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J.F. So can I just start by asking you when you were born and where?

J.M. Well, I was born in 1953 in Vryheid in Natal, and that was February, 1953 - it's where I was born.

J.F. And what kind of background were you from - what did your parents do?

J.M. Well, I would say basically my - I grew under my - my grandmother and my mother and I haven't - my father was not there - and the background it was a poor family and people who were actually say, living in - in the rural areas.

J.F. Was your father separated or did he contribute to the income of the family or was he just - left the family?

J.M. In actual fact my - my mother never got married to my father.

J.F. So your mother, was she doing farming or working, or how were you supported - how was the family supported?

J.M. Well, she was actually working as a domestic in the - in Vryheid (?) as such.

J.F. In a white area?

J.M. Ja, in a white area.

J.F. And you lived in the township?

J.M. No, no, I was in the rural areas, in a area - rural areas within the - the area of Mvunyaneni in Natal.

J.F. Where is that - what part of Natal?

J.M. That is Vryheid area, but Mvunyaneni is in the district of Ngutu.

J.F. So she left you with your granny during the day and went to the white people and came home at night, or did she stay in town?

J.M. She - she stayed in town.

J.F. So she only - when did she actually - did she stay at the kaya of the white people or did she come back?

J.M. She was staying there, but it was a very short time because she then got married, and then I grew up with my - my uncles most of the time.

J.F. So you had a very rural existence - it wasn't township, it was in a village?

J.M. Well, I would say I came to - from there I was actually in a - it was a rural area, I would say, and that's a rural life - I had lived there almost up to 1968, and I had done my primary education in Natal, and I came up to do the final year, that is Standard Six here in Boksburg Vosloorus township - that was in 1969 when I did my Standard Six - I then continued from Hlabahlange Primary School, which is here in Vosloorus, to Illinge Secondary School, where I did my junior education, and after doing my junior education I then went to - to St. Chads - that is in Ladysmith, Natal - that's where I did my matric - that was 1973 and '74, and then I started working in 1975 with Unilever, Boksburg.

- J.F. So you actually started working - you reached what standard of education?
- J.M. After finishing matric.
- J.F. And then what was the decision about going to work at Unilever - why did you make that decision?
- J.M. Yes, being - mainly it was because there was nobody to assist me in continuing with my education - I then decided to say I was going to work for a year only and thereafter go back to school, but of which it was not possible when I was working for Unilever - I worked for a year in '75, and in '76 I then decided in '76 to start enrolling with UNISA - that is the University of South Africa - trying to - with doing some Bachelor of Commerce there, of which I studied - I enrolled for two courses that year, and then I decided because of the circumstances once more to say : I better not continue - I just dropped and said that I would go back to school, but that never materialised, so I then restarted again in 1978 enrolling with UNISA very seriously and then got - collected those two courses in that particular year, and then I continued with UNISA almost until about 1984 when I was then elected CUSA president, and I was then not able to because of the union - trade union activities not able to continue with my studies, but I collected about six courses by then.
- J.F. To go back to your early years, say up to '68 when you were just in the rural areas, what kind of school did you go to - was it government or mission or farm or?
- J.M. It was a government - I would say it was the - the government school as such.
- J.F. And as you were growing up in that rural area up until '68 did you ever come into contact with white?
- J.M. Not that - not that - there were not - you would see them coming in maybe as an - as inspectors in the - at school, so I was not in that much contact - or alternatively if I've been sick and taken to town and that's when - when I would only see a white person.
- J.F. And what impression did you take of whites - when you were young up until your teens what did the white person represent to you?
- J.M. They were representing something that was superior and something that is of supernatural, you know, that they - I regarded them as - not as of my humankind - seeing (?) something else which was just superior.
- J.F. And you never - did you ever have any conversation with a white person. did you ever speak to the employer of your mother - did you ever ever speak....
- J.M. I've never - I've never spoke before.
- J.F. And what contributed to your conscientisation, do you think - here I'm just trying to get a sense of you had that rural background - when did you begin to no longer regard whites as superior - when did anything awaken - what time was that for you - how old were you and what brought it about?

- J.M. Well, it was when I was in actual fact working - when I was at school I could see and when I was - especially when I was in St. Chads doing my matric a principal there was white, and there were some teachers who were also white, and there were some also teachers who were black, and there was that role of discrimination at school, so that my understanding began there to see that in actual fact instead of people being treated as the same, then I understood that also our people can get the same qualification but they can still not be treated the same, so that's an experience I got at school when people were actually educated there.
- J.F. Who did you see not being treated the same or have the same experience?
- J.M. There were white teachers at school as well as black teachers, so they would sit separately, things would be done separately, and when certain things would - like for instance, saying people - treatment from the principal would not be the same to the teachers as such, and black teachers were subjected to inferior treatment as such from the principal - so that was my first contact with the situation and to see, and at the same time I was - there was that understanding that in actual fact people could - could be - you hear of could be the same.
- J.F. And did any particular teacher speak to you and complain to you or did you just pick it up yourself from watching, or did you ever have any particular experience.....
- J.M. Well, they used to talk about their frustration as such - they used to talk about their frustration.
- J.F. And was there any experience in those days when you were just beginning to see discrimination and the actual relations between.....
- J.M. I was beginning to see discrimination in a actual (.....)
- J.F. There wasn't any particular incident you could take - tell me about that any teacher said anything to you, or any particular thing that made you angry in those days?
- J.M. One of the things that one teacher said was that whilst they have - they have the same qualifications, or say maybe they had - they were qualified maybe having degrees, and some of the white people were not qualified, but white people were treated better and they were getting more salary, so that became in actual fact a sense of the situation to say people are not treated the same - and he said despite the fact that you can get your qualification but still you'll be subjected to inferior treatment - and I would say that's the situation.
- J.F. And during your younger years and your earlier teens did you ever hear, living out in the rural area, of any of the historical political movements, the A.N.C., the P.A.C. - do you remember when you first heard about them?
- J.M. Well, I would say I first heard - I heard about them as like for instance, the A.N.C. at that time - I think I heard when I was in the rural areas that there was an organisation led by Cde. Mandela, so that I think it - I heard about it.
- J.F. How did you hear about it and what was the image of it - were there any A.N.C. members in your village or did anybody come and tell you about.....

