. Who was Peterson?
- G.M. Peterson come from Cape Town - he was a Coloured.
- J.F. What was his first name?
- G.M. Peterson - I forget his first name - he died - he kill 18 soldiers in - in Southern Rhodesia in 1967 when we are fighting there.
- J.F. With you?
- G.M. Ja, but he branched from us - he was alone because he have to go to Cape Town, so he must go alone - then he was blocked (?) - then he killed 18 soldier and they shot him, and I shoot himself the last bullets (?)
- J.F. So you figured Coloureds could be just as good guerillas?
- G.M. Ja, they're very good - they're very good guerillas, the same as whites - they're very good guerillas as whites.
- J.F. You think so?



G.M. Yes.

J.F. Why?

G.M. Because they've shown us through their operations, you see - that woman who's now sentenced there, he have blown even John Vorster, and he didn't hide when he was arrested that he's a member of MK - he didn't hide that.

J.F. Marion Sparg?

G.M. Ja, and I know her, you see - and all the others who have carry out their duties they have carried first class, so we don't doubt them - they're better than some of Africans - far better than some Africans.

J.F. And can you just tell me something about when you said you'd joined it was so easy - a lot of people would think it would take a lot of courage or a lot of commitment or a lot of daring to do something like that where you could easily get killed - how do you think - what made you to join, because you could have tried to recruit someone else who would say : I've got a family, leave me alone - you also had a family, you also had four kids by then, isn't it?

G.M. Ja, but now when I join the MK I'm - I've told you my story from the war time, that they have rob us - all the promises that they have promised us they have failed - they give us nothing - that bicycle that was stolen within two days in Sophiatown, and with five pounds - afterwards (?) the gratuity it was 15 pounds that I got - what they call the gratuity (?) and I got nothing else, and I suffer all the time being a soldier, although I didn't go to the front - but I felt that now I must turn against these people and fight them, so I join - it was a waste of time for me from 1950 until I - they form military wing in 1961.

I felt that we should be fighting, fighting the whites all the time - when I join in fact I wanted to - to fight - if I must die I must die - I didn't care for my family, because I felt that their suffering was too much - the money I got it was not enough - the - the money that you pay rent, you have to borrow money to buy a weekly ticket to go to work, and the second week you must pay that money, and only the next wages you can buy a bag of mealie meal and try to save some money to buy meat and so on, you see.

Now that in itself, you feel if I can die it's better than to live such a life, but if God give me the strength to change this government, bring a better government - if it's not better even it's black, I will still fight, but we want a better government that can think of us, that we can get better houses, a government that we have voted ourself into the government - not a government that is elected by other people - look, the pass law put you in jail at any time - you don't put a pen on it, there's nothing you do with it - you don't - the signing is your boss - when you are out of work you don't - but anything that goes wrong, you go to jail.

So all this I've taken into account and I look at - I say : No, the only thing is that I must fight - and I'm old now but I'm - I'm prepared to go and fight again if I'm given orders to go and fight, in order to change this government.

J.F. And your family - did your wife join you when you left or did she stay?



- G.M. No, she stayed - she stayed because for a long time - for about 18 years there was no correspondence (?) and he got a propaganda that I was dead, so he got married to someone else - he got two children with him - so I couldn't blame her - when I meet her sometime in 1980 in Swaziland - I was in Swaziland - well, I just told her : You go on with that man and I'll see (?) to go through - it's not your fault - it's not your fault - but in 1985 I got married to somebody else.
- J.F. And then how was it that two of your kids stayed in South Africa and two came out?
- G.M. The other one I took out when I was in Swaziland, for school - the other one came out earlier in 1977 with the others because of the school children fighting there - then he came with a group out.
- J.F. And was that a boy?
- G.M. It's a boy....
- J.F. Did he....
- G.M. My third born.
- J.F. Did he know about you being in MK?
- G.M. Ja - no, he didn't know by the time because they knew that I'm dead - their mother told them that I'm dead - unless he was about nine years - they knew that I'm dead, but after coming out he knew that I'm here - I mean after arresting in - in Botswana, it went out in the papers, our names too - then they knew that I'm (.....)
- J.F. They knew you were?
- G.M. I'm alive.
- J.F. And then you were MK?
- G.M. Ja, I'm (?) MK, ja.
- J.F. So then you saw your son only for the first time in '77?
- G.M. Not even in '77, in - I went to Swaziland in '79 - I only knew by letter, and I went to see him in Angola in 1981.
- J.F. For the first time?
- G.M. For the first time.
- J.F. That's the one who came out in '77?
- G.M. Ja.
- J.F. The other one you took out to school?
- G.M. Ja, the other one who went as a student - they were fighting in school, then the group came out.
- J.F. So you went to Angola to see your son for the first time?
- G.M. Ja.
- J.F. So what was that like.



