

## **MOODLEY, SUMBOORNAM (SAM), 20 December 2019, Durban (J)**

Interviewer: Karen Hurt KH

Interviewee: Sumboornam Moodley (Sam) SM

KH The South African Banned Persons Memory Project is with Sam Moodley on 20th December 2019. We're in Newlands West, Durban. The videographer is Rafs Mayet and I'm Karen Hurt asking the questions. Could we start by asking you to share with us a story about your childhood growing up, where you were born, where you went to school? Those early times.

SM I was born 20th November 1948 in a little town called Dundee in Northern Natal to parents Velu Pakri Pillay and Govindamma Pillay, my mum. We were six of us in the family and I was the youngest.

So schooling, I schooled at firstly Dundee Primary. It used to be called state aided because all our schools were supported by community, and it was community-built schools. And I was at primary school from what we call now grade one to about grade, I'm looking at... We were saying standard one, standard two up until standard four.

And then it was funny that the primary and high schools were joined from standard five to matric. So I then went into the high school from standard five. Very interesting to be at a high school at such an early age, I suppose. And that is what... We were influenced by the bigger boys and girls who were excellent examples and exemplars for excellence.

And school was always that motivated us to do our best. I was quite young I think, to have been at that stage. Because I remember in standard six, I was the youngest member of a debating team. So it was absolutely ridiculous for me to be there.

What struck me most, that we had to do research and it still remains in my memory store, of having done a debate on the UN being a toothless body. And a person who really influenced me at high school was a person by a name of Enver Motala.

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He was a lawyer, now. He went into law, but I didn't know at that stage the kind of political background to his influence on my life. And he belonged to, then was NEUM, the Non-European Unity Movement. And I slowly became aware of the activities of a group of men who, because one of the leaders of the Non-European Unity Movement was Dr Limbada. And him, he together with a group of guys left the country.

And being he was our, Dr Limbada was our GP. So it was a great loss to our family when he had to leave. But there was such secrecy around why he left.

And at that stage it meant nothing to me as to what was happening, except for often there were pamphlets thrown under our door. And my father would take it away and refuse to allow me to read.

And as inquisitive as I was, he would have it under his mattress or under the bed, and so whenever they went out, I would take this and I would read it. And one of the things they were saying to my father, to boycott the local elections. It still made no sense to me. And that was around 1960, about between 60 and '63.

KH Which local elections would those have been?

SM Those were the local council. It was a local council, Indian council. And my father was... They were touting for him to be on that council. And he was nominated and therefore there was this huge outcry. And then he left. He had to leave because he said he couldn't be part of it.

KH He left the country?

SM No, my father left that candidacy for to become a local councillor. And when I look back on it, I think, well thank god for that.

KH Could you just mention, Enver Motala you mentioned. Was he also in Dundee?

SM He was in Dundee, he was at high school. He was in matric that year and I was in standard six. And yes, and that was that debate. And of course I must say that we had to do it in front of the whole school, and I froze and I forgot all my words (laughs). I suppose that's what stuck in my mind.

But to be part of the debating team at such an early age. And then the leaving of these guys. And there were quite a number of them that we knew and were closely... They were family members, friends.

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And then to realise that they were not going to be there anymore. But my father would not explain as to how and why they disappeared. But they left the country subsequently because of... They would have been arrested. And they were, I also learnt that they were very involved in the worker's struggle with the workers in the mines. But that was even later. At that stage I didn't even know.

But it seemed like as though there was this void in our lives of important people that meant something to us as a family as well. Only later on when I came to university, just before coming into university, did I get to understand what was happening.

But also prior to that at high school, we did not have teachers to teach us. Teachers who had left the country, for example Mr Bawda left the country to go to Zambia. And that too was a political act. And it was in our matric year. And we could not understand how and why this happened, because there was nobody to tell us.

He was our history teacher. And then the maths teacher had left. What the government had done was to send... Well, at that stage the education department sent teachers to us that were not qualified teachers and they were science teachers.

And they came in and they refused to teach maths or history, because they said they came on punitive measures. And they were sent to the rural areas. So these things, but yet one would have thought having this imposed on them, they would have taken a stand to teach us a little more. So, but they didn't. So we took education into our own hands. And that was in 1965.

And I then became a teacher of the class. And I started Saturdays and Sundays, after school we would teach ourselves. And we were 40 students in matric and at the end of the year I was the only student who had passed.

But it was that determination to realise that look, there were gross injustices. We petitioned the principal who could do nothing to get us teachers anywhere. So that was, I suppose, one of the beginning points of my early resilience and my resistance to anything that was unjust.

KH And also leadership.

SM And it was my beginning of my leadership, yes.

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KH What are your most vivid memories of apartheid and how it impacted on your everyday life and activities?

SM If you go to early childhood, I mean from 1948 obviously is a very important year in terms of my birth and in terms of the Nationalist government. But if you look at us growing up in a racialised society in an Indian community and at the beginning there wasn't, and that is what really... We lived together.

The Group Areas Act did not impact on our lives, because we lived together as African, Coloured, Indian communities who lived amongst each other. We sang together around the *balla* [unclear], telling stories. We danced in the streets. The beerhall was next to our home.

So on a Sunday there was all this kind of people singing in the fields, in this huge veld. So there was this sort of thing. And we were very close to a Dlamini family who had a beerhall across our house. So there was this very close-knit relationship.

My father was a taxi driver and Mrs Dlamini was a taxi driver. So our families lived very closely until 1966. I grew up with their daughter Joyce Dlamini. So both of us matriculated, although she went to an African school and I to an Indian school.

We were so close. When we left to come to Durban, she went to King Edward Hospital to do nursing and I went to Salisbury Island. But during the holidays we

would come back. And that first impact of that train ride really had impacted me, because she was pushed into the compartment.

We met on the platform in Durban, then she was pushed into the compartment for African people. I was not allowed to go there, and I was pushed into the Indian compartment. And then made plans to see each other during the course of the night.

And then when we arrived, usually it was her father would pick us up or we would drive in the same taxi. That day my father came with his taxi and her father... And we realised they were no more living across us in Dundee.

And they had been pushed into a little location out in Talana where the glassworks were. But when... And we then didn't see each other for the holidays. And that was the beginning of the Group Areas Act as far as I could recall.

KH You were living in Dundee. Was there a specific name to the part of Dundee you were living in?

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SM It was just general. But in Dundee we still lived, African, Indian, and Coloured communities lived together. But the white communities lived separately. So there were more privileges for white communities.