- J.M. I was just hearing people con - talking about, saying that there are organisations that are in actual fact trying to fight for the people's right.
- J.F. And did you read about it yourself?
- J.M. Well, I didn't as such - at that stage - I think I only started reading when I was at matric - doing my matric - that's when I started reading, but I did not follow much.
- J.F. The high schools you went to, were they also government or were they mission?
- J.M. They were government schools.
- J.F. And were there any of the students in the high school with you who were more politically aware who had A.N.C. connections....
- J.M. No, no, no, there was nothing at that time - at those schools where I was there - there - there was nothing - there was nothing much - but when I was doing my - my matric, and at that time with that interaction, I think there was a lot of talk about the political thing as such (?) - situation - and at that time that was the A.N.C., the P.A.C., saying that they - there were those organisations, but not understanding their full principles or policies - I knew about them, but then at the same time there was that argument from time to time to hear people talking about these organisations and also the - talking about the BC so - but I did not follow much, and I just - I tried at all (?) time to ignore the BC as such?
- J.F. Why?
- J.M. It was because I understood it to be of discriminatory nature.
- J.F. When did you get that feeling - how did you get the idea that it was discriminatory?
- J.M. I was looking at - from the people who were - who were actually relating it to me by then, and it appeared to be something that was difficult - when I understood people talking about it just after I got my matric and started working, so the BC that was way back in '75 and that was at the peak of it, and '76, so '76, '77 - but at that time then I began to understand it, because I did not understand it initially, but the impression that was given to me was something that the BC might be discriminatory.
- J.F. Against whites?
- J.M. Because it - it exclude the white people as such.
- J.F. So initially that didn't appeal to you, to exclude whites?
- J.M. Yes, it did not appeal initially because I was looking to say people should be treated equal, you see.
- J.F. That's quite interesting since you'd never been treated equally yourself, since you'd never had any relations with any white person who treated you with respect or with equality - is that true....
- J.M. Yes, in actual fact, for instance, what I knew the image was to say some people, white people in other countries they do pre -

- J.M. Take for instance, if the - like the British people were so much in South Africa, and the British people would first - would try and present a - a positive view and say they are - in actual fact as if they are being forced by the law, so it - it appears as if people are people, but because of the law that is in actual enacted then that's the law that enforces people to do certain things, and that was my understanding.
- J.F. So you felt that there are good white people somewhere and it's not fair to use reverse racism, is that what you felt?
- J.M. Well, I was actually - especially the British people initially I thought they were the good people because they were just forced by the Afrikaaner laws to - to discriminate.
- J.F. By British you mean English speaking South Africans?
- J.M. Yes, yes.
- J.F. Did you know any English speaking South Africans?
- J.M. Yes, the - there were - one of - one of the teachers was actually a British in - in that school where I was, so my experience and understanding when people were talking, it appeared as if they were actually being just forced by the - the laws of the country to discriminate.
- J.F. And did they speak to you in a way that made you respect their politics or did you feel that....
- J.M. I think when they would speak they would say because of the situation in this coun - and the laws of this country, then that's how I understood it that in actual fact they're not in agreement, so it's the laws of the country that made them to be of that nature.
- J.F. So then how did you change - how did you get conscientised, would you say - what made you political as you are today?
- J.M. I think firstly I didn't say, take up politics, as I haven't taken up politics in my understanding as such, but I - I then when I was working for Unilever I - I realised the situation - I was then right in the - in the actual scene, in the actual problem involved, and I could see that first, I was discriminated, and secondly I was treated inferior, thirdly and I was not actually earning enough, and fourthly I was not protected as a worker because of my - my - my colour - so I could see this as something that was totally unacceptable, and people were just being dismissed anyhow, so that motivated me to look - take a serious look at the situation, and at that time there were organisations that were actually now fighting properly, and like the BC movement, the black committee of ten in Soweto and all those BC organisations of 1970 (?) which were then banned in 1977, were in actual fact organisation, and of course the world at that time was trying to portray the - the situation as it is in our country.
- J.F. And so was there a union at Unilever that you just walked into to join?
- J.M. In actual fact initially there was not union, but when I heard that some people had started a union about a year ago - that was in 1977 - and they decided to drop because some people were dismissed for starting a union.

- J.M. I then embarked upon starting a union in 1975 - '79 - but then I started it underground organising - after organising majority - it was then that we felt that we should now start approaching the company, and that is how in actual fact we there (?) - because my aim at that time was to try and protect our jobs.
- J.F. So you organised what union underground?
- J.M. That was the Food Beverage Workers Union, and ultimately when we had a substantial membership we then approached the company, and at that time the first people who (?) were frustrated, for instance, were in actual fact in the forefront organising - I was organising but I was not in the forefront - I was just coming with other people, and those people then they left, and ultimately I became in the forefront and I had to face the situation, and we were able to reach an agreement way back in 1981.
- J.F. And were you a CUSA union right away or did you form the union and then look....
- J.M. It was a CUSA union.
- J.F. So did CUSA help you?
- J.M. Yes, that was Food Beverage Workers Union that actually was involved.
- J.F. What was your job at Unilever - what exactly were you doing?
- J.M. I'm doing the - the - the laboratory assistant - that's in a way technician like - I'm working in the lab.
- J.F. And is that what you've always been doing?
- J.M. Yes.
- J.F. And where exactly are you - do you live and work - where's Unilever...
- J.M. It's in Boksburg.
- J.F. In 1979 and '80 there was not only BC on the scene but there was also the rise of the more non-racial organisations, the kind of organisations that later became UDF oriented - were you anti those organisations or did you just not see them and have to do with them, or did you say no, I see what they're about, I'm not interested, I'm not - I don't like this non-racial, or how did it happen?
- J.M. Well, I - I think the organisations were there and I supported those organisations....
- J.F. Which?
- J.M. I supported mainly the - the - the - I was more interested to see the - the UDF with its non-racial policy and - but even though I did not take up membership with it but I was a sympathiser with the UDF, and I would say at the same time I was not very much in favour with the BC and - but I did not in actual fact take up any, but when I would go - I would go to all these - if there are meetings I would go to BC meetings, but even though I'm - at that time it was the only organisation but I - I would listen and enjoy.

