Ruth First Papers project

Interview with Mary Benson part 2

An interview conducted by **Don Pinnock** c. 1992. Part of a series carried out at Grahamstown University and held at the UWC/Robben Island Mayibuye Archive.

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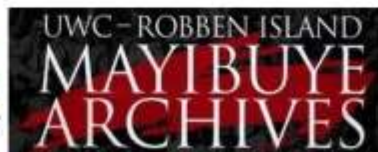

MB: ... talking about his parents, but it's more terribly funny stories.

DP: Yes. He told me stories, but what he was talking to me about was mainly Ruth. He adored her.

MB: Yes. Nat Nakasa - no. Gosh.

DP: Lewis Nkosi?

MB: No, no. I'll think of it in a minute. It's too stupid, because I see him every other week, he works for ITN. A very young chap on **Drum** who lives in London. Anyway, he says he was madly in love with her when he was a young **Drum** journalist. And Barney had a very, very special relationship with her and she adored him, yes.

DP: Well, he I think was her main support after she came out of detention.

MB: And earlier, too, when she - he told you about the earlier period, no doubt.

DP: Well, he said that he went to a meeting when he was sixteen and there was this marvellous woman speaking, and he just fell in love with her, then and there! Typical Barney! But he seems to have had an ongoing relationship with her, of one kind or another.

MB: Yes, very much so, and seeing her in London. And Hilary too. And Ronald Segal had a very, very special relationship with her. They were involved in organising that conference in Oxford on sanctions, but that was more recently. But he was supposed to be writing her biography, I thought.

DP: Well, I talked to Ronald, and he immediately said that look, you can't write her biography, which gave me the impression that he was doing it. But he doesn't seem to have time, he's doing -

MB: No, he's doing so much. Arthur Manane is the chap I'm thinking of, who said that she was so wonderful and vivid and brilliant and ... yes.

DP: People seem to have three impressions of her. It almost gives me the impression she had three personalities completely. One was this terrifying politico who would cut you up at meetings. Then another personality which didn't mix with the others was this professional who would go against the Party in order to get the facts in a straight line. Politics could move aside - she was being the journalist. And then there's this other side that's shy, giggly - a little girl, almost.

MB: Very warm, and very vulnerable. I wrote a piece about her which we used for the Ruth First memorial appeal thing, that she didn't suffer fools gladly. But she had this very stormy relationship especially with Shawn, who really anyway - looking from the other side, was very, very difficult. Sort of the ugly duckling in the family. When you see the film you realise how much was building up over the years. But ... I wondered what Ruth would have thought of the film. And great style; she had terrific style, because she never had many garments in her wardrobe. Ronald spoke at the memorial meeting for her about her passion for beautiful Italian shoes!

DP: And her dresses.

MB: She didn't have many, though.

DP: Her wardrobe in Johannesburg was a legend! A lot of people have spoken about that.

MB: Really! Oh, because in London she didn't have much. I remember she borrowed a suit from her friend Moyra - Manie's friend, sho lives in Portugal - looked very good in it. Borrowed that for meetings, or whatever. Yes. And their house was really quite modest. Have you seen it, in Johannesburg? Totally wrong in the film, where it's a nice huge Cape Dutch single-storey house.

DP: It was a very ordinary -

MB: Yes, bungalow sort of thing. Very strategically placed at the end of the road there, and not far from the townships.

DP: The people who live in it don't know whose it was. I knocked on the door -

MB: Oh. They'd be horrified, presumably.

DP: Well, they now know. I knocked on the door -

MB: You told them, did you! They've probably been trying to sell it ever since!

DP: I told them that I'd like to take some photographs of it. They were absolutely terrified. They wouldn't have me near the house. They didn't let me in at all.

MB: Aren't there any in the family album? Who's got the family album?