For instance, I would love to have done ballet. And every Saturday I would go and peep through this hole in the church just to watch white girls learning how to do ballet. And I taught myself how to dance, because I danced in the streets. And the *kwela* was very important for us (laughs).

We danced and the guys would play their flute. And yes, it was... And Indian dancing, like *bharatanatyam* was what we taught ourselves. We didn't have schools for that. We just would get together. Our cultural life was very, very rich and enriching.

KH Sam, when Group Areas Act was enforced, what happened where you were living? Were people forcibly removed? How did...

SM The African and... We stayed where we were, but the poverty-stricken situation was very bad. And that is why I think I became very involved. My father was the head of the welfare, child welfare. The Indian child welfare in Dundee.

And I would go around with him. Because our education system was poor. We had like platoon classes. We would have a morning class and an afternoon class. So most of the buildings were at the beginning, were these confabs.

So they would... We had to collect money for schooling. My father was part of the school education committee. He was part of child welfare when people did not have homes. That whole welfare model I think was embedded in me from the time I was a child. And I grew up where my father looked after people.

Unemployment, finding jobs, everybody would know. In the Indian community my father was known as Tinker. Now we wanted to know, what was Tinker all about? They could not say Thinker. So eventually he... So they would call him Tinker. Are you Tinker's daughter?

So anyway, and he worked at the lawyer's office as a clerk. And I would go, I was at his office every Saturday with my books. It was always my dream to become a lawyer, but my father said to me, you will not become a lawyer, because you will get involved in politics.

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Because I suppose I was really outspoken. I think it's from a very early age my mother would say to me, where did you get this phrase from? I would say, give and spend and god will send. (Laughs). It's a funny thing. But I would get money from my parents' pockets. I'd take it and keep it with me.

And I remember I got caught once when I was in grade one. The teacher came home, I was ill, she came to give me a certificate, because I had collected the most money for the Deaf and Blind Society in Durban (laughs). My father gave me whacking, because I'd been pinching his pennies to get these little stickers. And I'd won this prize. But then I'd get a hiding for that.

KH But did you keep the certificate?

SM (Laughs). So anyway, I suppose that is where this whole... So, well in terms of my identity, and in fact I look back as to who was I? What was I all about? Always fighting for somebody and somebody's rights. And it was funnily that as I grew up, this is the direction that I took in my life.

KH You spoke about the train journey with your friend and how it just became so obvious that you were being wrenched apart because of apartheid. Were there any other memories you have? You went to university, and you mentioned Salisbury Island. Could you explain what Salisbury Island was?

SM Right. Salisbury Island in fact is, was know as the University College for Indians. It was part of the whole Universities Act, 1960 Universities Act, which where the bush colleges were formed. And you found that there were universities for, they're called ethnic universities, for Zulu-speaking persons. That was in Zululand, the University of Ngoye.

Then we had university for Indians only which was Salisbury Island. But we were called University College, because it was a combination of a teachers college and an academic college. So that is how. And we were under UNISA, University of South Africa. So our degrees were University of South Africa.

KH Which was a long-distance university.

SM That's right. So we were not autonomous until 1972 when we moved from Salisbury Island to University of Durban-Westville. So Durban University,

University College for Indians Salisbury Island, was a forerunner to University of Durban-Westville.

KH And that was built brand new at that stage.

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SM Yes. So university on Salisbury Island was a navy base. It was a university where we were really pushed and kept in isolation from other universities. And we had no contact and we were not allowed... There were laws that prevented us from, by the university, to be with students from University of Natal.

KH Which would have been the white campus.

SM The medical school white campus, Natal. Which was at that stage in Lancers Road in Durban. It was not up on the hill at Howard College. And then there was a University of Natal black section which was for medical students mainly at Wentworth. But they came to King Edward for their training.

And then there was a University of Ngoye, Zululand. University of Western Cape. University of the North, which was called, we called it University of Turfloop. So those were the black universities. And we were not allowed to have any contact with any of these universities. It was very stringent on the campus.

KH How did you actually reach the campus, the college?

SM It was by boat. I lived in the hostel at the university. And the sad part of it was we were locked in at six in the evening and the doors would open in the hostel at six in the morning.

KH It was like house arrest in a way.

SM (Laughs). It was very Gestapo-ish atmosphere. Our lecturers were all white lecturers. Many of them were not qualified. They were just with first degrees. They were not of higher education, higher degrees. We didn't have people with Master's.

So I mean they were really... If we qualified, we were virtually at the same level. We were never allowed to question. We just we had to regurgitate what they told us. If you put your hands up... I'd failed History, History II, because I continuously was told I must keep quiet.

I was in the Drama Department and we had to sign a letter. And that is where this happened in 1966, when we first started a production outside as students, called Black on White. It was a satirical review on the political conditions in the country.

We, the guys, in 1960... Well, we started in 1966. By 1967 it was a highly political review. By 1967 the guys in the group after a party of celebrating one of our productions, they were, some of them, the guys were arrested and they were expelled. The girls, three of us, were not.

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Somehow, because we were not there when they brought in the cops. They raided the party. The guys went out on a rampage and they broke bottles and hit students and then the cops arrived. We were lucky that one of the lecturers, David Horner... I was due to have a rehearsal that afternoon, and Strini had come in.

KH Strini Moodley?

SM And they said they were looking for him. And he said, no way, you're not going to get caught. David Horner put him into his car and drove him off campus and told us to continue with our rehearsals.

But by that year June, July, these guys were all expelled and we had to continue. We had to sign a letter stating... The rector insisted that we will not participate in any production outside of the campus.

KH Do you remember who the rector was?

SM Professor SP Olivier.

KH Was there a moment that you can remember and talk to us about - you've already spoken about how social and economic and racial injustice, you pretty much took that on from when you were very, very young - was there a point in which you became politically active and took on new struggles or joined or formed other organisations?

SM So right at university, in 1968, the only organisation that one could belong to was NUSAS.

KH The National Union of South African Students.

SM The National Union of South African Students.

KH Was that mixed race at that time?

SM That was a what we called multi-racial organisation. Very much like our rainbow nation now, the kind of multi-racialism that still consists and still exists in terms of liberal views, of wanting to do things for black people. And the same thing happened. In 1968 we were doing Black on White and Steve was at medical school.

KH Steve Biko?

SM Steve Biko. So he saw one of our productions and said that we should perform at the NUSAS conference at Wits University. Because remember, we had to get permits to be there.