- J.M. But when there was the featuring (?) of the UDF then I started probably appreciating the UDF more than the BC, so I would say I would go to any but I was not belonging to any, and I felt that I shouldn't belongs to any.
- J.F. So you didn't - why did you not want to - did you - why did you think you shouldn't join UDF?
- J.M. I felt that I have to understand the organisation fully before I could actually join.
- J.F. And what attracted you about UDF and what did you find negative about BC - can you explain that to me?
- J.M. Mainly I would say people were - BC is very good because it conscientises you, it makes you, but when you look at the future you then don't see probably the future that can actually exist as a solution in our country in terms of saying actually black black because that - there is that racism that is involved there - and when you compare the question of a black you have to compare with a white, so you know, you are using race there which is involved, and the - the - the - there's - the racist minority regime is using separate development and white supremacy, so it seems to be in - in - in a reaction to that policy of the National Party, then it doesn't provide the solution as such, because the National Party has got a policy which does not solve the problem of our country, and so if you were to base again your ideology on the question of to say as an opposite of that exactly in the same status then it becomes - also doesn't provide the - the - the - the solution for the country.
- J.F. So are you still feeling the same way - what's your view about UDF at this stage - have you moved at all closer to it or would you still not be involved with it - how do you feel now - do you feel the same or differently?
- J.M. Well, I think I'm - I'm feeling differently at this moment in time with - when I look at the UDF....
- J.F. Why is that?
- J.M. It's because UDF is actually - the way it pursues the struggle - I'm looking at the say, today to say you have got non racial polic - a non-racial policy, and that non-racial policy today it is impossible to pursue - it's something that is impractical (?)
- J.F. It's what?
- J.M. It's impossible to say you have got - you can say you have got a non-racial society for today, and to try and pursue in that direction you - you are just trying to appease other people rather than in actual fact facing things in - in the correct way - you can't say today because in terms of the situation in the country there's a Group Areas Act - apart from the Group Areas Act there's a question that certain people they are living in various areas, and if those people live in those people (?) they don't regard themself as what we call to say they are actually involved in the struggle - they are in actual fact like all other people - you - there are various examples to that effect that have actually taught me to say the UDF is just a question of people singing, singing, singing.

J.M. It doesn't mean in actual fact that we'll be able to overcome our problems in that - that policy of non-racialism - there are various things to that effect - firstly is that when you sit down with the white people in a question (?) in a rally or so, and those white people it's only our youth that is affected - schools are only affected in a township - they are being closed in our own areas - no white school has ever affected and being (?) affected by education - in terms of funerals we are burying and they are - the white people are not burying anybody, and they're not - they (.....) buried for that matter, so you see - so it - it becomes something -

We are (?) involved in rent and the - the - the - we are the involved not paying rents and what have you - our problems are not the same as it stands at the present (?) moment and....

J.F. Our problems are not the same as what?

J.M. As white people - so as we are involved today it is - it's not proper to say we can actually approach things as if things they are now (?) a real situation and it is possible - we agree and we have to accept all of us to say we need to create a certain type of society for the future, but that type of society should be created on the basis that we all have to work and understand and accept the status quos at the present moment that it is like this, and you look at the - that's the racial approach in terms of - and (?) you look at the - the way it - the struggle is being approached in - when you look at the Freedom Charter as such.

The Freedom Charter says the land belongs to everybody - I mean that's the - that's totally wrong, because the land it should belong to the people of the country, the indigenous masses, so I mean that acknowledgement should be there (the) - the - the Congress of Democrats way back they should have actually accepted that if they were out to support the black people - or the African people - they should have actually gone in and accepted that the land belongs to, but we'll all fight for the land of our people - of the black people - acknowledging the fact that they are now living and part - being part and parcel of that country, South Africa.

Now to say you actually say the land belongs to everybody it's just a myth which has got no definition because any white - you - you get into America today, the land belongs to the Americans, and I can't go to America today and claim part of the land, and the - there are people in America and you look at the historical background, they are of African origin - they went there not because they - they - as a black what you call - it's because of the slavery attitude as such.

You take Britain and wherever you go, you find that there are already black people existing in those countries, but those people are not - they still maintain, and they know very well where they come from - they come - if they come from Africa they will be saying we come - we originate from Africa but we are now in Britain - we live in Britain - we are part and parcel of Britain - but where we originate, we are the people of Africa - and some might be of Asia - so I think people of Europe are - they are of European nature - and people of Asia are of Asian nature, and people of Africa are of African nature - they are Africans, and those people should - I mean it's a question that accepting.

J.M. Now for instance, if you take, for instance, the arrival of the settlers as such - that is the white people in South Africa - and to come in and say that those people actually now are part and parcel, I mean it's now distortion of facts or distortion of history - it should be first accept that the people who own the land in South Africa are the indigenous masses, who are the black people, or the African people for that matter - if you were to run away from the colour part of it and say the African people - and secondly they - the - the people of that country, it doesn't mean that because and accept that the white people are already there and they live there, you can't say you will actually be throwing them into any sea as such - you can't drown (?) (drive) the white people - but the question is, if you are involved in conscientising the community and trying to build a nation of that country, then the white people should be accepting that the land belongs to the white - to the - to the - to the indigenous masses of that country and - but they are part and parcel and they have to pay allegiance to that country, so if they follow that line they would actually - there's no question of discrimination that would be involved because they are accepting the history, they are accepting the reality of our country, and then they become part and parcel of the country.

So in terms of the Freedom Charter when you say the - the land belongs to everybody, I don't see that as something that can be acceptable - you have to define it, because firstly you would say after how long does you get the qualification of a land - it doesn't say anything - anybody....

J.F. (.....) qualification of the land?

J.M. Meaning that if say, for instance, a European come into South Africa - he arrives in South Africa, he's given a certain plot to live in that plot, he immediately says, according to the Freedom Charter, owns that plot, and that particular plot belongs to him because he has just been given - so you don't know exactly actually where are these limitations being put forward.

J.F. Let me just take it back - I don't understand how you got from being sympathetic to the UDF in the early '80s to being very anti Freedom Charter - can you just tell me a bit about what the influences were on you, because just two minutes ago you were saying no, you went to the UDF meetings and you felt that the policy of the....

J.M. Were favourable....

J.F. Nat's racism was no good, so that how could you have reverse racism, and now you're saying no, everything is based on colour, it seems.

J.M. Ja, I'm seeing colour in a sense that there is racism even within the Freedom Charter - that is the UDF (.....) - the race I'm saying there is a question of black and white, and when you talk about black and white will live together it is a multiracial situation, so colour is involved there.

J.F. Non-racial or multiracial, or is that the same thing.

J.M. It's the same thing because - no, no, I'm not saying is an - it's what you call.

J.M. I'm saying they will - I - for instance, my belief, or the organisational (?) belief, like CUSA, AZACTU as it stands - as it stands at the present moment.....

END OF SIDE ONE.

J.M. Like the CUSA, AZACTU at the present moment, we believe in a non-racial future, meaning that the future that would come in - as a non-racial future, it has first to accept the status quo, and the status quo we are talking about is that one, the land belongs to the indigenous masses - that must be accepted as a first base - it - it - it's a base that needs to be recognised - secondly, we believe that colour of a person should not be the issue - South Africa it - it is today (as it is today) it's because of colour, and there's so many divisions in our country because of colour.

Now you look at the BC, it's says I've got to approach our struggle on the BC and say black all on your own - on their own - now that's the colour part of it - you look at the what you call, the - the - the approach of the Freedom Charter there which is being pursued by various - like the UDF and as such - it says black and white, black and white - so it's a colour that is involved - but if you look at the Pan-Africanist Congress approach of saying that - or (?) look at - they (?) say you recognise the human race irrespective of the colour of the person, that you recognise the human race - you say if you accept that you pay allegiance to Azania, South Africa, which is our country, then you'll be part and parcel of that country.