- G.M. Oh, well, (Laugh) happy union - he was already a big man and from my surprise (?)
- J.F. And then by then you knew that you - he knew all your history of you in MK?
- G.M. Yes, he knew that I was in the MK fighting.
- J.F. Just a small thing.....

END OF SIDE ONE.

- J.F. .... get out and fight the whites - are you saying that - it just kind of conflicts with what you were saying, that it was a non-racial struggle - you're saying you wanted to join MK from 1950 to fight the whites.
- G.M. Ja, ja, ja.
- J.F. Are you saying those whites different - you still were working with whites - there were good - there were whites who were congress, but you said you wanted to get out to fight the whites.
- G.M. Ja, ja, in 1950s - from 19 - when I was demobilised from the army - the whole thing is that I want to go and fight the whites, but because of the policy of the ANC and the - the way they are politicising their people, I find myself I have changed that.
- J.F. And then what did you do after prison in Botswana - where did you go?
- G.M. I came back to Zambia here.
- J.F. In '6....
- G.M. In '69 - the end of '69 in fact, about '70 - then I went to Tanzania.
- J.F. What did you do there?
- G.M. Well, I was original commisar.
- J.F. So that was military?
- G.M. Ja, I was original commisar and I stay there - then in 1971 I took another try to go back home - I was again arrested in Botswana.
- J.F. Also Botswana?
- G.M. Also Botswana - then I stayed for six months - I was not charged - I paid a fine - but it was hard to come back to Zambia, because they didn't know my crossing to go there, how did I pass Zambia, the government, you see, now until I was (.....) and I came back again to Zambia.



- G.M. I stayed '72, '73, '74 - '75 I went back to Tan - to - to - to Tanzania - then '76 when these groups were coming out of student - Soweto uprising, I was in the reception and I was receiving them - receiving them, students and all those who are going to military, until '78, then I came - I come back - then I went to Swaziland - I went to Swaziland to go and do politically reconstruction inside the country - political reconstruction.
- J.F. What does that mean?
- G.M. It means that, you know, people they didn't - most of the young people when they came out they didn't know much about the ANC, but they heard about the MK because it was bombing there and doing thing - police station, raids and so - but they didn't knew much about the ANC, where the ANC is and what it's doing - we got this information from those who came out - then we feel that we must go reconstruct ANC inside the country, but from the borders, so that's why I went to Swaziland and do all this work - all this work, reconstruct ANC inside the country - that's what you see now, this UDF, COSATU and all these other things.
- J.F. And how did you do that - how long did you do it?
- G.M. Ja, but now (Laugh) - from '79 until I was arrested in 1982, December and chucked (?) out....
- J.F. In Swaziland?
- G.M. In Swaziland and chucked (?) out - then I came back here - I stayed in Zambia for some time (?) then I came back.
- J.F. Came here?
- G.M. Ja.
- J.F. When did you come here again, '83 or....
- G.M. '8 - '83, towards the end.
- J.F. And then were you immediately made chief rep or what happened?
- G.M. Ja, I was immediately made chief rep.
- J.F. And you've been chief rep since?
- G.M. Since.
- J.F. That means you're in charge of relations with Zambia?
- G.M. Ja, and diplomatic corps there, all the embassies, yes - you see, the Chinese Embassy's coming to me to ask me what.
- J.F. When you were doing political reconstruction how did you find those people you were dealing with in terms of their awareness and their political line - did you find people who said : We want to leave the country to fight whites - did you find people who had a clear non-racial understanding - did they even care about non-racialism?