KH Could you mention something about that, the permit system?

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SM Like all universities, white universities, black students could not attend so you had to have a permit to be on that campus. There was a quota system for a number of white, white... Black students to attend these white universities.

So when they, NUSAS, had their conference at Wits, they had to have a permit for us to be there. That's one. Two, we could not, we were put up, as Indian students, we were put up by white lecturers outside the campus. Black students could not be on campus. And they would then have to stay in a location outside of the campus.

That's when this whole politicisation of the student movement began, when black students stood up and said that they were tired about one, being spoken about, spoken around, spoken of and nothing was being done. And people had to take a stand that if they were going to be staying outside of campus, there should be that kind of commitment to say that they will refuse to have these permits applied for, and that they will want to stay on campus.

And then at that stage there was a walkout. And black students then started to say, we need to have our own student body because we are tired. You are really, the white students, were really not committed, because they could go back to their homes of privilege, but nothing - They would speak about oppression, they would speak about the injustices, but really and honestly would not commit themselves to do anything about it. And it was important that we as black students had to do something for ourselves. And that has been the breakaway in July 1968. That's when the breakaway happened.

KH To form?

SM To form the South African Students Organisation [SASO].

KH I'm just wondering if... There were, you know, quite a lot of world events taking place around that time in history. Were you influenced at all, you and your comrades, were you influenced at all by other uprisings and resistance movements elsewhere?

SM At that stage also we were very... We were now picking up on and reading. You must remember, all literature was banned. We were not exposed to the kind of literature that we could easily pick up here to find writings by whether it was Cabral or whether it was the Black Panther movement. Whether it was Marxist literature, whether we were exposed.

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We were starting to learn to read, to debate, to engage in issues that were happening to the French students in Paris. We were beginning to understand what was happening to the black student movement in the States, what was happening in Vietnam. What was happening to African states and African revolutions and their independence from Kwame Nkrumah too.

We were starting to learn about all types of things that were happening. We knew about what had happened to Sobukwe. We knew what had happened to Mandela. So those kinds of things. We were standing out and speaking for the liberation for all people, oppressed people, all over the world.

So and this was always done like subterfuge, stealthily, like so you had to be all underground and underhand. You can't have open discussions. We could not, by the way, bring in or even have debates on campus on political issues. We could not bring in speakers onto campus.

We were so stultified in our whole education system that we could not even express ourselves. And so everything was very hidden. And it was what we call closeted politics, in little rooms wherever we were. But one of the things we used to do is to do, is to wake up very early in the morning, we'd make posters.

And on campus we'd put up posters at four, five o'clock in the morning when we are busy making the posters. We wait for the six o'clock door to open, we're out, and then we are pasting posters all over, engaging students as to what exactly was happening.

KH What did your posters say?

SM It depended on what the issues were. One of the things I remember when Kennedy arrived - I'm trying to think when was that? 1967 - at University of Natal and we were not allowed to go and listen to him.

And we broke curfew, as we called it, some of us escaped through the windows. We had somebody's car and everybody, we got piled in and we went to Natal to listen to him. Yes, and we...

KH So the posters - you were talking about they have on them.

SM Yes, whatever the issues were. On whatever was happening in the country, we would make students aware.

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KH Were there any other organisations aligned to Black Consciousness thinking at that time that existed in and around Durban or nationally that SASO was affiliated to?

SM No. None, we were, except for obviously, we were... The leadership would attend conferences set up by like the All Africa Conference, ASECA Conference. You must remember at that stage, when the leadership was involved in being invited, we were not given passports. So there was no way that we could leave the country.

KH And SASO was a national organisation. Did you used to have national conferences?

SM Yes, so when we looked at how... Then the formation, so how did we then develop as an organisation? While we were on campus, we were not allowed to have SASO. So we had a branch called the Reservoir Hills Branch, the Durban Branch, outside of campus so you could join all the different student organisations. And that is how we then started to bring in students from Natal, at that stage ML Sultan Technical College.

And then started the student, high school student, movement. That was about 1969, 1970.

KH So you were politicising high school learners.

SM Yes. Remember, I then started to teach in 1970. But once I was no more a student so I could not belong to South African Student Organisation. But I could still influence students while I was teaching. And so we started a high school movement in Chatsworth for instance.

KH Which schools did you teach at?

SM I taught at the Witteklip High School in Unit 5 which was one of the most, like Unit 3, it was a very impoverished area. Everybody had come from deprived areas.

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The conditions under which we taught, especially the kids, came from very, very poor homes. And that is where the whole idea as to teaching students this concept of self-reliance and doing things and helping communities. So I taught English. And my English projects were connected to the social welfare projects.

And their writing projects were to... And to help out with communities that were in the area. So they formed little subcommittees in the area and they would help the elderly for instance, to go and assist them to go and get their pensions, to fill in their application for disability grants.

For the very ill, they would volunteer. Some of the things, they would volunteer to take them to the only hospital that was there, the RK Khan Hospital. So my students were taught that they were part of a community and they had to remember where they had come from.

One of the things, the kids would come to school very deprived, who'd never had anything to eat. And it was difficult teaching students who were already very starved and hadn't had breakfast. And we'd make sandwiches and make sure they ate before we started the lesson.

So it was something that we were already starting for them to understand about who they were and why they were in that condition. Because it was this whole politicisation and conscientisation programme.

KH And it sounds like active citizenship at a junior level at that time.

SM Yes, and I would read, every morning I would read to them *Soledad Brothers*, the prison writings of George Jackson. So every morning we would read one section. Because we had this thing called right living. So I would use that to engage them.

And we did quite a number of interchanges with schools in the area. So we would do a lunchtime programme, a candlelight theatre programme, art exhibition programme, creative writing. Writing became a very important tool for

the students who started the first newsletter and we would distribute the newsletters to other schools.

Yes, there was... Then I did a programme, a play. Got the students to rewrite Animal Farm into a play. And that was the crux around which they then decided that they would not renew my contract as a teacher, and I was expelled. Well I would say they used that as an excuse to get rid of me, end of 1972, from high school teaching.

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KH So do you think the Security Police were monitoring you at that stage?

SM Ja, they were. Because at that time, 1972, the students' boycott started. And students at my school sat on the ground. The principal asked me to go and speak to them, ask them to get back, and I just couldn't do that.