We are saying that if you say that the land you accept first, and that (.....) it should be based to say you accept that the land belongs to the indigenous masses, one, yes - then from there then we can go into terms of saying that there will be equal distributions of land - it cannot happen under a myth of saying everybody owns that land, not qualifying where does that person and where does he come from, you see.

J.F. How do you define indigenous masses - if you have an Indian person who was brought as an indentured labourer in the 19th. century, and a white person who his ancestors go back to the 17th. century, then who's indigenous mass of those two?

J.M. I think....

J.F. Or neither?

J.M. I think first we have to recognise the fact that there - America belongs to Americans - because of history and the like there might be black and white people in America - that could be followed, but it's for Americans - Europe it's for Europeans - because of the history there might be black people in Europe today, but that's - it's a Continental thing that it belongs to the Europeans.

- J.M. So the real people of the country you can still go down and say who are the actual people - it's the Europeans, the white people.
- J.F. But I'm asking you to define things - I'm very confused about what you're saying about America, because I don't think any progressive person in America would accept so simplistically that America belongs to the Americans, but that's another story - but I'm just asking if you could answer that question - I'm very confused - if you have an Indian person who has come to South Africa late as an indentured labourer, who has come and is now a working class Indian who only has been in the country in terms of his ancestors barely 100 years, and you have a white whose ancestors go back many, many generations to the Van Riebeeck people, who's indigenous - who are the indigenous masses - or is it only Africans who are black Africans of an African indigenous tribe that you're talking about - what - just define for me what indigenous masses....
- J.M. But the - the initial stage should be to say the black people are the people - are the owners of the land.
- J.F. Who are black people - are they people who look like you only, only African people - are they not Indians or very light coloured people?
- J.M. I would say it's people who are black like myself, and Coloured people.
- J.F. Not Indians?
- J.M. The Indians they have got their origin from India, but then because of history they came as slaves in South Africa - we have accepted them and we....
- J.F. So they are accepted?
- J.M. They are accepted.
- J.F. But you just left them out just now.
- J.M. I'm not leaving them out altogether - I'm saying they have got their own history - if they - if an Indian accepts that he should not be called an Indian he's - he should be called an African becau....
- J.F. What about if a Coloured person doesn't accept that he should be called an African, then he doesn't get land?
- J.M. He is - he is - he will be (.....) - there's - you can't trace his origin - he....
- J.F. But I'm saying when you come to the great giving of the land to the masses who deserve it....
- J.M. The - the - the Coloured people....
- J.F. ask for little tests and say to people : How do you regard yourself - and if a white person says : No, I see myself as an African - then does he get land too?
- J.M. Yes, it means he - he will - he's paying allegiance to the cause of the African people.

J.F. But it seems like you're basing it all on a value judgment of how people themselves describe themselves - that's a very strange way of determining who is going to rule and who is going to own the future of South Africa.

J.M. I think it's a question of a person himself accepting himself that where does he belong - let me take, for instance, if you look at the worker - the worker, and today we - maybe on the political scene I might not be able to give a clarity (?) because I'm not a politician, I'm a worker - right, if you take a worker, we are saying, for instance, that if you look at our own federation is that a - we're saying workers - and when you talk about the workers we have used in the - as we are using the black worker, but we do remove the question of black because it is of a racist nature if (?) we are using the black worker - there are other races that are there in South Africa, and we then don't have only black workers - so if any other person accepts that he's a worker he's then accepted in our what you call, but at this stage as I'm talking you'll find that they are very few, or they - for that matter the number of people who have accepted they were not white - who are not black Africans - they are very insignificant.

(He's turned into a chipmunk, so I don't know how much more I'll be able to do - might have to guess quite a bit as he's not very clear at the best of times.)

You can even just rule out altogether and say they are not there, because even if a person - it's a symbolic join (?) to say I accept that I am a worker, but it ends there, so it's just a symbolic thing that you have experienced from other people, but....

J.F. Among the whites?

J.M. Amongst the whites - so they - it's an insignificant number which can easily be overlooked and you can easily say that you don't have white members, and yet you can't actually utter that statement because you do have, but it was a symbolic thing.

J.F. So Agget doesn't really Count - Neil Agget?

J.M. I mean who joined our own unions.

J.F. But Neil Agget joined the independent working unions....

J.M. Well, there are independent unions as such, if you take, for instance, the various unions that are independent, like as you could see within the COSATU ranks - those people are not joining the unions from the factory floor, saying that they accept that they are workers and then they join - they have been employed because of their skills.

J.F. (.....)

J.M. So I'm just talking about the white people like Neil Agget and all other people, they were employed because of their skill.

J.F. You mean Neil Agget was employed because he was a white person?

J.M. Yes, he was employed - he didn't join the union from the factory - he never - he - he - he never came up as a worker.....

- J.F. If you could tell me how and why you changed from the time when you felt open towards the UDF to your views now - what made you to change - was there any particular person you spoke to - was there any incident that happened that made you think no, the non-racial view of the UDF is not good?
- J.M. In actual fact I was looking at various things that actually contributed towards that - one, I was looking at say, for instance, the - there was a bit of looking at the communism as such that is being applied, and to look at the way probably they - I - they say the other organisation like the A.N.C. and its close association with the East, and seeing at other states in Africa that have actually got its - were able - were liberated through that type of system - they brought no peace in those countries - that was one first approach that contributed.

You look at Mozambique, you look at Angola, you look at Ethiopia, and those countries are not stable even today - so that's the first understanding when I analysed the situation right through the world, and that was the first - that's one point - the second point is looking at the question of colour - South Africa is torn apart by colour, racial strife, so because of the colour part of it, whether you say black or white or whatever, you try and accommodate black and white, you are still using colour, and South Africa is what it is today - racial laws, apartheid and what have you it's because of - it's based on colour.

I wanted some form of a solution to be away from colour, and that has contributed - I have been able to look at when I - I was first some Africanist approach being explained to me in terms of looking at to say they don't recognise the human colour as such, so I began to....

J.F. The Africanists don't?

J.M. Ja, they don't look at a colour of a person....

J.F. So you like the Africanist....

J.M. Yes, because I then probably felt that to run away from this racial strife situation is that you should actually not to recognise race of a human being - you have to treat a human being from as a human being - that's a human rights that needs to be recognised - so I accepted that because our country is what it is today because of race of a person, you see.

