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Name of interviewee/s: Tshepo Moloi

Name of translator (if any): Tshepo Moloi

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TM: Tshepo Moloi

DD: Dondo Dithebe

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TM: Today is the 31st of October 2011. I'm in Thembisa with comrade Dondo. He will introduce himself. I'm interviewing him for the South African History Archive's Thembisa Oral History and Photography Project. Comrade, thank you very much for giving me this opportunity. To start, can you please introduce yourself, tell me your full name and where you were born, and when.

DD: My name is Ezekiel Gaolaolwe Dithebe. I was born in Alexandra [Township] at Fifth Avenue, in 1967. I was the second born in the family of three boys. My elder brother was born in 1965, and I was born in 1967. My father's name was Benedict Dithebe and my mother is Violet Dithebe. I lived in Alexandra until I was five years, which was 1972. So my memory of my life in Alexandra is very short. But I can still remember going to crèche, seeing my father going to work, and my mother taking care of me when I returned from crèche. My family settled in Thembisa, because of the forced removals in Alexandra. When we arrived in Thembisa we lived in Difateng [Section], at number 185. In this section there were four-roomed houses. I can still remember that we were delivered by a truck here and the house inside was not plastered, there was no fence, there was only one tap water per four families.

TM: Where was this – in the street?

DD: It was placed in a passage between the houses. When we arrived the yard had grown grass. But normally people would plaster their houses inside first like the floors, and later plaster the outside walls. Slowly as time went by, Thembisa began to develop. Shops were built. Some people started transport businesses. Electricity was a problem. But some people installed electricity in their homes. I can still remember that the municipality had promised people that it would install electricity in the township but the people had to pay it some money first before it could implement its plan. Eventually the municipality installed the big mast lights in the streets. So families would connect electricity from the streets lights into their homes. And as I speak, 25 years later, there were still some families who were unable to install electricity into their homes.

TM: I'm sure it was expensive. But comrade, let me take you back a bit. When you were growing up did your father and mother tell you where they were originally from before they settled in Alexandra?

DD: My mother was from Zeerust, in an area called Borakallo. Because people were moving to the urban areas searching for work, some of her family members lived in Alexandra before she arrived. Or maybe I should say my mother's family is from Zeerust. But it is possible that she was born in Zeerust and came to live with some of them in Alexandra. Unlike my father, who

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was born in Alexandra. But his family has a history which connects them to Potchefstroom. He was born in Alexandra but grew up in Potchefstroom.

TM: Where were they working?

DD: My father was working for the municipality in Sandton as a casual, in the cleaning department. Subsequently he was employed on a permanent basis. He rose through the ranks until he became a supervisor. I was told that he started working there in 1960. I think that was his first job in an urban area, because before this he was employed on the farms in Potchefstroom. And the way I understand his history is that he didn't even attend school, because at the age of 14 he attempted to go to school but he later dropped out. But he was proficient in English, because most of the time he was communicating with whites on the farms. But he couldn't write. That's the little I know about him. My mother, on the other hand, went to school until she completed Form 1. She was supposed to train as a nurse but couldn't because she didn't like working with blood. So she ended up working in the firm close to Alexandra, in Wynberg.

TM: You mentioned that your family was removed from Alexandra in trucks. Can you still remember the day when they came to take your family to Thembisa what was happening?

DD: It was a rush, because I remember we had a dog at home called Bobby. Bobby was run over by a car, because she was running all over the place. My father used to love dogs. I think he developed this love when he was still living on the farms in Potchefstroom. Because of his love for dogs, after Bobby had been run over by a car he took Bobby to a veterinary clinic. But Bobby was certified dead when they arrived there on the same day we were removed. That is why I say there was a rush. You know, when we arrived in Thembisa things were still not clear. Because from our house to the first street next to the taxi rank – at the time we used to catch buses to Alexandra there – it was a bit distant. For him to get to work on time, he started to wake up very early and leave the house at 4 in the morning.

TM: Can you still remember if there were any other families which were removed from Alexandra, at Fifth Avenue, to Difateng, or your family was the only one?

DD: There were other families which we were staying with in the same yard in Alexandra. You see, at Fifth Avenue we were staying in *gogo* (Granny) Maphanga's yard. So when we moved to Thembisa, some of the families in *gogo* Maphanga's yard were also moved to Thembisa. But

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some of them were not brought to Difateng. They were taken to a section called Nxiweni. We would visit each other.

TM: Why were they not brought to Difateng, do you know?

DD: I don't know the reason for that.

TM: What language were these families speaking?

DD: They were Zulu-speaking. But Nxiweni was a predominantly Xhosa-speaking section. Difateng, on the other hand, was dominated by people who spoke SeSotho, SeTswana and Se Pedi.

TM: After you've settled in Difateng, did you start school?

DD: I started school in 1975 when I was 7 years old instead of 1974. In this year my parents had problems; they separated. That caused us to go and live in Diepkloof (Soweto) with my father's family. Our father got angry and took us there. Our mother would come and fetch us from there and take us to Zeerust. We spent most of 1974 in Zeerust. By the time we were supposed to go to school it was already late. I was with my uncle who was 7 years old. When we returned to Thembisa, when I was 7 years and my uncle was 8 years, we started school at Kgatlamping [Lower Primary School] from Sub A to Standard 3. I did my Standard 4 to Form 1 at Seotlwana Higher Primary School, which was not far from Difateng. We shared our school with students who were learning in SePedi. Then Seotlwana was a school for SeTswana-speaking students.

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TM: When you were attending at Seotlwana I take it that you were now a bit older and could see what was happening in your surroundings. Can you still remember how the situation was in the township, in terms of life?

DD: Well, life was nice for us, especially youngsters. The only hardships that we experienced – this is what we picked up over the years – was that whites had a better life than us. We were aware that for our parents to have money they had to go and work for whites. I mean, when we went to town we would see white children riding bicycles; they were living in nicely painted houses, with nice gardens. Even in town they were walking with confidence. When their parents bought groceries their trolleys were always full of food. But in our case some times you'd find that the monthly budget was insufficient to cater for the whole family.

TM: Where did you go to town?

DD: Kempton Park. But at home we liked going to Alexandra. I mean, our parents bought our school uniform in Alexandra. I remember when my father wanted to buy uniform for us he would take us to Alexandra at 1st and 2nd Avenues. There was a Sales House. Even our soccer games we used to play against teams from Alexandra. When we wanted to go to a cinema, it was easier to go to Alexandra because in our area there were many people from Alexandra.

TM: During the week parents would go to work and you, children, go to school. On weekends, particularly Saturday, what did you do? How was your Saturday?