G.M. Now you see, at that time when I went there '79 there was a break - big, great change inside the country, because in 1970 (?) there was this BC - now they want to do away with BC, and they were clear, most of them, that they want a non-racial society - they were following the Freedom Charter - every conference that was held (?) by religious and all these other fronts, you'll find they're popularising the Freedom Charter, and my colleague which I used to work with them before, some of them, they were very clear on this question of non-racial - there was no more question of fighting the whites.

That's why, you see, all our cadres - you know, it's - it - it - it will be so easy for us if we take a gun and get into South Africa and shoot whites there - we can destroy many - but because of the ANC politics our cadres know whom to shoot - they don't shoot anybody just civilian woman, child - while the enemy's killing our schoolchildren or (?) a small child, old woman and all, but the ANC still says to its cadres : You don't do what the enemy does, you see - it should be - this thing, taking of hostages could be plenty there, you see - could be blowing of schools full of children five to ten a day - they can do that very easy, but the ANC politics refuse that, and they are following it fully, even those who are at home.

Some mothers you find that the police have come and shoot his two children away, then he's just fed up - why don't you go into town and kill them, why they are killing us in the township - but the ANC always say : We don't do what your opposite does - we are not going to kill innocent people - we'll kill those who are defending the apartheid, the police, the soldiers, the special branch, and those people who are carrying gun - you know, the civilians who are actually carrying guns - we know them, we should (?) kill them, but not innocent children - that's what the ANC say and it's follow it hundred percent.

In swaziland now - I just want to end up in Swaziland - in 1982, 16. December, we are collected - we're all collected - not all, you see - about 27 of us, which they regard that we are dangerous to South Africa, and when we ask them : Why are you collecting us - that is after the death of Sobuza - then they say : We are putting you under protection because the - the Boers has already raided Lesotho and they wanted to raid here, so we are protecting you from them - but they put us in a place where they say Mawelawela (?) where there's no village of Swazis around, and it's close to the borders of South Africa, and we refuse to get into that jail until we're promised that after - after Christmas we'll be released, because the Boers they want to attacked (?) us.

But we exposed their intention - we told them that you have brought us here, some of us we are going to be taken by the Boers, we know - if they don't come and take us here they will come and bomb us here - we exposed their intention - then they see that they have been exposed, because there were some meeting between Dhlamini, the foreign minister and Botha (?) and we are hearing that.

Now after January 8th. they didn't release us too - then we went again and protest and say we want the - the deputy prime minister, we want the commander - the commissioner of police, the commissioner of prisoner, the commander of the army, which were here - the director of intelligent, all of them to come with those who are here - so we hold a meeting - actually we wanted to tell them that if they don't release us we are going away - they didn't come - we waited until four o'clock, then four o'clock we march out - we just told the prisoner warden (?) that we are going.