Now taking note of that when I looked at the Africanist approach is that first, they are looking at themselves as the African people who belongs to the African Continent without in actual fact looking at to say are you black, white, whatever - it's an acceptance that if you are in Africa and you pay allegiance to Africa then you'll be accepted, so they don't look at the colour of a person - that I saw it as a solution for my political direction as such in terms of the South African situation.

And you take, for instance, if you talk about the Europe for Europeans it's not the colour of a person that is involved there - you are talking about the people of that part of the Continent - if you talk about the Americans you talk about Americans as the people who belongs to that part of it and....

- J.F. But how do you define who's an African - is it an Indian, Coloured, white person as well - how do you define?
- J.M. The definition as such it's - it's - it's - it's that every - it's an African is - are the indigenous masses first - those are the African people who are the black people first - and secondly those who pay allegiance to the African Continent, meaning that to our country, South Africa as such - then they would be accepted as Africans - so take, for instance, well, you can't trace the background or the home (?) - they are - they - they what you call - the Coloured people are the people of Africa because they emanate from Africa.
- J.F. What about a Coloured person who's in the tricameral parliament?
- J.M. Well, you - that person he's just acting in his own capacity, meaning that he's - his belief (?) - so it doesn't mean the entire Coloured society should actually be thrown out because of that - we have people who are participating within the structures, like Gatsha Buthelezi who are black (?) and we have got people who all - like Mabuza who's actually a homeland leader - they are all participating within the structures - so participating in a structure doesn't necessarily mean that all African people then are actually in collaboration with the system - it's those individuals, so they are doing it on their own individual bases.
- J.F. But I'm just wondering how you differentiate - you're saying basically all people who are African are acceptable, but how do you differentiate those who are collaborators if your whole criteria is Africanism?
- J.M. First, those people who were born and are the actual people of the soil, right, they are traitors of our struggle in a sense that they corroborate with the enemy, and those people should be brought into order, right - that's something that it needs to be done - it doesn't necessarily mean that those people then should be driven out or should something else would happen - it's just a question that those people are collaborating with the enemy, so they should be dealt with accordingly by our own people and be brought into order.
- J.F. Do you recognise the issue of class as being important?
- J.M. Well, I wouldn't actually get into the class because I would say the - the class - on (?) the class I would probably look at is the - it's not the - important (?) if I were to answer it.
- J.F. It's not important?
- J.M. Ja, for me.
- J.F. For you class is not at all important?
- J.M. I wouldn't get to that argument mainly because the classes to try and differentiate fully it has got all lots of argu - intellectual argument as such - so I'm trying to approach it from a simple point of view to say first, I'm looking only at the working class.
- J.F. But now you've just brought up class - what I'm saying is that your - at your factory of Unilever would you put someone who could become a personnel manager who's a black African and a worker who's a black African, would you say both of them are Africans and they're with us in the struggle?

J.M. Yes, they will be together.

J.F. There's no difference for you?

J.M. Yes, no difference as long - there's no difference - we even now allow - it's just a question - the division that will come in it's purely on recognition basis in terms of practicalities (?) in a company, because one might be in on a general position, might apply certain what you call - has got certain privileges, but it doesn't necessarily mean that he's totally being dissociated from the masses.

J.F. Again if you could just clarify for me how you moved from that position of accepting non-racialism to the position you have now - did you read books or did somebody speak to you or....

J.M. Well, I - I - I read books, I met colleagues, and something that was never fully exposed to me is the Africanist approach, which I think had I been exposed to it I would have long actually opted for it,

J.F. So had you in the '70s and the early '80s - you hadn't been involved with the BC, you weren't involved with SASO or BPC?

J.M. No, I've never been involved - I - I haven't.

J.F. And what about the P.A.C. - had you heard about that in South Africa?

J.M. I've heard about it but I never knew - I did not know of its principles and exactly how does P.A.C. approach the struggle as such.

J.F. Do you now know about the P.A.C.?

J.M. Well, I - I know about P.A.C. today.

J.F. Do you think that they're important in South Africa today - do you think that the P.A.C. is an important force in South Africa?

J.M. It's an important force that in actual fact, from my own point of view, that's the ultimate party that will come into power.

J.F. The P.A.C.?

J.M. Yes.

J.F. And did you - I'm just wondering because when I was in South Africa I never saw any evidence of the P.A.C. being active and I'm just wondering where you saw....

J.M. In actual fact there is a lot of suppression presently that is going on, not only from the system but from our own organisations in our own community, because the dominating factor people are being coerced into certain lines (?) and certain ideologies are being suppressed, and in actual fact that is why you see what is actually happening today, what you - when you read about violence on black - on black to black - it's basically to try and suppress other ideologies, which in actual fact when it comes to freedom of expression, free election and what have you, people will be surprised because people will have to express their point of view.

J.F. But the A.N.C's also suppressed and yet it manages to be - have some profile in South Africa.

J.M. I - I'm saying here, for instance, you take the UDF, right, and the UDF has got that popular support, and that popular support comes from mainly from the press, and that's a liberal press - they project that type of an image and that people then they know only that type of an image and that type of an organisation - then other organisations are being actually suppressed, first by the press because people will only learn and to know about an organisation through the press, so other organisations are not published - they will not be known, but it doesn't necessarily mean that those organisations are not there - they are doing things - people they don't say fuck that organisation because it has gone to a stage when certain papers for publicising (?) certain organisations are being attacked right in the streets, so it's a very high risk, and that comes from only from certain people who pursue a certain part of what you call - ideology - it doesn't come from the system - that's people themselves in South Africa. (Suggest you listen to above to get correct sense.)

J.F. Why are you anti the A.N.C. - what are the problems that you would see with the A.N.C. - why do you not - why do you think they're not the way forward?

J.M. I wouldn't say I'm anti A.N.C. as such - I think my point of view, and it's quite clear (?) I believe that we have to achieve - that country was taken away from us, so I believe that the struggle should be wa - in that we should - we (?) involved in should be based on the question of land, and if it's based on the question of land, at the same time we should be striving not only for political power, because presently today in South Africa the Afrikaaner are having the political power whilst the British people are having the economical power - British has got (.....) investment in that country whilst United States have got 70 (?) percent, so British is the country that is actually having the economical power, so in this particular (?) instance if one would say we'll take political power as - and approach it in that way and forget about the question of the land that - it should never be successful - and at the same time after getting that political power if you still (?) - you'll still ta - and - align yourself with a certain superpower, then that's probably going to bring problems for us.

We see ourselves the line that has been pursued, a non-aligned movement as a movement that we see will pursue - we of course - we - what we envisage we envisage a country where we'll be independent.

J.F. How does your view differ from BC - you would say you're not BC?

J.M. BC talk about a person as a colour of a person being black - I haven't - you - I haven't said black as such, so - and I'm not saying that I will do things on my own - I believe the international community is there and we have to wage a struggle knowing very well that we are part and parcel of the international community.