DD: Normally on Saturday morning our father would take us to a barber to cut our hair to make it easy for us when we bathed in the morning. The barber would remove all the hair on the head, leaving us with *chiskop* (bald head). Some times it was difficult to bath in the morning because the water would be too cold (laughs). In most cases we spent our weekends playing soccer. Adults would either spend them shopping or drinking liquor. Some would visit other families or relatives in places like Soweto and Alexandra.

TM: Which team were you playing for when you started?

DD: I started playing for Thembisa All Blacks. But before playing soccer I played karate. We used to train in the hostel at Nhlanzeni. I also tried boxing. When I was doing Standard 5 or Form 1 I did acting.

TM: Mmm ... Who were doing acting with?

DD: There was another gentleman called Bra Junior who used to train us. He had a production company.

TM: What sort of plays were you doing?

DD: It was mainly drama. But he enjoyed making films. When I was involved with his company we did a film which he sold to some people overseas. But I never watched it.

TM: Can you still remember what was it about?

DD: You know, some times he would come and film us speaking our home languages. Some times I'd be sitting in my yard and my friends would come and we would start acting as if we were fighting, kicking each other, and others would run away. I think he just wanted to show people living in other countries the kind of life we were living in South Africa. You must

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remember that we also grew up watching films from other countries like Bruce Lee. Locally, we would watch Lollipop. There was also 'Dingaka', 'Ngwanaka o tla ntshwarela', and many more.

TM: Where did you watch these films – in Alexandra?

DD: No. We only watched karate films in Alexandra. But the rest we would watch them at school. There would be people involved in arts coming to our school. They would arrange with the principal to play their films at school. Some times we would watch them at the local hall in Rabasotho. Every Thursday there was a film playing there. The night before our parents would give us money to buy food at school and 50 cents to watch the movie. We would go there to watch the movie and when we returned later at home we were expected to narrate what happened in the movie to our parents. On certain days after school we would go to another community hall in Tsepo [section]. There we would watch old movies on video. Movies about, for example, Norman "Panga" Segapane and others, who were in boxing. People like Mahomed Ali.

TM: The whole school would go there or just individuals

DD: No, anyone from the township could go there. I mean, you would pick up the news making rounds in the township that people were go to such and such a place and then you'd also go there.

TM: After Seotlwana where did you go for your schooling?

DD: I went to Thembisa High School in 1983, where I started in Form 2. In 1984 I was doing Form 3.

TM: Before you went to Thembisa High there was the issue of '76. What do you remember about that year, although you were still at higher primary level?

DD: What I remember – I don't know if it was '76 or '77. But what I'm sure of is that years after '76 whenever there were commemorations for the student uprisings of '76 there would be violence in the township because of the protests. I can still remember that in the newspapers there would be announcements of the campaigns before the 16th stating that we must support the campaigns by not going to school.

TM: And ... [disturbed] Yes, you were still talking about ...

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DD: Commemorations. We would know about them from the announcements in the newspapers. My father would warn me not to participate in such things.

TM: What would he say?

DD: He would say he had heard that the Boers said they were going to kill people irrespective whether you were young or old. “If there’s no school you should come back home”. But on the contrary, the following day when the commemorations started, even if you had planned to go home, you’d come across many groups of people in the street, ordering young people to follow their direction. They we would march following the crowds to places where they would be staging their protests. Then the police would start shooting. I would run and come back home. And when the shootings subsided and became less frequent we would go on with the march. Then the protesters started burning *baras* (beerhalls), government buildings. The police would shoot and injure many people. In the following years the older youth would come to our schools and informed us that we were not supposed to be at school because it was not a day for schooling. I can still remember when I was doing Form 1 our school Seotlwana was combined with another high school. I can’t remember well whether Thembisa High was full or not. But some of the high school’s students were brought to our school to use some of our classrooms. Then when we went to the toilets we would see on the walls written political statements. They would, for example, ANC, Lusaka, Zambia, Steve Biko, Tsietsi Mashinini, and so on. Then we would be interested and started asking them questions. Then we would tell them that we were interested in joining political organisations but they would dismiss us and say we were young.

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TM: Are there some of those high school students that you can still remember?

DD: Yes, I can still remember Morobi. He later became a journalist. There was also someone called Strike, who stayed at Mtheong. These two were amongst the students who were participating in writing political stuff on the walls in the toilets.

TM: How would you describe Thembisa High when you arrived there in 1983?

DD: Yes, we were more independent unlike in primary school.

TM: Independent in what way?

DD: Because there we were students speaking different languages. You see, students at Thembisa High were coming from many different schools in the township. So we started sharing with the other students who were coming from other schools. This created a good mix of the

different tribes. We got know each beyond our different languages and tribes. We would study together. The only time when we were not together at school was during the period of home languages. But it was becoming very exciting and we were now becoming young adults. We were no longer wearing short-pants at school. We had the privilege of wearing long-pants. And there was more use of the English language at school by the staff and the management of the school. We were also encouraged to speak in English, to write clearly, and also to be aware about the possible future careers.

TM: And how would you describe your teachers then? Would you say they were conservative or progressive?

DD: There were two groups. Some were progressive and other conservative. But you could see that others were progressive but they were not ready to come out and propose certain issues. They were supporting our ideas, but they did not want to be seen to be encouraging us to be rebellious. The principal then was Mr Mothibi ... [Disturbed

TM: You were still talking about the high school teachers that some were conservative and others progressive. What kind of teachers were the conservative?

DD: Well, thinking back I could say most of them were those who were from the rural areas. Others were those who were staying in the hostel or staying outside Thembisa; they only came to Thembisa to work. But for some they were conservative because they felt that participating in politics would bring them trouble because they could be arrested or killed, or imprisonment for a long time, or even be tortured by white people (i.e. police). So people had to choose whether they wanted to be tortured, arrested. I think that's what brought conservatism in them. They wanted to avoid that pain or to make sure that people associated with them should not undergo that pain either.

TM: And the other group?

DD: The other group would encourage students to be involved in politics, even though they didn't say it like that, like the principal. But you could tell that he was knowledgeable in the history of the struggle. He would tell us that if we wanted to be involved in the struggle we should be well-educated to understanding what was happening. He emphasised that we should be in politics for the right reasons.

TM: What would he say to you to show that he understood the political situation?

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DD: You know, there were times when the students would fight against the police then we would run back to the school's premises. I remember this happened when we had called for a boycott. So when the police attempted to enter the school he would lock the gates. He would even go to court defending his decision. Because his argument was how would schooling be normal if the police invaded our premises. He would do that, risking with his life. Sometimes the police would be shooting but he would move forward to speak with the commanding of that operation to say 'please don't shoot at my students'. Sometimes he would announce that one of the students at Thembisa High has been arrested. He would share with us such information.