DP: Well, it's not in a collection. There are almost no photogrpahs in Ruth's collection at the ICS, so I don't know who's got the photo's. It's probably one of the girls. I've written to Gillian to see if I can talk to her, but haven't had a reply yet. Why would Ruth have those three - those different characters? I mean, you know, from your knowledge of her? Was she quite a shy person? Or was she threatening?

MB: No, she had a very strong sense of privacy, I think. Yes, well, I suppose if you were a young communist from that age, you were very much an outsider in white society. So that would make you feel quite vulnerable, however brave and courageous ... one thing not relating to her, but this has always struck me, and I think it was one of the problems that let in people like Ludi, was because the Congress of Democrats and the CP were such small organisations, anyone who came along who seemed friendly disposed could - I don't think that applies to Ruth, because she was such an intelligent and sophisticated person, but at the same time there was a sense of being vulnerable and being quite lonely in their social orbit. And she had a great love of literature and movies and so forth, and so she was much more broadly educated than a lot of her own Party would have been.

DP: Might that have made her a bit lonely within the Party structures?

MB: I think that, and her - her sheer brilliance, I think, too.

DP: It scared people off?

MB: Yes, I think - she certainly had a sharp tongue, you could say. Well, she was very passionate as a personality.

DP: But people were scared of her. I've talked to people like Trudy Gelb -

MB: Don't know her.

DP: - people who were in the Party, and they were in awe of her. They were pretty scared of her. She was upper-class Party, the inner circle -

MB: Yes, the leadership. Whereas Joe they would find -

DP: Accessible.

MB: Yes, although he was the doctrinaire one, really. Ultimately. No, I don't know why. I think she was brought up from such a young age to be - and to have confrontations with the police from a very early age. Have you ever talked to Albertina Sisulu?

DP: No. Would she be fairly important to talk to?

MB: I don't know. I mean, Winnie Mandela used to see Ruth a certain amount. I took a very nice picture of them, which is in the glossy scene for the movie, one with Ruth laughing and holding up a glass of wine.

DP: Oh, did you take that picture? I have it in my office, pinned up in front of my desk!

MB: Where did you get it from?

DP: Some book. I think it was stolen from a book.

MB: Oh! Nobody's told me! Winnie looking rather fat on the left-hand side. **[laughs]**

DP: With a doek.

MB: Yes, well, a sort of woolly hat, I think. Yes, it's a lovely one of Ruth. The nicest there is, I think. I mean, that's her at her peak of happiness and -

DP: That is the nicest photograph I've seen of Ruth. You know, that that kind of picture she often - I think her **117 Days** has her sitting like this looking really fierce -

MB: Yes. There's a nice profile one of her too, that Barney used in the production of **Born in the RSA**. No, **Woza Albert**, it must have been, when they called on Ruth First to be raised up at the end.

DP: Yes, there's a dedication to her in the programme.

MB: Yes.

DP: Another puzzle I have - am I talking too - asking too many questions?

MB: No, not at all, but I don't think you're getting very concise answers!

DP: I am! It's always been a puzzle - there's a group of whites who could well enjoy the fruits of apartheid, and do. I mean, they have great parties, and yet they are at the same time sacrificing - and it's not only the communists who were doing it, but there were many other people - sacrificing that by identifying and working for "the people", whoever they

conceptualise "people" to be. It varies. That's a very stange society, I mean -

MB: But you find that all though history, that - either for an innate sense of decency, or for a christian outlook, or for your political beliefs. The class thing, and ... I don't think that's difficult to understand.

DP: I just wonder how they saw it, because a lot of people in the Party lived in big houses, they had several servants -

MB: Ja, the Buntings had the most beautiful view in the whole world - up the side of the mountain above Clifton, looking out across the sea ... god!

DP: Len Lee-Warden -

MB: I hardly knew him, except in the treason trial. Where does he live? Is he still there?