J.F. Is there - is this supposed to be crossed off here, acceptance of white involvement at grassroots level....

J.M. Yes, it has been scrapped because we don't recognise a question of colour within the federation - we are saying that every person who accept that he's a worker then he's welcome.

J.F. But I'm just confused - is it just a kind of a value judgment - what if a person who is the security policeman came in and said : I accept that I'm a worker - or what if somebody came that you didn't know - if I came to you today and said : Look, I know I'm white, but I promise you I consider myself an African, and in fact I consider myself a worker - would you accept me??

J.M. Yes.

J.F. Just on the basis of what I say - I thought you would look at material conditions?

J.M. First I think what we are looking at, for instance, in terms of our constitution for various affiliates constitution is that people should accept - if they accept that they are workers, and they must be seen by the workers participating as workers at a factory floor, because those people must be accepted there right at the factory floor - we are saying that then those people when they accept that they are workers they will be joining from the factory floor, and if they join it means they work with those people - those people they work with they know them, and it's only those people who will elect them.

What we are actually saying that we are not going to come up as officials of the federation or the union, elect those people for on behalf of the workers - we are saying we will not do that - what should happen is if the people do recognise that they are workers, they join the worker movement of our unions and they get elected by our members - that's quite in order, acceptable to us - we'll never actually prevent that - but for us to go out and say because we've been elected as executive of the union, and go out and appoint or employ a white and say he's a general secretary, that will not do because it will not be in line with the situation in our country.

The country itself have to change - people who are in the country have to change and accept the situation - from that position then they will be able to be accepted, but not on the basis of us imposing somebody on the position of leadership and then that person becomes then part and parcel of us - that's not an (?) acceptable because it's something that has been imposed by the leadership.

J.F. So if you look back historically and you see some of the people who've historically been involved in the worker movement in South Africa, some of the whites who were trade union leaders historically, do you reject that?

J.M. We reject that because those people were involved but not involved from the grassroots - they were involved in terms of being employed by certain executive - or either they started the union - if a white started a black union he started because he wanted to fulfil his own goals, so that is not - I think we are now free - we have developed enough to say we need - if we start unions we start our own unions, and whites who are there in the country if they recognise themselves as workers they are welcome to join our - our unions.

J.F. And when I was in South Africa I would sometimes be at political meetings and black people would be shouting the names of white people, like Slovo - why would they be saying that?

- J.M. I mean the - that is a non-racial approach which is presently - we are saying we are not racist on our part - presently we are saying we are looking for a non-racial future, which we don't have today - so we have another school of thought which believe that there is a non-racial future today that they can talk - they can create a non-racial future today before actually we get rid of the present system.
- J.F. So you think that you'll get rid of the present system and then the next day you'll say now we're after non-racial future?
- J.M. Yes, that will be a period of reconciliation because that - that is what we're probably now embarking upon.
- J.F. So what would you say to the black people who were shouting the name of Joe Slovo at meetings - would you say....
- J.M. The - in actual fact those people are neutralising the militancy of the people - they are trying to divert the in terms of structural (?) in actual fact who's really the enemy.
- J.F. So even if an A.N.C.MK guerilla invokes the name of Joe Slovo you say this person is trying - is actually an agent who's trying to thwart the struggle?
- J.M. First, I think if you look at the question of the - the - the South African Communist Party, it is there within the A.N.C. with its own purpose, with its own goals, its own intention, which....
- J.F. Which is what?
- J.M. Which are - which - trying to - which are closely associated to Russia - it's a question of trying to implement Russian policies in our country, which we will not accept.
- J.F. What would you say if I say to you for me that sounds like S.A.B.C. - that sounds like P.W. Botha - he says the Russians are trying to take over this country - how are you different from what that....
- J.M. It might sound like that, but it's a reality.
- J.F. So you're both right?
- J.M. No, no, no - yes, it might sound like that but I - I - P.W. Botha is talking from his own position because he wants to maintain the - the status quo - I'm talking for the purpose of saying that to find a reality the solution of our country, that will not be the solution - if the A.N.C. would actually, for instance, with the South African Communist Party, take part - power in that country, that will not be providing the solution of our country - in actual fact it would mean that we would still be going dow.
- J.F. So tell me when did you - how did you learn about communism and about the Soviet Union - did you read about it or where did you get your information?
- J.M. I think I - whilst I've been outside the country I've met quite a number of guys from - who are actually the A.N.C. people - instead of actually talking about the struggle at home they are saying (seeing) about Russia, so that bores me.

J.F. They sing about Russia?

J.M. I - I mean people if they stand up and try and say the Russian and - instead of talking about our struggle in the country, and talk about Reagans and the Russians and what have you, that's not (.....) what you call (?) - I don't think I should get involved in that - my priority is at home.

J.F. But I never heard any A.N.C. people talking about Russia - I'm just confused about that - but tell me what do you think the Russian agenda is, or what is your view of the Soviet Union - do you think that it's a bad system?

J.M. Well, to me it - it doesn't provide a solution in Africa as such, because immediately we involve a superpower then the other superpower will try and come in and destabilise, and that's exactly what is happening in terms of when you look at countries like Ethiopia - that's how you have got that type of a situation - you look at Angola with UNITA - that's because of that involvement - and you look at Mozambique - there's no stability in those countries - why is it not - it's because of the involvement of the superpowers in their struggle.....

END OF SIDE TWO.

J.F. you think - you believe the struggle should be free from the superpowers?

J.M. Yes, and pursue a line a non-alignment, like the leader of Zimbabwe, Cde. Mugabe - he's pursuing that line of non-alignment.

J.F. But when I came here yesterday all your literature was ICFTU, so that's an alignment in one direction because the ICFTU is very much pro American, pro the West, so it seems that you - are you anti American also?

J.M. I think for - if you take, for instance, the position of CUSA before it defunct, it was an affiliate of the ICFTU, and mainly at this moment in time we are not affiliates with the CUSA, AZACTU as that, and we are now pursuing an independent approach, non - forget about the east or west.

J.F. Is that because you had a bad experience with the Americans with ICFTU?

J.M. It's not because of bad experience - I think we'll continue to relate with them as such, but not in terms of trying to affiliate with them.

J.F. But you relate to the west, but you don't relate in any way to the east, so that....