TM: So when do you become involved in politics?

DD: You see, I reaslised that there was something called the SRC (Student Representative Council) and Christian Movement when I arrived at Thembisa High. Then I used to enjoy debates. On Wednesday it was a special day for debates for the senior students. They would decorate the hall. The master of ceremonies would open the event; the teachers would speak; the different groups debating would give their views. Certain topics were political. Even those which were not political people would speak to very eloquently, putting their positions across. So those things were nice to me. But added to that I understood township politics or I had to learn township politics. Near to where I was staying there was an AZAPO (Azanian People's Organisation) branch. One of the executive members of AZAPO was my distant uncle. So I used to follow them and eventually joined AZAPO in 1983.

TM: When you joined AZAPO did you understand the AZAPO's politics?

DD: Yes, I understood them, because they used to explain the position followed by Steve Biko, that black people should do things by themselves and for themselves, and eventually take leadership of this country. I identified with that very well. At that stage I did not only follow AZAPO but the ANC (African National Congress) as well because there were more news about the ANC in the newspapers. But the notion that blacks should do things on their own impressed me the most. At school the ANC's structures were more active than those of AZAPO. But I liked AZAPO's position that black people should stand for themselves.

TM: After you joined AZAPO what kind of activities did it engage in?

DD: Normally they would hold meetings in people's houses and in the halls, and they would combine these with trade unions' activities. At some stage we went to a meeting at Wel'mlambo [section] and some of the members of AZAPO voiced their frustrations about the Boers. They

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threatened to leave the country and go into exile. And during Good Friday of 1984 I attended the congress of AZAPO in Edendale, in Durban. Some of the key speakers there were Lybon Mabasa and Seths Cooper. I had attended the congress on behalf of the youth of AZAPO. But I must point out that when I went to that congress already in Thembisa there was a talk about establishing AZANYU (Azanian National Youth Unity). Some of us in AZAPO had agreed that we were going to join AZANYU. It was then decided that because I was already known in AZAPO I should attend the congress but then I should know that when I return we're going to start operating as AZANYU.

TM: How did the idea of establishing AZANYU come about? Or when did you first hear about it?

DD: Immediately when we were preparing to go to the congress of AZAPO.

TM: In 1984?

DD: Yes

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TM: Who informed you about the impending formation of AZANYU, or who came up with this idea?

DD: I heard about this from some of the youth who were in AZAPO. I think it was comrades Baker (Phasha) and Paul. I was with them in AZAPO. The incumbent chairperson of AZAPO was Thlaki Lekganyane. But Thlaki Lekganyane had refused to go to the congress in Durban and gave an excuse. On our way to Durban I heard some of the members of AZAPO gossiping about Thlaki Lekganyane that he gave them personal reasons for not attending the congress. They started attacking them. They also raised the issue that he was talking more about Africanism instead of Black Consciousness.

TM: So there was a shift in his politics

DD: Yes. I listened to them as they were speaking and got to understand the difference between the two. More importantly they said that Thlaki Lekganyane and those who had joined AZANYU had vowed that what they would be doing in South Africa it was going to be on behalf of the PAC (Pan Africanist Congress).

TM: When you returned from the congress in Durban what was the first step that you took?

DD: It was to be more aligned to the Africanists; those who were forming AZANYU.

TM: Who were some of them?

DD: I was recruited by Paul Tshware, who was amongst those that I left with into exile.

TM: What did he say to you?

DD: Well, he informed me that there was this Africanist Youth Movement. You see, for me this movement also resolved the problem I was facing within AZAPO. You see, at the congress I observed that AZAPO had a space for Coloureds and Indians. Whereas, in AZANYU there wouldn't be space for any national group, but the space would be for individuals, with their loyalty to Africa. No one comes as a group. People must come as individuals and owe their loyalty only to Africa. So in AZAPO it was a problem because when we received people they would categorise them as Coloureds and Indians.

TM: So now you were in the process of forming a branch of AZANYU or what was happening at this stage?

DD: Yes, we were in the process of forming a branch of AZANYU. But during this process comrades Thlaki Lekganyane and Jaki [Seroke] introduced the element of military cells. The informed us that they would like to operate differently. They emphasised covert politics. We were supposed to operate underground in cells.

TM: Did they hold a meeting with you?

DD: Yes, they did. We met in their safe houses. They also informed us that they had contacts with the external movement of the PAC; they were able to go to London. In his trips to London, Jaki meets with the leadership of the PAC. Because of this he was able to receive support in terms of the resources and we would be able to use them. They said, among other things, we should be ready to receive arms that we would use to wage the struggle inside the country.

TM: How many were you in that meeting when they informed you about these developments?

DD: I think we were about 8.

TM: It was you, Paul and who else was in that meeting?

DD: I can't recall who was there amongst the youth. But I can still remember comrade Paul ... Ja, probably it was Paul and Baker, Jaki and myself. There was another section of the youth of AZANYU but I don't think we were in the same pace. This was evident when we left for exile.

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When we left there were four of us, those of us who knew each other. Some of the youth that we had requested to leave with us refused, telling us that they wanted to focus on their studies. They told us they weren't ready to go into exile.

TM: So after this meeting with Jaki and Thlaki after they had briefed you to form military cells what did you do?

DD: Well, the next step was to recruit more members politically. And we would identify amongst these those that we felt could be recruited into the military cell. During this period I was also active in the street committees in the township. Most of the youth I was involved with in the street committees belonged to the ANC but we would operate jointly. They knew that I was a member of the PAC.

TM: Now tell me ...

DD: Oh, in that meeting Mpholosi [Maropodi] was also there.

TM: Now tell when you recruited youth into the military cells what did you identify in these young people?

DD: Okay. The meeting we held with Jaki and Thlaki was the first. We were supposed to hold other meetings where they would train and guide us about how we were supposed to operate. I think that meeting must have taken place in 1985 or 86, because between those meetings and the time I left for exile it was a very short space of gap. But you must also remember that we were not operating freely, because there was a strong presence of the ANC's politics in the township, and the Boers (i.e. police). You see, when we wanted to operate our members would be intimidated not to openly speak about the PAC's politics. I can still remember that at some point there were activists who were severely beaten at Mathole cinema for attending an AZAPO meeting. So it became difficult to do anything which was not ANC how were you going to do it. And when they came to attack you when you were not armed what were you going to do. So our problem was that somehow we had two enemies: the ANC and the Boers.

TM: Were still at school?

DD: Yes, I was still at school until 23 October1986 when I fled into exile.

TM: How did you become involved with the street committee and what was your role?