DP: On the toe that goes out into the sea. His is the last house on the edge of the toe at Clifton. I'm just wondering if you've ever talked to anybody, or if you could perhaps give many insights as to how they might have seen their position. They're identifying with the working-class and they're living like the bourgeoisie! Upper middle-class, if anything. I mean contradictions -

MB: Well, I get a bit annoyed when for instance PAC have attacked the CP in London, or in exile, saying they live in great mansions. Well, in fact - well, the Buntings have quite a big house, but he must get quite well-paid by this Soviet thing. But the Slovo's house was quite run-down in Camden Town, compared with what top lawyers, or liberals had. It wasn't spectacular. And there are people like Rica Hodgson, and others, who live very

modestly, and Wolfie Kodesh, who's given his life to the whole struggle and did everything for Mandela underground, took enormous risks ... so I think they were aware of that, and I assume they would put quite a lot of money into helping people in the struggle. A lot of them, anyway. Laurie Gandar, once, when he was given an award in 1965, at a big garden-party in Johannesburg, made a joke about it all - how when you were liberal, you had all the satisfaction of not voting for the government and all the perks of living well. When you think - I mean some of the lawyers like Bizos and Chaskelson didn't have particularly large houses, not like the Houghton ones - but ja.

DP: I suppose that question comes out of what's happening now. People are increasingly embarassed about their lifestyle and politics not really connecting. I'm sure that it was probably different in the 'fifties.

MB: Well, they also, during the 'fifties, had this tremendous social life, for which they were sometimes criticised. Parties - there's one in Shawn's film, which is slightly inaccurate because in it everyone throws all their drinks away, and really it was only the blacks who got rid of their drinks and were drinking coca-cola when the police burst in. But I think what's very interesting in the whole story is - I'm always fascinated at how, for all their politics, they never, either the CP or the ANC or liberals or anyone, sufficiently allowed for how ruthless Afrikaner nationalists were. They took it all much too lightly, I think, in the 'fifties. Their security was always desperately lacking in any real feeling of the potential cleverness or cruelty of the police and state. So they were continually caught out.

DP: Do you think they had a sense that they were invulnerable?

MB: I don't know about that. I mean, Robert Burley, once - we were talking about Bram

when he was underground, and when he was captured, and Burley said how in Germany under the Nazis the trouble was the professionals were all on the side of the Nazis, and the German opposition - the Von Trots and Moltkes and the others, were all amateurs.

DP: That's an observation that's very much in South Africa now. It's clear that the opposition are amateurs!

MB: But I mean after 50 years you shouldn't still be amateurs. I can't understand how after being trained in the GDR and Russia and Angola and with the Cubans how people aren't more professional in their blowing up of things. How they so often miss targets - that one attack in Voortrekker Hoogte, things like that. I mean, at the end of **Struggle for Birthright** I said that one of the problems was that the ANC was just too decent, it was true to its missionary training through the decades earlier on. I think they're still - I mean, look at Tambo. They still find it very hard to blow people up.

DP: But you would have thought the CP would have been slightly more professional -

MB: I know, but also I don't think the CP have ever been given credit for their role in insisting on non-violence.

DP: Interesting - can you talk about that a bit?

MB: Well, all through the 'fifties, they as much as anybody. They were always against terrorism, and they were against - I mean, it was the CP as much as anyone who kept plugging away at these national strikes, and didn't sufficiently go in for grassroots organising, which would have been more difficult and slower, like what came up in the

bus boycotts and the potato boycott, when people's everyday lives were affected. I mean, these one-day strikes ... they had that very successful one during the treason trial, which Lutuli called, and the following year they had anotehr one, which was a great failure. And the PAC were attacking them like mad for that. But I don't quite know what the cause of that is. And there there was Legassick and the others, they had a great plug at all this when they were at Warwick. I didn't read their stuff, but I think they were basically saying there's not enough grassroots, weren't they? Organising.

DP: That's a good workerist position! But why was the CP getting involved in that sort of mass politics instead of grassroots?

MB: I don't know, ask Brian about that. Well, they - I suppose they would say they were doing grassroots in so far as within trade unions, and getting better conditions.