Anyway, by the end of '72 when they did not renew my contract as a teacher, they said on the pretext that all married women were on temporary staff and if you are married, if you're on temporary staff, you have to renew your contract. They said they will not renew your contract.

KH When did you get married?

SM Oh I got married in 1969. (Laughs).

KH And who did you marry?

SM Strini Moodley, yes.

KH Was he also on Salisbury Island, a student there?

SM He was on Salisbury Island.

KH You mentioned, you talked about the leadership of SASO and on campus. Can you mention some of the other people who were in leadership at that time, your contemporary comrades?

SM Yes, well at that stage we had to be off campus, right? But on campus were people like well, Strini Moodley. Part of the gang that we were called the café clan [?]. And we were the ones who had started to use drama and the arts as a platform for politicisation and conscientisation.

We were known as the radicals on campus. The leadership at that stage were people like Shan Chetty, Archie Augustine, most of the lawyers, Aswin Trikamjee. We then, the way to actually get in touch with students of other universities, we formed what was called sporting clubs.

So on the pretext of using sporting clubs, we were able to engage other campuses. And we were able to bring University of Zululand students onto our campus. So that is how in fact we were able to get involved in SASO activities.

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And in SASO obviously we were part of also, there was a medical and dental council. So people from the medical school in leadership were people like Chappie Mpolwana. Ben Ngubane was also there. Vuyo Mashalaba. Mamphela Ramphele. Steve Biko.

Then outside of campus was people like Manny Patel, Harry Nengwekhulu. From campus itself were people like Jeff, Allan Jeffrey. Um (pause) can't think of his name, he led the student movement. Oh I can see his face, I can't remember.

KH It'll come to you.

SM So Yugen Naidoo. Um, I'm trying to think. Medical school was people like GS Abraham [?], Tilly Naidoo, DV Naidoo. Yes. It just doesn't come.

KH You're doing very well actually for all those years ago. You married somebody who was very, a political leader. Were any other members of your family active politically? I know your father, when you were young, didn't want you to sort of get involved.

SM My cousin, Indres Moodley was on campus with us as well. Now Indres and I are first cousins. And one of the first things, we were going to a meeting to Professor Olivier, the rector then, was addressing. And he and I were holding hands and walking to the meeting.

And the rector stopped us and said why are we holding hands? By the way, relationships, we were hounded for relationships on campus. If you were known and cross-cultural relationships. If you were a person from a Hindu background going out with a person from a Muslim background, you would be called in to [overtalking].

KH By Olivier?

SM Yes. Now my cousin and I walking hand-in-hand to this. He stopped his car and he said we must go in to see him at his office. And he wouldn't believe we were cousins. He called for our parents. He summoned his mum from Joburg and (pause).

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Well we have to be, yes. So here we were, our parents were brought in and he was really asking us to how if there were any other member of family. So Indres, my cousin, that was one of... He was also very involved in the group in terms of student protests.

Must remember, we were staying at the hostel. And one of the things that we used to protest about was the food. We boycotted the food. We used to have like brown bread and coffee. Or brown bread. We'd have soup or stew. It was like rationed food. And we could not eat in our rooms.

And we tried bring food from home. So things on campus were... And then we would also, besides protesting about the kinds of lectures that we were receiving, so it was a lot of hostel issues. So my cousin was also involved in that.

Why I'm talking about his involvement, he did pharmacy. And in 1971 he was arrested with Ahmed Timol. He was part of the Ahmed Timol trial. So whenever Ahmed Timol used to come to Durban, then he would give us pamphlets to distribute.

And we would be, we were his, Strini and I, our flat was the household and Indres stayed with us. So then he got picked up and he was imprisoned together with Amina... I've forgotten Amina's surname.

UM Cachalia.

SM Cachalia. No. Amina Desai. Amina Desai. Essack. There were four of them that were arrested. And then Indres was released and the charges against him and Essack were dropped later. Amina Desai's charges were dropped. And then obviously, the killing of Ahmed Timol.

KH What were they charged with?

SM The whole thing on communism, yes.

KH In what year were you banned?

SM I was banned in 1973.

KH Under which legislation were you banned?

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SM It was section 9 of the Communism Act.

KH The Suppression of Communism Act. And could you just take us through what happened the day you were banned? How did you hear about it?

SM Well, must remember I was now expelled from, at the end of 1972, I was expelled from teaching. At the same time, Steve Biko was expelled from University of Natal. Both of us found our place at the Black Community Programmes offices.

I was his assistant researcher for the publication of *Black Review*. And I was involved in writing the proposals, documents, for different projects. The women's project, the literacy project, the cultural project, the... I've got those papers somewhere. But four or five projects that I had to write proposals for.

I was very involved in the youth project. That was my... I was really involved in that while working on the research for *Black Review*. And we formed different youth organisations. I was particularly involved with the KwaMashu Youth Organisation. We were involved in preparing them.

So we would have what was called leadership training programmes. We would have seminars and workshops. And the same with the women's programme. And that was a starting point for the Black Women's Federation. We had our discussions with women from YWCA, with Fatima Meer and all of them.

Starting, before you speak, or agenda had actually started, we began the... They were anti by the way, anti the word black. They wanted it to be called a women's organisation. And that is NOW, how NOW was formed. The Natal Organisation of Women, and then it was National Women's Organisation.

KH Natal Organisation of Women.

SM Yes, first it was Natal and then it was National Women's Organisation. And then came the Black Women's Federation in terms of how it evolved. And then we were very involved in literacy projects. And we did a lot of literacy projects in Hammarsdale at the Ecumenical Centre. Most of our training used to be there. So by March 1973, the leadership of SASO was banned. Strini was banned, Saths.

00:48:21

KH Saths Cooper.

SM Saths Cooper, Harry Nengwekhulu, Jerry Modisane, Bokwe Mafuna, Barney Pityana, Steve Biko, Drake Koka were banned. That was the first eight. In the meantime, we still continued with the work. Steve was sent to King William's Town. Most of them, Harry Nengwekhulu was sent off to the North.

KH Where was your partner banned to, Strini?

SM To Overport. So after their banning, we had to continue. There was the whole atmosphere in South Africa, there was this whole lull. There was so much of fear. People were absolutely scared. Because remember, you were not allowed to be seen or heard. Your publications were being banned. Your materials were taken away. There was nothing that you could... And we were still at Black Community Programmes, still continuing with the work.

KH Did your offices used to get raided?

SM All the time.

KH Do you think your offices were bugged and phones and so on [overtalking].