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DD: You see, we had problems in the township. You see, whenever there was a student boycott we would participate. So when there were problems of rent boycott in the township, so to address such problems we would be co-opted into the township committees, because the residents knew that we participated in political activities. And our main political participation then was recruitment, to speak during meetings, to educate people about the struggle drawing from the books that we were reading. You see, after joining AZANYU I started reading books like Mothobi Mutloatse, where he wrote about different political organisations in South Africa. But other people locally did not have that kind of information. We were also reading about Malcom X, Louis Farakan. Yes, we would listen to his recordings in cassettes. Now some of the people I was close with even those who were members of the ANC did not have this information. They knew me as someone who was politically educated.

TM: Where did you receive these reading materials?

DD: We received them through other comrades. We also read articles about the black-out of news, when the government banned newspapers like the *World* and *Post*. We would also look-out for interesting political topics in newspapers. Some times when I was with the members of the ANC I would listen to Cry Freedom ... No, what is it called? Voice of the ANC

TM: Radio Freedom?

DD: Radio Freedom from Lusaka. I would listen to that and their speeches.

TM: Who were some of the members of the ANC you were involved with?

DD: This was mainly some of the youth in the township, who identified with the ANC because activities like street committees and boycotts were ANC-inspired. Well, some of the people never became big within the ANC although they were involved on the ground in the ANC's activities.

TM: At this stage had AZANYU formed itself into a branch or it was just individuals who adhered to the Africanist ideology?

DD: I think we were individuals ... No, we were a branch. But obviously it was not easy to operate then. We were a branch in the sense that whenever there was a congress in Soweto we would attend. I think I've been to two meetings in Soweto, which were big gatherings of the Africanists. I remember I attended one in Ipelegeng Centre. In those meetings we would meet some of the comrades who had trained militarily. We would also meet some of the comrades

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who were well-educated in the Africanist politics. Some of them would have brought photocopied materials, which spoke about APLA (Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army). We would read them and try to make contacts with people, asking them who do we have to talk to if we wanted to go into exile.

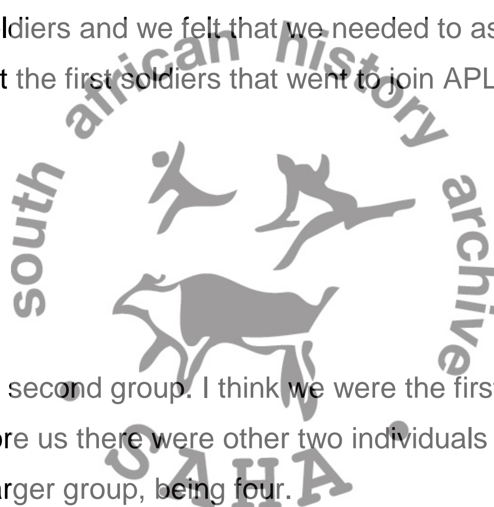
TM: Wow! Now in that meeting you had with Thlaki and Seroke when they briefed you to form military cells did they explain why?

DD: The main reason was that APLA was need of soldiers. Because there was another army that we were competing with, the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe, which was active militarily even though we didn't like some of their style of operations because we felt that they were not targeting the enemy in person. They were attacking buildings. There were other attacks which were very good. But we felt that they amounted to nothing, because we wanted the country to be free. So APLA wanted soldiers and we felt that we needed to assist it to get soldiers. So in assisting it we were amongst the first soldiers that went to join APLA.

TM: From Thembisa?

DD: Yes.

TM: Now tell me ...




DD: No, maybe we were the second group. I think we were the first group of four people to leave at once. Because before us there were other two individuals who left separately. We, on the other hand, we were a larger group, being four.

TM: By the way, who was in your group?

DD: It was me, comrade Baker, comrade Paul, and comrade Makhubela. I think Baker left a month before us. We left on 23 October 1986.

TM: Let me ask you a question: the process leading to your decision to leave the country where did it start?

DD: Ja, you see, my involvement in the street committee caused the police to search for me in order to arrest me, because there were people that we had hurt or we had brought them before our street committee court. So the police were looking for me but couldn't find me. So we ran away ...

TM: Is there a specific incidence which you were involved in that made the police to look for you?

DD: Yes, there were some guys who had stolen some goods in town and they took them to a certain tavern owner to store them. Now this tavern owner sold these goods and used that money without informing those criminals. So these criminals approached me and members of our street committee and informed us that there was someone who had treated badly but they didn't want to hurt him or kill him. They said they only wanted to get their money back. So we became involved in this case in order to mediate. And we didn't find it wrong that we were mediating on behalf of the criminals, because we thought it was the right thing to repossess from whites as people who dispossessed black people. We didn't care if there was damage done to whites in the suburbs. We felt it was the right thing. In fact, we felt it was a part of a contribution to making whites to force the government to listen.

TM: Who was the tavern owner?

DD: It was Chief. His nickname was Chief. He stayed at the first line in Difateng [section] behind the shops.

TM: So you took up the case

DD: Yes. We went to Chief's tavern and while we were there Chief told us that he was going to borrow money from another tavern owner to pay these criminals. So we waited for Chief for a long time in his tavern. Someone said he thought Chief had ran away. What happened is that Chief took a taxi to the police station to report us. Not long he returned with the police who we called the 'Twins' they found us sitting in his tavern. They tried to block our out of the tavern. But one of my friends Ben was able to push one of the 'Twins' out of the way and escaped. That's how we were all able to get out of the tavern. The police did not shoot. I lost one of my shoes there when we escaped. Most of the guys I was involved with in the street committee we were playing for the same soccer team, Juventus Football Club. So we had to scatter and some of us went to Katlehong to family friends. From Katlehong we went to Alexandra. During this period school had closed. Then in June we returned to resume our schooling. But what had happened was that the same day we escaped from Chief's tavern, the police went to my home to look for me. They searched the house, pulling down wardrobes. On that day my family encouraged me to run away from Thembisa. So when I returned I wasn't free anymore in the township. I was also scared that if the white police could get they would kill me. Well, like I said earlier that the

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issue of wanting to skip the country has always been there, so when it presented itself after comrade Paul had informed me that there was a group that was leaving the country I joined that group. You see, I didn't want to be arrested – I hated that. Because I knew I'd be tortured and I could not do anything. I was of the view that I had to fight, carrying an AK [47].

TM: You left on 23 October...

DD: Yes.

TM: How did you leave Thembisa?

DD: I think we received a lift from comrade Thlaki to Joburg (Johannesburg). And in Joburg we met other people and one of these was Yster. Yster took us to Lesotho. But we went via Sebokeng and many other places.

TM: How did you enter into Lesotho?