- J.M. Presently we - if the east comes and we allow - it's difficult in the country, for instance, to say I can go to Russia and say, be given a passport to go to Russia - any country if I believe in a passport we'll (will) be able to go.
- J.F. No, but you would go to the United States because it's easier - because it's possible to get a passport?
- J.M. It's because it's easy - it's just a question that the South African government has got no objection to that, but if it was allowing a person to go to whether East Germany or what without actually endangering yourself, then you'd go.
- J.F. But then you allow the dictates of the current situation in South Africa to determine your alignment in fact...
- J.M. It - it - it is....
- J.F. For example, Sats Cooper has just gone to the United States to study - are you just going to say : Look, it's impossible to go to the west - to the east so we have to go to the west - I'm saying some people would say to you but that is alignment.
- J.M. No, no, no, I - I - you see, presently what is available, what we are exposed to we - that's the only areas - now if you were to go to the eastern country definitely you are actually returning (?) yourself because you'll not be contributing anything - the next thing you will be languishing in jail for - for life.
- J.F. When you say that there's no stability in the countries who had some association with the East, there are many people who would say : Look, the reason Mozambique is in a terrible situation has to do with the destabilisation perpetrated by the apartheid regime and the American, the West - that kind of....
- J.M. I understand....
- J.F. not because they're communist....
- J.M. I understand that's the - the - the - the apartheid regime that is destabilising these two countries, but at the same time we - behind the what you call - the apartheid regime is the West.
- J.F. Right, but you said to me look at Mozambique, look at Angola, look at Ethiopia, they're not stable, communism is bad - and I'm saying some people would say they're not stable - it means in fact that capitalism and imperialism are bad - but you are using the instability of Mozambique to show me how communism and any association with the East is a detrimental....
- J.M. I - I'm not saying that association with the East - I'm not say - rejecting the association with the East - we - I'm saying we can relate to the East as well as we can relate to the - the West - we can't actually relate only to one, but presently the circumstances are actually pushing us only to be able to be exposed to the Western line.
- J.F. But all I'm trying to say is what is the problem with Mozambique, Angola and Ethiopia - you're saying it's communism.
- J.M. No, no, no, I'm saying it's because they've aligned themselves in terms of pursuing their struggle - had they pursued their struggle independently they would have not actually been involved in that type of situation.

- J.F. Let's get away from - I understand the alignment, but what about - what are you saying is wrong with the socialist or communist approach that Mozambique employed - if you just look at Mozambique and you look at state farms and redistribution of income, you're saying you are anti communist - I'm asking what is the criticism of communism - you said to me it's not for Africa - why is it not for Africa - what's the matter with communism that it doesn't suit Africa?
- J.M. I think we have to - as people of Africa we have to develop our own system of - our own system of economic system as such - we should not try and impose certain things that are not suitable to us - we have to develop our own African socialism which will actually be acceptable to us - we are not saying we have to take a certain structure which (?) is modelled from somewhere as it is and put it and just try and impose into our own situation.
- J.F. And so you're saying that non-racialism will be in the future, but what if someone should say - argue to you to say : Look, how can you reach a future non-racial society if you don't allow non-racialism to be practiced in the meantime - if there are some whites who campaign to get the S.A.D.F. out of the townships and they meet with the black student groups, are you saying no, that's not for now, that's for later - what about those who say : Look, what is the way forward?
- J.M. I'm not (.....)
- J.F. So what is the way forward then if - I'm just saying how would you answer that critique of how can you build non-racialism for the future if you refuse to allow it to be practiced now - would you go in and say to those ECC white people : Look, please, you mustn't associate with the black workers because there is no non-racialism in South Africa?
- J.M. No, no, no, I - I - I haven't said - I wouldn't say that - they - it's O.K. - I think they should mobilise their own white community and whilst the blacks are mobilising themselves, and they've got leverage, the power, because they've got voting power - they can change the status quo within that, and there - it's they're (?) within their right, and that's what we are looking for, that they should do - but what I'm actually saying is to say we - today we - we - because in South Africa race of a person is a very big issue, and I'm trying to pursue a struggle that would not involve the race part of it, and I have to be free from the - the - the race, but of course in emphasising my struggle I have to come to the race in terms of saying that the black people are the people who are actually should be in the forefront.
- Now I'm using the African people to say it's the African people and those who pay allegiance to that would actually be acceptable - it doesn't actually involve race - and you'd see if you go further that if other people do pay allegiance to Africa will be accepted into Africa and to adapt into African conditions.
- J.F. And just looking at the historical situation again, if you look at some of the historical working class African leaders in the '30s and the '40s and the '50s, you take someone like Moses Kotane or Moses Mabida, what's your view of them?
- J.M. You mean in South Africa as such?
- J.F. Do you know about Moses Kotane and Moses Mabida - have you heard of them?

- J.M. Moses Mabida.
- J.F. He's the former head of the SACP - he was just buried in Maputo in....
- J.M. Yes, yes, I know - sorry, I know him, yes - in actual fact I - I think all those people were manipulated by the SACC, so I think, you know, the white manipulation has its history in our struggle, and I reject that type (?) because of that hidden agenda.
- J.F. And what is - can you just define - you keep saying hidden agenda - what is the hidden agenda - what are they trying to do....
- J.M. It's the control of the black people's struggle or....
- J.F. To what end?
- J.M. Well, in - for their own - for instance, to - to - to an end of - I wouldn't like to go to....
- J.F. I'm just wondering what are their own objectives - they're not imperialists from the American side?
- J.M. They - also there are imperialists from the Eastern side.
- J.F. And what are they trying to do....
- J.M. Maybe they want us to be aligned with the Eastern imperialists - imperialism as such, so we have to reject all imperialism, whether it's from the East or West, and we have to stay independent, and in that - that is on the basis of that that I reject those people and who are manipulating our struggle and they - that is why we reject - even if how they started and how they contributed, they have their own agenda, and that agenda is that we should actually support one of the imperialists.
- J.F. And what country would you point to in the world today that you would admire that is truly non-aligned and that is making way forward that is neither East nor West that's improved the lot of the indigenous people?
- J.M. Well, I think when you look into our own situation in the country and people they would actually talk and of the African states, specially if you look at the - at the frontline states, and the country like Zimbabwe is the country that people from time to time used to quote and to say that's the line that people would wish to pursue.
- J.F. So you would cite Zimbabwe as....
- J.M. Yes, that's the country that is actually at the moment it's being used as an example in our case.
- J.F. If you asked the American government they'd say that they're Soviet aligned, but you wouldn't - the West thinks that Zimbabwe is too close to the East or that it's too close to the countries that aren't Western orientated - do you think that you would worry that Zimbabwe would be moving too close to the Soviet Union?
- J.M. If the people of the Zimbabwe - the Zimbabwean people that would be taking that direction, and they are free at this moment in time - they've attained their independence, so that - it's within their right, and of course it will be something that will be debated democratically within the Zimbabwean community.