SM Well that we knew was happening. So we were the only organisation that dared to celebrate or commemorate Sharpeville day. Because at that stage, I mean the banning of the ANC and PAC, as much as people were saying that because there was a void. **There was no void.**

I think that idea of having a void in the political conditions of the country is not true. There was a continuation through the work done by Black Community Programmes by Black People's Convention, the political wing of Black Consciousness.

And the South African Students' Organisation continued with the politicising of people and conscientising. And lifting the awareness of the politics of the understanding of their liberation, starting with the liberation of the self first.

And I think that was what the state was scared about. That we were not, we were not... **We were overtly political. We were daringly political.** We refused to succumb to any form of oppressive means to silence us.

00:51:16

So there was no such thing as a vacuum. There was no, when the PAC and ANC was banned, there was no vacuum. That politicisation, because we dared the system, we challenged the system, we refused to be silenced.

And no matter where we went, when saw them... When the cops, I mean the cops would raid us, they would arrest us, they would pull us into vans, and whatever they did to us, I would scream in the street. If I knew I was being followed I would say, (raises voice) hey, excuse me, this man is following me.

And people would stop and look, and we would intimidate the cops as much as they tried to intimidate us. I think that was their fear, that we became fearless. And that is, I think, one of the reasons for them, for the state, coming down upon us. Because we were so courageous.

How we took on the state, besides, and they knew that we were mobilising people wherever we went. So for Sharpeville day, I then continued. Now there were very few speakers left. So I spoke at, in the morning, at the Gandhi Settlement. They had a session there and I spoke on the bannings.

KH In Phoenix?

SM In Phoenix on the bannings. Hitchhiked, went to UNB and I spoke.

KH UNB?

SM That is the University of Natal Black Section. Spoke to the medical students where they had a commemoration as well. And I knew - when I was hitchhiking, I knew I was being followed by the Special Branch. When we got to Wentworth Medical School, when the car who I had hitched a lift with stopped, they stopped as well. But I knew who these guys were, because I was very familiar with the Special Branch. I knew who they were. So we walked from the entrance and then they parked their car and they followed us into campus.

So when I... I was the first, the first and only. No, two of us were speaking. Aubrey Mokoape and myself. And as I stood up to speak, I welcomed everybody with a special welcome to the Special Branch, who were sitting in front.

00:54:00

And within seconds, the students came out and they dragged them out, then they beat them up. And they put them out of the hall. So when they took them out of the hall, everything was in chaotic disarray. We waited for another hour and then they came back. In the meantime...

KH The students came back?

SM Ja. In the meantime these guys had lapel mics which were taken off. And then they brought them back and then they showed them where they had planted their mics. And that evening of course, they came.

Well obviously Strini couldn't attend. When I got home, they were already waiting for me. Vuyi Mahlaba put me into a car, covered me up, took me on. Because we were surrounded by saracens [armoured cars] we were surrounded by the cops. I didn't know how to get out of campus.

By then I got home, they were already waiting. And they took me off, arrested me. And they said, you're not coming back, don't bother. Anyway, I was four months pregnant then. And here was I taken away. And Strini still said, take the key. And they said, don't bother about the key, she's not coming back. And they took me.

KH Which police station? Where did they take you?

SM They took me to Fischer Street first. Now you must know, I'm pregnant, four months pregnant, and they got all their brigadiers in their white attire with all their lapels sitting there. With Vorster's photograph at the back. And they throw you in and they said, kneel.

And I had to, all being interrogated while kneeling for maybe about an hour or two. And they said I must bow down to this photograph (laughs). But that, for me the worst part of it was after that, I was taken away by a woman cop to be searched, body searched. And physically searched.

And that was for me the worst part of you know, I can still just sometimes, you close your eyes, you still feel that body search. And then they had me in a room with all these guys pressing a table, pressing me against the wall. And they refused to let me have anything to drink.

Then eventually I said, I needed some water. And they bring a tumbler, they leave it at the edge. As I went to pick it up, it broke and fell. And they said, no, that's it, we gave you a chance, you'll never drink water again.

00:57:04

And it went on. I never drank water until about two, three in the morning and then they took me back. They took me from Fischer Street they took me to Somtseu Road Police Station. And then from there, (sighs) anyway, they left. And then they were back at five.

Then they took me from there to Wentworth. Now Wentworth, if you're going down, I was sitting in the police van at the back (pause), and they... No, they stopped first before going to Wentworth, they stopped at, they had their what was called the Compol Building in corner of Gardener and Smith Street, to pick up the guy that the students has bashed.

Now he'd come in with all his head was bashed and he had bandages. And they said, now you have to, he's going to be your interrogator. They put him in at the

back of van with me (laughs) and drove to Wentworth at a speed. And Wentworth, you know that road was very steep. And they, I can't remember the name the... Quality Street, hey? Ja. So they would drive and...

KH And you were pregnant.

SM Yes. And they were saying...

KH And they knew you were pregnant?

SM Yes. And they said to me, we want you to, you will have your baby here (pause). And then they will turn, go up again and back and do this several times. And eventually... And you know the kind of language used. Wherever, the most racial, the most... Think they said things that were at the pit of your stomach, tear at your humanity.

Talk about how you'll be... Call you names or who you are sleeping with. You love, the K-word was a familiar word. And they were like gross in the manner in which they attacked your body, your person, your self.

So yes. And then they kept me at Wentworth and they said to me, you, we're going to put you in with all these women here in the cell, and you will see by the time we come here you'll be just flesh and bones. They're going to tear into you.

But when we got in there it was... Remember our philosophy is - no matter where you are, you will conscientise (laughs). So I had a good time talking to the women. Talking about why women were in prison, what were the conditions, why?

01:00:08

Letting them understand the whole socio-political economic situation in the country. And I had a good time using that to conscientise. And they came back, then they took me out and said, this is not going to happen. So I haven't eaten. I hadn't had anything.

We were kept in this kind of cell for so long, the full day. In the meantime, the Special Branch were getting calls, international calls. People are saying, women pregnant in prison need to be released.

So I was fortunate that I was only kept in there for two days with the pressure that was on them. Because I don't know how many lawyers called, from George Sewpersadh to Navi Pillay to Louis Skweyiya to Poswa. Everybody started to phone and they wanted to know like, who's your lawyer? I didn't know who my lawyer was.

KH Many lawyers. And your pregnancy survived?