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DD: We had boarded a taxi associated with the Majakathatha [Taxi Association]. The driver of the taxi was briefed that we didn't have passports, so when we arrived near the Caledon River, which Basotho called Mohokare, he should leave us where there was a low-level crossing of water. We were not supposed to go to the border post. Then we jumped into Lesotho. We were given instructions who we should call and meet when we were inside Lesotho. We were also told which taxis to take when in Lesotho in order to reach our destination where we would receive political asylum in Lesotho. Eventually we got a flight to Tanzania.

TM: Now after you've crossed Mohokare who did you meet on the other side?

DD: There were young boys who helped people to cross into Lesotho. But we had to pay them. They were armed

TM: With what?

DD: With knobkirries and oukapi (knife). Can't recall whether the area we arrived at was called Maputsoe or Mtimposo. It's the main taxi rank. We took a taxi to Maseru. In Maseru we had been instructed to go to an area called C-Point. There was a butchery there where we met with comrade Mtimkulu, who received us and transferred us to the local PAC office.

TM: What's Mtimkulu's name?

DD: He was only called Mtimkulu – comrade Mtimkulu. Some of the PAC's representatives there it was comrade Mpondwane. So Mpondwane received us. And the following day he explained to us that in order to complete the whole trip which would eventually lead us to APLA we have to go to the Lesotho police or Home Affairs to declare that we have entered Lesotho illegally and we were seeking political asylum, because we had ran away from South Africa. After the Lesotho police had granted us political asylum they had to liaise with the United Nations, then book a sponsored flight for us to a second place of our interest. Those who in Lesotho could choose to go anywhere. But we chose to go to Tanzania because we were joining a political party. After we've been to the police station where we were interrogated and ordered to write our CV's (biographies) and taken photographs, we were then stationed in nearby refuge centre (i.e. camp), where we met other comrades of the ANC.

TM: How long did you stay in Lesotho?

DD: I stayed there for three months. And during that time we met other comrades from Soweto and Sebokeng who were also going to join the PAC.

TM: And within the three months what were you doing?

DD: Ja, during the day we would leave the centre and go to the PAC office to read the PAC's documents and about African leaders. At the centre we used to clean, cook breakfast and lunch. But because the PAC's office was not far we would normally request permission to visit the office. But after two months we were stopped from going to the PAC's office. If we wanted to go there we needed to get a special permission.

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TM: Why?

DD: Because the members of the ANC were not comfortable with us leaving and coming back to the centre. They didn't know where we were going and why. The ANC didn't have an office, because it was shortly after the Maseru raid where some of their members were killed. So they felt we would compromise their security. So we were encouraged to stay in the camp. But we arranged to receive books from the PAC that we should read while in the camp.

TM: So finally you leave for Tanzania

DD: Before leaving for Tanzania the United Nations took our photographs and gave us passports; the PAC also asked us to write our biographies and made arrangements that on a certain we would leave for Tanzania.

TM: What name did use then?

DD: I was using my nickname Dondo. But something came up after comrade Baker had arrived in the camp they said we should have guerrilla names. Then they decided to call me Mujiba. Mujiba is a military name for a messenger. The name originally comes from Zimbabwe. Yes, young soldiers were called Mujibas because they were not involved in battles. They were used to transport messages from one group to another. Some of our comrades were named Tongogara, Lumumba. Well, I can't remember comrade Baker's name.

TM: So on your passports were you using these names or your real names?

DD: We were using our real names. And instead of going to Tanzania we went to the PAC's office in Zambabwe. I don't know what the reason was for that. We flew to Zimbabwe via Lesotho Airways that went over Manzini in Swaaziland and Mozambique.

TM: Who did you meet in Zambabwe from the PAC?

DD: We met the PAC's protocol officers. We slept one night at the airport because our visas were not in order. Then the following day we were taken to the PAC's safe house in the suburb of Hillside.

TM: How many were you?

DD: We were five. It was Andrew, Oupa, and the three of us from Lesotho, and Baker. No, we were six.

TM: So after staying there for a day what happened?

DD: We stayed for a week in Zambabwe. Well, at the airport we stayed for the night. We didn't have food and we were hungry. It so happened that there was another flight to London but it had a puncher and they were giving the passengers food. So I approached an airhostess and asked her for food. She said once she's finished with the passengers she'd come back to me. And she really came back. Then they gave us food. There was a certain Minister in the Zimbabwean government, who was travelling with his family to London. When he became aware of our presence he invited us to his table. We enjoyed valentine whiskey with him and we talked politics with him. He told us that we were welcome in Zimbabwe. And at the airport one of the security guards became friendly to me and in the morning he bought me a packet if Zimbas (Simba Chips). This happened until we went to the PAC's office. And I was nominated to be the

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group's leader for our trip from Lesotho to Zimbabwe. Comrade Mpondwane called me especially for this task. He told me that I'm a very young man but he's giving me a responsibility to be a group leader. And probably this was going to be one of the many positions that I would hold going into exile. But he was putting his trust on me to make sure that this trip was a success. But when we reached the airport something bad happened. One of the guys we were with decided to be a clown. Then he hid the tickets. I think the guys I was with were shocked that I've been made their group leader whereas back at home they were my leaders. The others started complaining that I'm supposed to be a group leader but I started badly already. I have lost the tickets. But when the aircraft was supposed to leave then the tickets appeared. Then we flew out. All the messages and envelopes that were supposed to be taken to Sabelo Phama, the Secretary of Defence in Tanzania, were given to me. But it was a problem because whenever we met other comrades in Zimbabwe the first question I would ask them was who's Sabelo Phama and where is he? And many comrades found my questions to be awkward, who is this person to be asking about the Secretary of Defence. But then I would tell them that I have envelopes for him. Then I said I would hand over to him when we arrive in Tanzania.

TM: So when you finally reached Tanzania

DD: Ja, we stayed for 10 days in Tanzania.

TM: Did you finally meet Sabelo Phama?

DD: No, I didn't meet him. The people in the PAC's office took the envelopes and promised to give them to him. I think part of what was in the envelopes were our CV's (biographies). Because when we were in Zimbabwe we were made to write CV's and when we reached Tanzania we were made write them again.  And when we were in Zimbabwe we were joined by another group which came from Botswana. Then together we made up a group, and some few guys who were in Tanzania (I think they were three of four), of 15 or 16 for training in West Africa, in Guinea Conakry.

TM: You underwent military training

DD: Ja, we underwent six months intensive military training in Guinea Conakry.

TM: What sort of training? How would you describe it?