- J.M. But at this moment in time if there is no freedom in South Africa we haven't - we haven't attained our independence - it is not - there is no way that we can say that we are able to debate issues in a democratic way.
- J.F. And just to wind up, how - you started off by saying that long ago you said no, you wouldn't be anti UDF because you think that you don't want to be the same as the Nats - the Nats have used it based on colour and you'd want to allow a non-racialism because you don't want to be the same as the Nats - how would you respond if someone says : But this way that you're talking now seems to be more like the Nats because it's a reverse racism - you're saying you don't want the whites involved....
- J.M. I haven't said that I don't want the whites - the whites involved.
- J.F. Tell me how they would be involved or how it's different than....
- J.M. If the whites do pay allegiance to our cause and they accept first and foremost that our struggle is based on the land and the land belongs to the indigenous masses, and that's the basis of them participating in our struggle, but if they are going to say that they are with us and we are fighting a struggle and then trying to say we are all fighting for freedom on what basis, and the land belongs to everybody, who is that everybody?
- J.F. And do you think your view is quite prevalent in South Africa today - are there lots of organisations that feel the same as you?
- J.M. Well, I think within - I mean we are an organisation, for instance, within ourselves in CUSA, AZACTU, and that's the line we wish to push and we are pushing it, and I'm sure it has got a popular support - even though it might not because of the liberal press, but it has from the masses point of view - immediately a person is exposed to this view he'll immediately jump to that view.
- J.F. Just to get back to your history, you were - you started working at Unilever in 1975 - you've had the same job with Unilever since '75?
- J.M. Yes.
- J.F. And when did you join the Food and Beverage Workers Union?
- J.M. That was way back in 1978.
- J.F. And you were elected shop - elected shop steward?
- J.M. Shop steward, ja.
- J.F. When was that?
- J.M. Well, we first had the - it was elections to the - to the action committee in 1979, and in '81 we were then officially elected to - as what you call - as a branch chairman of the shop stewards there.
- J.F. And when were you elected to the NEC of the Food and Beverage?
- J.M. That was in '82.
- J.F. And when were - when did you become part of CUSA?
- J.M. In '84 I - I became part of CUSA in '82 as an (.....) of Food and Beverage - I was also actually an NEC (?) of - a representative of Food in CUSA - I was then elected president in '84.

J.F. And you were president of CUSA since '84?

J.M. Yes.

J.F. And now you're president of CUSA, AZACTU?

J.M. Yes.

J.F. And is (.....) the general secretary?

J.M. Yes.

J.F. When you mentioned the thing about whites manipulating Africans historically, do you think the same goes for Indians - if you take someone like Dadoo or some of the Coloureds and Indians who were involved in the Communist Party, do you also think they were manipulating Africans?

J.M. Well, I - I think all those people are in actual fact oppressed and exploited like (?) all of us as it stands at the present moment, and the ruling class in that country is the white people, and the white people who were in the - in the ruling party because they did not agree with certain things, and when they were banned in - on (?) certain things they then decided to form an alliance with the black people, and it then - it's basically the people who are involved in this type of manipulations are the white people, because they are the people they left the - their own what you call - white parties and they then started (.....) and they went in ahead with the what you call - and even if you go today, because of the educational background, because of our environment, because of the situation we find ourselves in, white people immediately they come in, according to a black man he has to listen to them, so basically there would be no development on the part of a black man if there is a white man - so it is to safeguard and to try and promote that development, self confidence, self determination.

J.F. And what's the ideology of CUSA, AZACTU - you said you're not for communism - what kind of social system do you support?

J.M. Well, I haven't said I'm not for communalism - I think we have said we are look - communism - we are not for communism - I haven't said that, but I - what I've said we are looking for a socialist economy.

J.F. So how do you differentiate socialism from communism?

J.M. I - that's why I say I haven't said communism we are not for - the federation hasn't said - taken a stand as such to say they are not for communism - what the federation has said is that they are for a socialist economy which will be based on the aspirations and the need of our society.

J.F. So how is a socialist economy different from communism in your view?

J.M. First there is a worker control, which is probably - the economy of the country is in the hands of the workers, and there is one which is in the hands of the state, which is communism.

J.F. Do you accept BC within your ranks or is there no BC in CUSA, AZACTU?

J.M. I think it's a starting point as far as we are concerned, and we accept - we are with them - it's a first and foremost starting point that people should be conscientised of themselves and of their situation, and with time we believe that people will have to learn that the reality of the situation is that we should not be looking at the colour of a person.

- J.F. How do you see the future of South Africa - what kind of situation will there be when - how will change come and what will the change be like - will it come through violence, will it come through guerilla war, will it come through....
- J.M. I think ultimately it's moving towards - in actual fact it's moving towards violence - I don't think there will be any change that will come through....
- J.F. What kind of violence will there be - any organised military confrontation with the state and who will be responsible for it?
- J.M. I think it is not easy at this stage, because of the racist regime power in - military power as such to confront the regime, but people will be involved in military activities that will in a way go towards crippling that regime.
- J.F. And if you look at the news stories that come out of South Africa practically every day of the Umkhonto we Sizwe attacks, how do you feel about them?
- J.M. Well, that's - we - we - there are certain states (?) where you appreciate some certain activities, but at times you feel that it is not done effectively.
- J.F. So what would that criticism - how could it be done better or what's the problem?
- J.M. I mean at times you find that a lot of what you call - arms are being captured in the country by the regime and before being used - now that is arming the enemy rather than arming the people.
- J.F. So would you say you don't support Umkhonto we Sizwe?
- J.M. No, no, no, I'm not - I'm saying - I'm not supporting - we - we support - in terms of the policy, for instance, if you look at the federation, we support all the liberatory (?) organisations - that's the policy of the federation as such.
- J.F. But do you - how do you see - how do you think change will come - do you think change will come because of workers strikes, because of MK, because of - because the government will change - how do you think it will come?
- J.M. It's illegal for me in South Africa to say that the change will come through the armed struggle, but I - I - I wouldn't say that, but you know very well for the fact that we as trade unionists we have called for economic sanctions against the regime, and we are saying that that's the last stage - if there's no....
- J.F. Last what?
- J.M. The last pressure that should actually be exacted on that regime - now apart from that it would definitely mean that it would be something else, violence.
- J.F. Which is the last one, sanctions?
- J.M. Yes, that's a - sanctions are the last resort for the international community to exact (?) pressure on the regime, and it has to change within those ranks (?) and at the same time, coupled with that, ultimately people will then opt for military activity.

- J.F. Can you just tell me the high school you went to - I didn't get that name?
- J.M. That's - the high school, that's San - St. Chads High.
- J.F. And the one before that with a Zulu name?
- J.M. I was at secondary school at Illinge High - secondary school for Form Three, and for higher primary that's Hhlabahlangeni - these are in Vosloorus, Boksburg - St. Chads it's in Ladysmith, Natal.

END OF INTERVIEW.