SM Ja, he survived that. So in terms of banning order, so that was in March. April, May, June, I still continued to work. I'd go to see Steve in King William's Town, complete the research for *Black Review*. And then in August just after my son

was born, on 7th August 1973, just a week later, they came home and they gave me the banning order.

KH What did they say to you?

SM They just handed it to me. They said, you're intelligent enough to read. In the meantime, they found Strini in Durban Central walking down Grey Street. They stopped him and gave him a document which when he read it, they didn't say anything also, they gave it to him, which gave him, we had a relaxation of the banning order where two banned people can now communicate with each other.

Then he realised that I was... apparently got into the taxi and he drove. Got home only to find that they had just left and I'm sitting with my paper. And he showed me his. In fact, they gave me two documents. The one for him allowing me to be able to communicate with another banned person, and that's your husband. And the other one is the banning order.

KH Were you house arrested as well?

SM And house arrested.

KH Could you talk about these conditions that you were meant to abide by?

SM In terms of the house arrest, I was not allowed, I have to be in six o'clock in the morning to six o'clock in the evening. Six o'clock in the evening to six o'clock in the morning every day, seven days a week.

01:03:16

On Saturdays from two o'clock in the afternoon on the Saturday to the Monday morning at six o'clock. So that was a house arrest. And in the house arrest I was not allowed to have visitors except my mum and dad and my mother-in-law and my father-in-law.

KH Did they specify these names on the document?

SM Yes, document contract. My mother-in-law and father-in-law, a doctor and a lawyer. No other visitors. I had to report to a police station every Monday.

KH Which police station did you report to?

SM Sydenham Police Station.

KH You were living in Overport at the time.

SM I was living in Overport. I was restricted to the magisterial district of Durban. I was not allowed to be on an educational campus, at any educational institution, where material was being printed. Obviously I was restricted to the magisterial district of Durban. No factories. Not addressing meetings. Not to be found in the company of more than two people, because more than two is regarded as a crowd. Ja and then obviously could not have anything to do with SASO, Black Community Programmes, to Black...

KH Did they specify them?

SM They specified all of them.

KH How did this, I mean I'm just imagining you and your partner were both banned and house arrested. How did you manage financially? You weren't able to work anymore. I mean it wasn't long before that that your contract wasn't renewed as a teacher and then you worked in the programme.

SM And I was just, now I must remember, my first income is from January, yes, say January to August. But Black Community Programmes kept me on their books up until December, because that's my contract with them. So they continued to pay me. They paid me the same salary as a teacher's salary. R128 a month. It's a lot of money.

01:05:54

Strini was not getting any income. My mum and dad used to give me R30 a month. South African Council of Churches Dependents' Conference gave us R30 a month. So that was how we survived.

KH They gave each of you or together?

SM Together.

KH How did it impact on your relationships, your life in general, this banning and house arrest for five years?

SM Yes, so you must know that's 1973. In October, well... I was determined to study. And I couldn't get back to teaching. So the next best bet was to do social welfare, to do social work. So at the end of the year, South African Council of Churches sponsored my studying through UNISA.

So in 1974 I started. I said, I will not succumb to being mentally isolated, I shall study. But now it meant doing pracs at the welfare, child welfare in Beatrice Street. They refused to allow me to do my pracs, because then I was going to be in touch with the community.

Eventually they agreed, okay, we agree that you can go and do your pracs. You can go there for once a week, you're to only see one person at a time. So it wasn't much longer than that. So at the end of the year I had to apply to do my exam in October. And I must do my exams.

And then on 10th October, Kruger's Day, that's when I'm writing my first paper. That's the time they came, that was when the Frelimo rally happened in September 25th, 1974. And on 10th October Strini was taken in.

KH He was arrested?

SM Ja. He was arrested. So I didn't even write my paper that day. The next day I was supposed to write. And I dropped Social Work completely.

KH How long, could you just describe Strini's, what happened to him?

01:09:04

SM Well, at that stage everybody was being picked up after the Frelimo rally, and he was one of them. We would continue to still have, we defied by the way, we defied our banning orders. We refused to even accept it or acknowledge that a piece of paper would keep us banned our house arrested.

So whenever we had a chance to break the banning order, we would. I was, both of us were, arrested for breaking our banning orders. My students from Witteklip came to visit me when they're not allowed to. I had already started what was called CHET or Chatsworth Education Theatre company, something like that.

It was a participatory education theatre. So it was CHET, Chatsworth Education Theatre. And so the students started to build on that and then they were continuing with it. So they came and they were having their first production and they wanted contacts with the media numbers.

Remember, we're not allowed anywhere near the media. So they came and so we typed out the publicity for them. And Strini... Well you know, with having a baby, I was more house arrested and I in fact didn't leave much, because there was the child to look after, Nirvan to look after.

And so Strini left with them and the cops were already there. They followed them into town. And lucky for Strini, he left them at the Leader Press and he went on. And as soon as the students went into the Leader Press, the cops came, took them away and interrogated them.

Then within seconds of them being, picking up Strini, they arrived at our flat and said that they knew that the students were here, and I was lucky that they didn't come in. But anyway, here's the charge sheet, you're being charged for having so many students in your company. Because we're not allowed to have anybody.

They gave Strini the charge sheet in town and then here we were faced with this charge sheet. So we had to appear to be charged for breaking our banning order. They took the students in, they harassed them.

01:12:04

They came the next day, they wanted the typewriter. In the meantime, I got rid of the typewriter because I knew that would be evidence. Got rid of the typewriter. The neighbours took the typewriter and kept it with them. And then, yes. And they kept us going like that for about two, three months. Then eventually they decided to drop the charges against me. And they charged Strini.

KH This was before the Frelimo rally?

SM Ja.

KH And Strini was arrested and charged, and what happened then?

SM And we won that case on the grounds that the students had to make statements under duress.

KH Who were your lawyers at that time?

SM At that time was Pitman. I can't remember Pitman's surname. He was also on the... Pitman and (pause) Nicholson.

KH Could you sketch for us briefly how your life unfolded from the time of your banning order? Am I correct in saying you had one banning order?

SM Yes.

KH Could you just briefly sketch out?

SM Okay so, well then Strini was in prison. He was taken away on 10th October 1974. I hadn't seen him. I had to now, there is nothing, no income, that R30. So I had to decide whether I'm going to live in that flat or take my son and go and live with my sister two flats away in Brickfield Road. And then I made an application to the magistrate saying that I'm moving, I don't have money to pay the rent. And so I moved to my sister.