DD: It was infantry training. But our training on guerrilla warfare on its own you wouldn't entirely classify it as infantry. Because there were times when they gave instructions they brought in

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elements of intelligence work, elements of physical training, elements of something like karate. Because there would be instances when you'd not be able to shoot, then you could use the bayonet of your gun in close combat or karate to fight opponents. It was also explained during our training the whole issue of military science, that if you were infantry soldiers the victory of your country would not rely only on infantry. You have to bring in other units of the army like the airforce or the navy to be able to conquer the battle.

TM: This training lasted for six months

DD: Yes. They also explained that we were not a conventional army. And when we go back home we won't be hiding in the bushes. We have to hide among our people as per the origins of guerrilla warfare in Bolivia from the likes of Che Guevara during the Cuban struggle.

TM: So from Conakry where did you go?

DD: We went back to Tanzania.

TM: And what happened when you arrived there because now you've received military training?

DD: Yes, we had received military training. Then we met other groups that had trained before us. We joined them as one army and went to an area called Iringa in Tanzania. When you're in Dar es Salam and going to Iringa you pass Morogoro, where the ANC had its civilian camp. And when you continue downwards you'd be going towards Zimbabwe, and then you reach an area called Iringa. It's towards the South of Tanzania.

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TM: What were you doing in Iringa?

DD: That's where a military camp was allocated for the PAC's soldiers. And not far from Morogoro the PAC had another camp which was for the civilian population. So we had two camps. We had an office in Dar es Salam. And we had a civilian camp in Ruvu and a military camp in Iringa, which the PAC had named Mothopeng Military Academy.

TM: After you returned from Conakry how would you estimate the population at Mothopeng Military Academy

DD: I'd say between 500 and 1000. Maybe it was lesser when we arrived but when other groups came later on the number moved up to 1000, and it was all male soldiers. It was only when I was in South Africa when I heard that female soldiers were also based there. You see, when the PAC started it had female soldiers and there was a time when female soldiers were stopped

from participating. And later on when I arrived – a year later – female soldiers were re-introduced.

TM: At the camp what were your responsibilities or what were you doing there?

DD: In the camp you're under the camp management. You're under your commanders and commissars. You're commissars are responsible to give you instructions in political education of the organisation. Then the military commanders made sure that you consolidated your military training, knowledge. You were the await instructions for your next assignment. The common one which we all waited for was to travel to the home front; to re-enter South Africa militarily.

TM: What was the main message/instruction that they were imparting to you that when you go back home ...

DD: It was to hit the military structures of the South African government, mainly the police and soldiers. That was the main instruction. But also it came as an unwritten rule that you can even hit whites but don't claim responsibility.

TM: And did the time come for you to re-enter South Africa?

DD: Yes, but two years had to pass before I re-entered South Africa. While you were there you'd be given responsibilities either participating in cooking, fetching of water, cleaning dormitories, fetching wood. I remember that at one stage I was responsible for the library. Yes, I was an assistant in the library.

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TM: Ah, so that's where the love for library comes from.

DD: Yes. Before I re-entered South Africa for a month when I was there I was called again to go and attend a conference in Egypt. It was a Winter Computer Camp, which was run by the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organisation). They had invited all the children of the leaders in Africa. For South Africa the invitation went to the ANC and PAC. So the PAC leadership saw it fit that I become the person who participate in that programme. The course was for three weeks in Egypt.

TM: What did you learn from that course?

DD: We were just mixing as children of political leaders in Africa and we had computer classes, and we played extra-mural games. We played sport. We lived together with people from the

Middle-East and African countries. We know that African countries were divided into French-speaking, Portuguese-speaking, Arab-speaking and English-speaking.

TM: And then finally after two years – this is 1988 – you re-enter South Africa.

DD: I re-entered in 1989. But before that after my trip in Egypt I underwent another trip to Lybia for an intelligence course. I stayed three months in Tripoli undergoing that military intelligence course. Again in Tripoli we met others from the DRC (Democratic Republic of Congo) and many other countries that received support from comrade Gaddafi.

TM: What did they train on in the military intelligence course?

DD: Military Intelligence course was about identifying targets, hiding yourself from the enemy, transporting information, handling guns, secretes, getting secretes from the enemy, and espionage.

TM: After three months you go back to Tanzania. Now during the time you spent in Tanzania before you re-entered South Africa were there other people you knew from Thembisa?

DD: Yes, I met comrade Paul Lenono at the Mothopeng Military Academy. I met Mduduzi. I met George Nyanga.

TM: How was the mood like when you met for the first time?

DD: They were very happy and I was surprised that they knew me in the sense that my name was used to galvanise them back at home. They told me that whole they were in South Africa they received information that one of the youngest comrades, meaning me, went to Egypt tom represent the PAC as a person from Thembisa. They felt that I had hoisted the flag for them. They were supporting me and happy that they were following in my footsteps and others who contributing to the struggle coming from Thembisa. The other person that I met at the camp was comrade Maphanga. He later died in South Africa. I attended his night vigil.

TM: Now finally 1989 you're sent back. The process – how does that come about and what were your instructions?

DD: Yes, they come at night

TM: Who?

DD: One of the commanders comes to you and say ... Normally when we were there people would leave for various destinations and assignments. Like when I went to Egypt my fellow comrades assumed I had re-entered South Africa. Again when I went to Libya they thought I had re-entered South Africa. So when I left for the third time they must have had the idea that I had re-entered South Africa. You see, we were always itching to get information whether we were having a presence on the ground in South Africa. We would follow that on the news and through political and military reports.

TM: So the commander came to you at night

DD: Yes. He said 'comrade, you'd be leaving. There's an assignment for you. You must report at the military headquarters in Tanzania. Then you'd get your further briefings.

TM: When you left for the military academy who were you with, or were you on your own?

DD: I must have been with someone but I don't remember who that person was.

TM: And what were the instructions from the military headquarters?

DD: 'I'm going home to infiltrate the country but I'll receive further instructions in Zimbabwe'.  In Zimbabwe I received a briefing from comrade Siyaya, who was the deputy commander then, that my infiltration back home would be in the Northwest and we must hit targets there, especially police and soldiers of the South African government and the Bophuthatswana establishment. If possible, the homeland leader as well.

TM: That's [Lucas] Mangope.

DD: Yes. And that I'd be the contact person for intelligence reports, which were not supposed to be known to the members of same group I was with.

TM: And this was a group of how many people?