- G.M. Then he says (.....) - they say you have phoned them - he says : I phoned them, they didn't come - I say : Now we are going - you just tell them that we are going - and the soldiers who were guarding at the gate there, when we come we tell them to open the door, but they - they didn't want to open the gate and we go underneath, some jump on top, but we also gather again outside there and we say : Amandla - they also say Amandla - we march away - that was the end - we didn't go back to jail any more.
- J.F. That's the old Swaziland - it's not so good any more - it's even worse now?
- G.M. Ja, ja, they are worse now - they are worse now.
- J.F. Tell me just a few loose ends - did you - were you at the congress of the people?
- G.M. Yes, in Kliptown.
- J.F. Were you some delegate or what were you, helping....
- G.M. I was a delegate.
- J.F. From?
- G.M. I was a delegate and from Jabavu, but I was put there to receive delegates which were coming - I was at the gate receiving the delegates, directing them by province, where they going to stay.
- J.F. Tell me, do you think that you can - that there's never any ethnic, tribal problem with people in the South African struggle - even when you were working politically or when you were moving with MK, did you ever have ethnic problems between Sotho and Xhosa?
- G.M. No, no, no, we didn't have that, but you see, some people they are power hunger - you know, like these people who went out, they call themself Africanist - they were trying to prove (?) this thing, because most of them they were Xhosa, but there were also Sothos and Zulus and - but they were trying to, those who got the - the - those who - who speak Sotho they will come to their Sotho speaking comrades and try to organise them, but they were rejected until they were expelled in the ANC.
- J.F. Some criticism from Africanists saying that the ANC didn't preach a political clear cut nationalism in a language that ordinary Africans could understand, and that seeing that the whites and the Coloureds and the Indians confused the ordinary Africans to make them not be pro-ANC - did you ever think that was a problem?
- G.M. Just repeat.
- J.F. This is just from a historical book that I read where somebody was trying to argue that for the ordinary African say, in the '50s, they would be confused seeing whites and Coloureds and Indians together - that the way of talking about non-racialism wasn't clear, that a pure nationalism, an Africanism was more clear to the people, was more simple - did you ever find that, that people would say ; But why are you moving with whites, and we don't understand it, let's just stick with Africa for the Africans?



- G.M.' Ja, ja, very few - very few, because there's, you know, the slogan they use, Africa for Africans, you see, can attract some youth - they had some youth that could say : No, - the same words - they had some youth, because of the slogans and the promises that they do - promise them that this belong to Africa and all these thing they are belong to Africa and they are for the Africans, you see.
- J.F. And what about the PAC having the image of being the tough militants - did you ever think that was a situation where people would think the PAC is the one that's doing the fighting because they want - like you were saying, they wanted revolution now?
- G.M. Mmm - no, you see, outside here it was like that (?) but we knew inside the country it's not like that - they know what is the PAC, they know the leadership of the PAC.
- J.F. My last question is do you think it's important for somebody like me to come and ask about non-racialism or would you say : Look, there's much more important issues to talk about, like the way we achieve our freedom - or do you think non-racialism is something that's worth talking about?
- G.M. Ja, it's worth talking about because we want the people to understand our policy, which we are really have implemented - even outside here we got whites in our offices all over who are from South Africa - we are working together in harmony - so other people they think we say : ANC will build a non-racial society, and it's anti-racialism - and they think that no, we are just making a slogan in order to go into power, and yet we are putting into practice right now.
- J.F. And did you ever have young people in your period of reconstruction say : Who is this Slovo, why do you have a white person in MK?
- G.M. No, Slovo is very, very, very popular - very popular among the young ones - in fact they demand him.
- J.F. Why is he popular?
- G.M. I think it's because the enemy there is making propaganda of things that Slovo doesn't do - they make him so big - they talk about him that he's - he got guns around him, he's the main brain after all what is happening, and they know they are operating (?) that Slovo is not there - and now he's so popular, very popular - I think in South Africa when we go - go to election you will find Slovo and (?) very next to Mandela and all these, voting, ordinary people there - very popular - he's the - he's a (?) - the Boers themselves they make him so popular - call him a communist, they call him a KGB, they call him all sort of name - he is a communist - it's not hiding - he is a (Laugh) communist, you see - I mean it's not long that he became a chief of staff of the army, and he's out now - he's no more there again.

But the army was going on in the same way - we know Slovo is a human being like any other human being - it's other things that he knows he can assist, it's other thing that he failed completely in his also to assist us (?) - but they make him as the main man (Laugh) - now they have popularise him among the young people, even inside the country, even those who doesn't know - if you go to our camps there (?) they'll ask you : Why Slovo is not there, we want to see Slovo (Laugh) you see.

END OF INTERVIEW.