KH Your sister's name?

SM Leela Pillay, yes. So they agreed to that, to change my address to staying with her. We lived in a one-bedroom flat. And I used to sleep in the lounge with my son and she with her son in her room.

KH How old was your son at that point?

SM He was a year, one year. And employment-wise, I didn't know what to do. I used to walk the streets looking for a job. Lawyers would... Even if it meant for me, it was dignity of labour, even if it meant being a tea girl or a messenger or cleaning offices. **Anything** for me meant some form of employment.

01:15:14

And also that I could go from six to six and be home by six. And my sister was there to look after my son, so it's okay. But there was no way I could get a job. Then my son was ill. Now you must remember, that '74, '75, these guys now come to trial.

KH What was the trial called?

SM SASO BPC8 trial. So, now I can't go to Pretoria, because I'm under house arrest. I'm restricted to the magisterial district. So every time Strini had to appear in court or was going to give evidence or whatever, that was just like once or twice a year, I had to apply for a permit. Apply to the magistrate to relax my order to allow me to go to court. So '75 I think I must have seen him just about once or twice. And then in '76 also about once or twice.

KH The trial was still ongoing?

SM The trial was still on. So I couldn't leave. And must remember, they were sentenced at the end of '76. In the meantime, my son was ill and I took him to see a doctor, Dr BK Naidoo in 1976. And so he asked me what I was doing. And I said, I'm unemployed and I'm at home. So asked me whether I would help to

research a school. They're starting the first school for children with cerebral palsy for children of Indian descent.

There were schools for white children with cerebral palsy. You must remember, your whole disability sector is also divided amongst white, African, Coloured. So Indian kids from Natal, if they had to have, with cerebral palsy, if they had to have any education, they had to go to Cape Town.

So we had to start the first school here. Then he asked me whether I'd do some research. I said, yes, by all means. It gave me something to do. So I helped to research the first school called the Spes Nova School for Cerebral Palsy Children.

What did they think? I only had a Speech and Drama degree as a subject, so. But they believed that I could really do speech therapy. There were no speech therapists. (Laughs). The idea of Speech and Drama and speech therapy.

01:18:10

In the meantime, I read and I read. And I researched and I researched. Then it came to, now the school is really ready to start. And then they said to me, do you think you'll be able to do speech therapy? I said, yes, I'll do speech therapy (laughs).

The trial is now on, I'm in Pretoria. I can't even get into the school. I'm not allowed on an education... So they make representations to the then Minister of Education, Krog [?]. They go there, they go with a deputation. There were four people.

Dr BT Naidoo who was one of them, was instrumental. Mr AK Singh. ML Sultan. Dr Desai. Four of them go and meet Krog and they ask for all my papers, they want to know why I was banned. Then these guys said they will never employ a person who's a terrorist.

And they still fought. I'm sitting in Pretoria and they phone me and they say to me, they're being sentenced now. And they tell me, guess what? We're successful. Celebrate, you now got your job (laughs).

But I didn't really have the job. So when I got back and we started on 16th January 1977, the school opened, I couldn't go onto those premises because the banning order says that I can't be on the... So can't go on the first day.

So my lawyer was Ashwin Trikamjee then. He made representation to the magistrate and he said look, the magistrate, and told him exactly what happened. Said to him, this is the situation. So he gave me a permit to be on that premises for one month only.

In the meantime, we had sent the letter to Kruger to tell Kruger that the magistrate overruled his decision, that I'm under **his** domain, his jurisdiction. I'm not under the... I'm restricted to the magisterial district of **Durban**. That was the

whole thing. I'm not under **his** jurisdiction, I'm under the jurisdiction of the magisterial district of Durban. And this magistrate, I've forgotten his name, gave me permission to be there. In the meantime, here's a letter for a relaxation. I've got one more year to go on my banning order and house arrest. So they gave me a month.

01:21:05

So at the end of every month they would come, the cops would be there. And they will wait and say, tomorrow if you don't, if you're not going to have your paper, we'll arrest you. And they continued to do that. And every end of the month I had to get a letter from the magistrate to be on those premises. And every end of the month the cops will be there again, trying to arrest me.

KH Did they come to the school, the cops?

SM Yes. Until I had to then get an interdict preventing them from coming onto the premises, because now I'm being harassed by the Education Department, by the principal. And everybody is petrified that you know, we're having the cops on the premises. Then the kids. So anyway, so it went on for a year and then the interdict.

So now what they did, they wouldn't come into the school, they would now stand outside. Then they, one day they wanted to arrest me on some pretext that I was not the wife of Strini Moodley. So they come in to come and take me away, because no, yes.

And they were saying that I'm not the wife and I'm (pause) something to the effect that I'm being fraudulent and I'm posing as this wife. And I must now... They've come to take me away. And my principal, for the first time stood up and said that she's under my care in this school. If you want, you wait for her after half past two.

In the meantime, I got my lawyer. Then they arrived, they came at half past two onto the premises, they wanted me out. And then Ashwin said, no, if you want, I'll bring her to Fischer Street (coughs).

KH You want some water?

SM Ja. So, yes. So anyway, Ashwin took me in. They interrogated me. They wanted me to write a letter to state... And I said, no, I can't do that. I am, and I'm not prepared to. It's a personal thing. It's my life and you're not allowed to do that.

So eventually after four or five hours, in the evening they let me go. I had to phone Ashwin. They said, no, they'll take me home. I said, no, you won't take me home. Ashwin, my lawyer, will pick me up.

01:24:00

So the kind of interrogation, they would come in at any time (coughs) into our house. They would raid, they will search. I remember the one incident, they

searched. They searched the house because they said I was aiding and abetting a woman by the name of Amina Calwaya.

Now I didn't know who Amina Calwaya was. But I knew Amina, Amina Acalwaya [?]. So I kept quiet. And I said, no, I'll keep quiet about this. I don't know any woman. So they raided looking for letters from, because I am now trying to send information about the country via Amina Calwaya to overseas press. Those were the kinds of interrogation.

But the worst one was in 1977 also. Or was it 1978? They interfered with the car. They knew I would take two kids. I was doing my pracs at that stage at the Durban School for the Deaf. I started to teach. I thought, oh, I might as well do a diploma for the orally handicapped.

KH Was this before your...

SM Before my banning order, yes. So then I was given permission to go and do my pracs for two days a week at the Durban school. I used to take two learners who were hearing impaired. They interfered with the car, they knew my route. And then as I was going down Springfield Road, the midmorning, well, just before schooltime, traffic is heavy, the wheel shot off.