DD: They said eventually our group would be made up of four members. But we were two. I was with comrade Ephraim, I remember now. Yes, Ephraim Tlabakwa. We went to Zimbabwe and there were attempts to get us into training range. But it didn't ... Yes, we did go to the trining range. But I had a sore knee, so I was supposed to consult doctors to check the severity of my knee problem. I had been struggling with my knees because of many years of training, you know, frog jumps and so on. But they didn't get me a doctor. I don't think it troubled them that much that I was having a knee problem. I didn't insist on seeing a doctor as well, because it

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would have appeared that I was afraid to go home. Then at night we moved from Harare to Plumtree, the border with Botswana. Then in Botswana we went to a safe house. Amongst the people who received us in that safe house was Letlapa Mphahlele. We stayed there for a week underground. And after that week we went to Northwest. We were received by underground comrades there. We stayed in the suburb of Mafikeng, trying to establish ourselves.

TM: As you're moving were you carrying armaments or not?

DD: Yes, when we moved from Botswana to Mafikeng we used the Ramatlabama border and each one of us was carrying an AK 47, two Chinese hand-grenades, and rounds of ammunition, and pocket money. Our instructions were to hit the structures and, if possible, also do some fund-raising; get money from financial institutions of South Africa, or any other people who were financing apartheid. But such work we would've to do clandestinely, because if we got arrested in such operations we don't claim responsibility. Because it would tarnish the international image of the organisation, especially for people who were supporting our struggle that you don't hit civilians and you don't participate in anything that doesn't look like a military action in relation to the Geneva Convention in terms of advancing war.

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TM: So were you staying in Mafikeng?

DD: Yes

TM: For how long?

DD: It must have been six weeks. When we stayed there, amongst other things, we had to receive another group of two to make us a group of four. Because amongst us we were supposed to have a commander, a commissar. In this group I was known as a Logistic Officer. I was responsible for arms. But they didn't know my other role; that I was also an intelligence guy. The commander and ... [disturbed]

TM: Yes, you were still explain some of the activities you were involved when in Mafikeng in the six weeks you spent there.

DD: And to identify targets that we were supposed to hit. Because we had to check Mangope's movements, and the co-operation between the South African Defence Force, South African Police and the Bophuthatswana Defence Force. We had to learn how they were cooperating. While we were two we waiting to receive the other comrades who were going to join our unit. The people who were going to join us were comrade George Nyanga and Oupa Sekoboto. But

unfortunately when they arrived the person who was working closely with us and who was supposed to have fetched them to receive them as we were received, there was mis-communication. There's a military base between Ramatlabama border and Mafikeng, which is used to look out for people who wanted to cross into South Africa illegally. But we managed to cross. They too were able to cross successfully. You see, after we had crossed we would wait for the vehicle which was allocated to fetch us to come and get us. Some times it happens that you miss each because of mis-communication in signs that we use, or even to know which car is there for you, especially at night. You see, when cars approach at night we have to run into the bush to hide. Some times you end up running away from the car that had come to fetch you. So these guys crossed successfully. You see, in the morning when we were bathing in the house we were accommodated in, which was a cottage, there was a problem that bathroom became dirty, having walked some like 20 kilometers in the bush. So our hosts complained that we didn't clean the bath because other people wanted to use it as well. So these guys also arrived at night and in the morning while waiting at the taxi rank they failed to contact us. They were not supposed to make direct contact with us. They were supposed to come to us through an internal operative. But now what happened the very same night ... The following day while waiting at the taxi rank they had a problem. They were confronted by the SADF and the BOP soldiers. There was an attack and counter-attack that resulted in Oupa Sekoboto from Sebokeng getting arrested. And George Nyanga died in that operation.

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TM: How long did you stay inside the country before you returned to exile, or you never went back?

DD: I never went back. So after that incident we had to run away from Mafikeng, because the place was becoming volatile. It was no longer favouring us since we lost comrades. So we informed the headquarters to locate the other arrested combatant and what led to death of Nyanga. Then we had to retreat to Rustenburg. But in Rustenburg things didn't work out well. Then we moved to Mabopane and Garankuwa.

TM: Mmm! Now I want to ask you about the issue around the negotiations because going back to 1989 ... In fact, going back to 1985 in terms of ANC there were talks between the ANC's leaders and some members of the National Party, and business of course. But within the PAC what was the party's take about the negotiations?

DD: We were anti-negotiations, because we felt we were not strong militarily as an opposition to apartheid. Therefore any negotiations with the apartheid government would not favour us,

based on the strength we had. That's why we were pushing to have more ground militarily, to continue the ungovernability of the country hoping that the power would tilt to our side. But we knew that the negotiations were coming, because the issue of the release of [Nelson] Mandela was tabled already. And he was released on ... I think Mandela was released while I was in Tanzania; when I was preparing to come back to the country.

TM: That would be 1990.

DD: Yes, I came back into the country after he was released, because after his release he came to Tanzania. Tanzania was one the countries he visited.

TM: So you did not come back into the country in 1989 but in 1990.

DD: Yes, I came back in 1990 some months after Mandela's release. I think I came back in 1990 around May.

TM: But while in exile, for example, was there any talk within the PAC's ranks about the negotiations?

DD: Yes, yes, there were talks. But the pace with which the South African government wanted to engage in the negotiations was too fast than we were prepared for. Our external leadership put some demands forward, saying we're not to be part of the negotiations.

TM: Who in exile was vehemently against the negotiation amongst the leadership, can you still remember?

DD: The PAC as a whole was against the negotiations. Remember we had combined our political leaders, our NEC (National Executive Committee) and the military command. We had a joint committee called the Military High Commission. That was the committee that was responsible for our liberation. They would have meetings. Then we had a joint position that 'No, we won't support the negotiations'. But now when the white government made proposals it moved very fast. The last position, I remember, that came from the Military High Commission was that we would await a constituent assembly; political prisoners released; exiles allowed to return; free political activity; and the unbanning of political organisations, which unfortunately the government was able to meet.  That left the PAC in a corner.

TM: Comrade Dondo, within South Africa there was an internal wing of the PAC, the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM), which had people who were begin at some point to say let's

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negotiate. This created sharp differences between what the external wing was saying and what the internal wing was advocating for. What was happening?

DD: I think there would have been people who supported negotiations, because some of the people had been in exile for four decades, three decades. This was having a toll in their lives. Some were dying. Others were growing older. Some felt that we've done it; it was enough. So by agreeing on a constituent assembly, PAC diplomatically was saying it would be part of the negotiations but provided the basis of those negotiations would be free and fair by allowing a constituent assembly where political groups would be identified to participate in that dispensation. But while that was going on, on the military front the PAC didn't stop sending people to work in the country, or to join APLA. In fact, the other thing that developed in the army was that APLA was slowly changed from being a guerrilla army to a conventional force. Because slowly now they were introducing ranks. Whereas, before we just operated as comrades, basically with commissars. But now they were saying every time our people go to training when they return they must receive certificates. And when they hold positions in the headquarters, their positions must be explained. They must be ranked properly. Now the winds of change were there and the PAC couldn't ignore them. So they had to do other things in line with conventional military structures.