DP: How - in terms of balance of operations - I shouldn't ask you this, I should ask Brian -

MB: Well, I don't think I know, anyway. I mean, this - my knowledge is very superficial.

DP: [indistinct] in the trade unions.

MB: Oh, very. I think from the 'twenties on they were giving that sort of training. I mean, I've talked to Moses Kotane about it, and that's why he went into the Party, because of that sort of training. And JB Marks, who got banned very early on, and their role in the miner's strike. And then Micheal Scott was also involved ... but it was the communists who all got arrested and put on trial afterwards. But I don't know how that thing of - I suppose it's - maybe they had too much faith in their statement of beliefs and their

assumption that ... and also the communists for a long time rather looked down on the ANC, because when they came into it, or in the 'thirties, the ANC was pretty hopeless and middle-class. I mean, I always give old Canon Calata a lot of the credit for the revival of the ANC in the 'thirties. I've done quite a bit of that in the memoirs. But they regarded the ANC as being - it's very interesting, though. This is something you might look into. The CP, I think, saw the ANC as a rather, maybe, christian, middle-class moderate set-up, and people like Xuma would be the typical black bourgeois, I suppose, and yet, at a time when the Youth League were very antagonistic to the CP and the Indians, it was Xuma who did the Doctors' Pact with Dadoo and Naicker. I think that was quite an important thing to look at, but I don't know how it was treated by the CP generally.

DP: What was the influence of the CP in rebuilding the ANC, or building up the ANC in - what, the 'thirties and 'forties?

MB: No, not at all, in the 'thirties and 'forties. They were competing in a way, I think. Until Moses Kotane started going between the two. Because in the 'thirties the ANC were dormant, it was only Calata, who would have been very suspicious of communists, working away. And then there was the AAC, and then you had Marks, I suppose, at some of those conferences. And the CP at that time was all split up by that couple, I forget their name; Brian's father was given the push, etcetera, and Eddie Roux ... I don't know all the ins and outs of that. That was quite a turbulent time.

DP: It virtually committed suicide, the Party.

MB: It was fascinating the way the Buntings nevertheless remained loyal. Well, one sees that in other countries too, sometimes. But then in the 'forties with Xuma beginning to build up the ANC and going in for the Doctors' Pact, and going down - some of them, I

think Sisulu ... no, Tambo, I think, went to Durban after the race riots there. And then with the Youth League, their total rejection of the CP and of whites -

DP: Why?

MB: Well, because they were trying to do what Black Consciousness later tried to do, which is building up the african's own entity and own philosophy, and being very suspicious of white communists and very suspicious of Indians. And it took the May Day thing and then the Defiance Campaign for them to accept that they should work alongside.

DP: How did they come to that -

MB: And also the Suppression of Communism Act, you see, which lumped them all together.

DP: So was the Suppression of Communism Act quite a key factor in bringing those organisations together?

MB: Yes. More than two - three. But it was a gradual thing, you see. It was a gradual experience. As Mandela put it, it was seeing what happened with the May Day strike in 1950. They were very impressed at how many people struck, and that there was this organising capacity. At first they were furious, because it - like the PAC got in first with their anti-pass thing, the May Day thing got in ahead of what the Youth League were planning.

DP: That was the CP?

MB: Yes, the CP and the Indians and ... so theyw ere furious, but when they saw how effective it was, and when they saw the police shooting strikers, Mandela and Tambo going around Orlando, they began to re-think. And then when they decided to go in for the Defiance Campaign, and meanwhile various CP leaders were being banned under the new banning laws, and the CP had had to disband, because of the Suppression of Communism Act. When the Suppression of Communism Act began to hit africans as well, then they began to accept that they must identify. So that Mandela always said that the PAC, later the africanists', line was retrogressive, because it was going right back to what the Youth League had been through in the 'forties.