And I nearly, well I was lucky that I came to a halt near a tree or I would've smashed. It was the only reason for... Now I don't know whether to report it to the cops or not. So I spoke to my lawyer and he said you better do that. And so we laid a complaint that the car was being...

They came, they investigated the car, they saw that the wheel was turned, taken out, bolts and all that. So they were wanting to just intimidate and interrogate and to find something.

KH To destroy you, it sounds like.

01:26:56

SM Ja. But no, I was not going to allow that to happen. And then the next, just before, in 1978, now Strachan may have spoken about death threats during the Rick Turner period. So I was getting threats, because Rick and Fozia were very close to me. We were very close friends.

KH Fozia's surname?

SM Rick Turner.

KH And Fozia?

SM Fozia, well at that stage Velodia. Fozia Turner. So we were very close even on campus. I was getting death threats as well. And one of the calls was about, this guy says on the phone, it was midnight, he says, remember Rick Turner? You're going to be next.

And at the same time the phone is ringing, there's a knock on the door. So I didn't know what to do. I had the two boys with me, my sister's son and my son,

because my sister had left, had gone on holiday. So I was looking after the kids. So not to get these kids up, they were now four, five years old. Not to get them up, I crawled, locked, closed the door and just lay flat on the floor until the next day.

So I told the lawyers about this and they said, you know what, you better go and lay a complaint and say this is happening to you. Because I mean and when I go there, who should I see? Was Strachan. Also for the first time.

KH Harold Strachan.

SM For the first time. He stayed in Overport somewhere, yes. And I mean, two banned people, not... And giving the same...

KH Story.

SM Story. In the meantime we investigated, and there was this list of people, banned people, on the list who were to be taken out. (Clears throat). I had the *Sunday Times* investigate that and there was a whole list. So the reasons, well, and then they came.

As soon as I made that, I didn't want that to happen and I didn't want to, but for my own safety, then they started to come in every day on the pretext of protecting me. And they would sit outside and they would come.

KH The Security Police, the Special Branch?

SM The Special Branch.

KH And how long did this go on? Until your banning order expired?

SM Until the banning order expired.

KH When did your banning order expire?

SM End of July. July 1978.

KH Looking back on your past and knowing what you do now, is there anything that you would've done differently?

01:29:59

SM Oh no. I mean even now when you talk about the fact that, you know the famous phrase, *A Luta Continua*, the struggle still continues, no matter what. What is the struggle, you didn't...

For me the principle of fighting for justice on social issues, on political issues, on economic issues, the way you lived your life, was more important than being or heading an organisation. Or for which they thought that I will, because I was involved in Black Community Programmes or with the Black Consciousness movement. I was banned.

For whatever reason they saw us as a threat as a collective voice of people coming together to find expressions for their own liberation. That was the reason

for really banning us. For me would never stop, because consciousness is a consciousness for how one sees oneself in the world.

And that is what was more important. To fight for one's dignity, to fight for one's respect. To fight for the fact that one has to be self-reliant, independent, with no dependencies. Not waiting for somebody else to seek their salvation. And they were the makers of their own destinies who continued to be. And what is the politics of this at all levels, and it's a way of life. And that's why we fought.

KH Sam, could you tell us a bit about what you do currently as part of your social economic justice work?

SM Well, there are two or three fronts at which one works or more, wherever I am. Right, so the first one is we started with the women's group, what was called Women in Action South Africa. Now there is no movement. We thought about it as a women's movement. There may be women's organisations. But as a movement of women doing, working, and nurturing at family level.

And women looking at their understanding of their identities within a patriarchal society. So we started the Women in Action. And we then started and saying, you cannot go and conscientise others until you are conscientised yourself.

So we started an in-group of development, women's development programmes. And then started to work in places like Umlazi, Wentworth, Chatsworth, Newlands East, Newlands West, wherever, because we were quite a number of women in this area.

01:33:03

Durban Central. And then with the youth. That's with women, then with youth at schools. Worked with the Chesterville Ikamva Youth Movement with students and education. Anti-racism. Cross-cultural understanding at schools. At Beshe, Umlazi, Wentworth also.

So we continued to do that. So that was from the women's perspective. And then for the youth, to start taking responsibility for their environment. So we became involved with the COP, with environmental issues. And kids at schools to understand how they are responsible for issues affecting ecology.

And then continued with, particularly now, I'm very involved with the disability sector still. And I work well with the Action in Autism. It's an organisation that builds, we've started with an early intervention centre. I'm the chairperson of the board of management. For children. The early intervention centre sees to children from three to six years old.

They're the only organisation in South Africa that looks at developmental programmes, training programmes, research programmes, accessing rural areas, bringing in free diagnostic sessions to children with autism. That is what I'm presently involved in.

KH Do you have a message for young people living in South Africa?

SM I think what's important is the values of self-respect, the values of understanding, the starting with the self and self-identity, of understanding who they are and why they are who they are. And what they should become.

It's not arrogance but retaining their pride and their dignity. And encompassing all people so that, I mean it's very difficult, I think that everybody needs to fight on social justice issues. And that they are responsible for what we are going to see in South Africa. Or what we see in South Africa now or tomorrow. And that responsibility is **theirs**.

KH Sam, just one last question. If you imagined, if you sort of time transported yourself as a young person now on a campus, what issues do you think you would be taking up as a young student now?

01:36:13

SM Very much - You know things have not changed. Students have to understand that they are critical thinkers first. They can't sit and wait for handouts in terms of knowledge. They are the makers of knowledge. They've got to start looking deeply into curriculum issues. They've got to -

I mean it's very good to shout about #FeesMustFall. It's important to understand where they come from economically and socially, because the poverty at university is the poverty of the **intellect**. And they've got to, **that** is what they've got to fight for.

And they're not fighting on curriculum issues. They're not improving their standard and their excellence of performance. Because they are going out into the world and it's back, it's this whole cycle of what they are breeding. Breeding poor quality workmanship, poor quality work. The ethics and the professionalism out in the field of work is not there. But it starts from where they come from, whether it's the schools or whether it's the universities.

KH Thank you so much Sam. This has been an incredible journey that you've taken us on, all the way from when you were born in Dundee to still being very active in different ways for economic, social, political freedom. Thank you.

SM Thank you.

01:38:03

Transcribed by Way-With-Words. Checked by Anne Mager.