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TM: When you re-entered the country in 1990 within the youth structure, AZANYU in particular; even within the military wing, there were those who had labelled themselves as 'revolutionary watchdogs'.

DD: But you see in terms of soldiers we were disadvantaged to follow politics very well, because we were in the camp. Our main concern was military exercises and following instructions from the army. We knew very well that at a certain stage when the leaders say we're negotiating, we as the army we'd have to follow suit. If we don't do that we become rebels. And the position of us becoming a 'Jonas Savimbi' was not an interesting one. Neither did the PAC like that scenario. We knew that amongst us we had radical people, who might have thought otherwise, probably to go against the political leadership. But we knew that in relation to the Zimbabwean struggle, even when you go to negotiations you should make arrangements not to put all your soldiers into transit camps in case things go wrong and we're able to revive. So any military leader who had a far sight would have known that you can't send all your soldiers to a transit camp. You must have some operations on the side, like what you had in the ANC with

Operation Vula. I don't have evidence of that happening in the PAC. But I believe something like must have been arranged.

TM: And when you got back inside the country how long did you stay underground?

DD: I stayed until 1993 ... No, no, 'till 1991. In 1991 I returned to Thembisa but I first went to Soweto to my father's relatives, because we had disagreements in our unit. We had been recalled to go to Transkei. I was asked to regroup everybody for the trip to Transkei, then others who didn't want to that moved aside. Some of the people that refused eventually went to Transkei. It was a very difficult position for me because those who didn't want to go to Transkei the likelihood was that I might be asked to eliminate them. I didn't want to see that happening, because these were people who didn't betray me and I didn't betray them as a unit. Again we were never sure what was going to be the political outcome eventually. Because we knew no matter our position was radical but the reformist approach for the country as a whole was coming. So it would have been difficult to jeopardise that because people were free to think the way they wanted. Because even within my unit we had a problem that we prepared well in Garankuwa, Mabopane and Soshanguve and if we were to leave we wanted to arrange a situation whereby the bases that we had created were to be handed over properly. But when that was not adhere to it hurt us emotionally, because structures were becoming loose. One could afford to defy certain instructions. Being in the organisation for a long time we had already picked up some of the factions, and most of were very mindful that we don't get caught up in those factions, or end up working for a faction which might not be for liberation; being a faction where you're used to elevate somebody's position.

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TM: The factions that you're talking about – which factions were those?

DD: You see, a revolution is run by personalities and we found that some of the leaders were not exemplary when they made political speeches to say that we're for liberation and so on. But when it came down to camp life you'd find others they their issues were unbecoming. For example, somebody would allow you to be underground but when someone from his family comes to the army then they discourage them from undertaking the same position that they've encouraged you to take as a fighter. They [discouraged them and] said 'No, fight for what? Can't you see things are opening up? You should be going to school'. Like in my case, I was encouraged by many people to go to school but unfortunately ... [inaudible] were not there. So it was you started hating being in the army when you heard some people saying we're done with the fighting business. You rather be in school and on. Can't you see that things are shaping up?

TM: And in 1991 you resurfaced and started operating above-ground. During this period did you hear about the revolutionary watchdogs?

DD: Yes. We heard about them but we couldn't move with their speed. And it was very difficult for me to know which camp to follow, because we held certain positions when we were in AZANYU. So when we returned to the country there were certain people that you once felt that you liked their leadership but we then started getting reports that this person sold out, or this person is now a hardliner, or this person undertook an operation that he was not supposed to, or his people are now getting arms on their own *vis-a-vis* the others. Other people were no longer following the chain of command. Those were the problems that we were experiencing. And this moved in a very high speed for somebody who had been underground to follow all those things.

TM: But what did you hear about them?

DD: Well, at first there was the issue of Chris Hani opposing Sabelo Phama's position on the military struggle, and the Year of the Storm. You'd see Sabelo Phama doing interviews in the Transkei, wearing military outfit, explaining the party's position. We also followed the news where Hernus Kriel was opposing other people within the PAC for their military actions or interests to continue the war. So these are the things that we were following. But the long and short of it I was not surprised about what Sabelo Phama was doing either militarily or when speaking, because there was no need to issue an order for a ceasefire when you didn't know whether your enemy had done the same. So it meant in the negotiations you pushed until ... actually you push your position. You see, war was negotiations through bloodshed. So when you were in the army, you were also negotiating. You either start and stop, start and stop until you arrive at a logical conclusion.

TM: And finally, in your view the PAC fared dismally in the 1994 national elections what would you attribute that to, taking into account that this was a big and old organisation?

DD: Yes. There were many factors. Other people might have abstained from the whole exercise. Others might have voted for the ANC to give them a two-thirds majority. You might find that you were opposed to the ANC but in principle they were your comrades in arms. They also died for this country. They served together with the PAC in international conferences. They served with them underground. The ANC unilaterally decided to engage in the negotiations. But their downfall would be the downfall of all the black people. So if they were to achieve a two-

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thirds majority they could in fact change the constitution. I think all the right thinking comrades would have given them their votes.

TM: And those who did that and those who might have abstained – what do you think might have caused such people to decide that they were not going to vote for the PAC?

DD: You see, the PAC had never had an easy life, having had a short life internally and having experienced a series of factionalisms in exile, and having being forced to participate in the negotiations after returning into the country when it was not ready in terms of its structures. You must remember that back in 1984 (actually it was in 1981 after he was released from Robben Island – TM) the PAC was reorganised by [John] Pokela. So the work of Pokela and [Johnson] Mlambo was relatively very short to have made a big impact. The impact that they made was that the PAC was re-introduced to the political landscape of South Africa. There were military operations by the PAC and some were successful. There were court appearances of members of APLA. So there was a general interest both in academics and in various ways where people who were supporting the PAC were able to finally come and say 'we're for PAC', because then they knew that the PAC army and structures were working. But their work was very short to have covered what the ANC was able to do. You see, internationally there was an agreement between the Soviet Union and America to make peace in their contested areas in Africa. So when the war in Angola ended, cooperation was needed to make Namibia free. There were certain arrangements that were made, which took the ANC out of Angola to Tanzania; making the Cubans move back to somewhere in Ethopia; and allowing certain parts of the SADF to move backwards to South Africa; and rendering Namibia free. So after the agenda of free Namibia; the next agenda had to be South Africa, and whites had to do it if they still wanted to salvage the little they had.

TM: On that note, comrade, thank you.

-----------------------------------------------------End of Interview-----------------------------------------------

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