DP: Well, that's the PAC line. They stuck with the original line.

MB: Yes. Mandela said we've been through all this before, and then again with Black Consciousness.

DP: How did the coming-together of the ANC and the CP alter the ANC's political position?

MB: Well, I think it was mainly on the foreign affairs thing.

DP: So it picked up a kind of pro-Soviet -

MB: Yes, they just endlessly passed resolutions every year at conferences. Yes, I think so. I mean, you'll find it in **New Age**. Various colonial situations, they would spend quite a lot of time debating them. Of course, later it was Vietnam, they were way ahead of everybody else protesting about that. I remember Bram protesting about it in 1964,

saying how terrible American policy was. Well, my friends in America were saying it the following year, more or less. But in a way, it became almost automatic within the CP, which was underground, of course, so that the only evidence of its line was in the newspaper, and the Congress of Democrats, which was legal for all that time, was mostly made up of former CP. I mean, there were a few who weren't, like Helen Joseph, but most of them were CP, I'm sure.

DP: So would the CP have brought an international perspective into ANC politics in that period?

MB: Yes, and would have been totally anti-American, just automatically. Anti-American imperialism. I mean, you see it in Mandela's writings. I think Ruth, for instance, wrote - I don't know whether she wrote any basic material for him, but in that sanctions conference that they had in Oxford which Segal more or less organised - it was about 1963 or 4, wasn't it?

DP: Somewhere around then.

MB: Well, I was in America, and helped to get one of the leading black civil rights people over to it, but I'd been asked to write a basis for Oliver Tambo's speech, and in the end he rejected what I'd written and he got Ruth to write it. So I mean, they had very great confidence in her.
DP**:** What was the ANC's line on workers in the 'forties? Did it change?

MB: I've no idea. How do you mean, on workers? As such?

DP: Well, on trade unions and -

MB: Well, they - Mandela, I know, as a youth leader was very impressed by the mineworkers' strike. But it was a ... you see, a lot of them in the Youth League - Sisulu, I think, was very exceptional. He'd been through everything as a worker. But some of them were Fort Hare, and I think brought a more theoretical attitude towards it all. I think they saw it more in terms, possibly, of colour bar and discrimination.

DP: More political than the union organisations?

MB: Yes, because the union side of it would have been a bit separate. I mean, Mandela lived briefly in Alexanda township, but then Sisulu helped him get a little house in Orlando. I suppose they would have seen it as part of the whole thing, but they were trying to do national campaigns like the Defiance Campaign, they were trying to do things against laws. And then of course they were banned so soon. And then with the treason trial they were completely hamstrung for years, some of them, although within the confines of the court they did as much organising as they could.

DP: I mean, where that kind of question about trade unions is leading is - I'm again wondering whether the Party and the ANC coming together would have brought more of a focus on trade union work into the ANC's perspective on things.

MB: Well, no, because there was this specific organisation, SACTU.

DP: Who should I see, do you think, in London?

MB: SACTU, you should see Phyllis Altmann. She was head of the Defence and Aid Fund for a long time, now retired. She's in the 'phone book. Brian could give you her

number, though. She lives somewhere in Hampstead. She was a leading SACTU person. You see, I think the ANC would have liased with the SACTU people, they were doing all the trade union work within the Congress movement. Once the alliance, the Congress Alliance was formed in - what, about 1953 or '4, SACTU would have taken on all the trade union activity anyway.

DP: What was the CP-SACTU relationship?

MB: Well, I think some of SACTU were CP, because by then the CP was underground anyway.

DP: So it was the individuals going in. To what extent was SACTU CP_generated?

MB: I should think quite a bit, like Congress of Democrats. It was all part of the same Congress Alliance being formed.

DP: Why was the movement so completely smashed in the early 1960's?

MB: Oh, I think torture. I think the whole Sabotage Act, once Vorster came in and had a free hand, and once you got that, you had people just giving away - and there was the whole thing of bribing when people were poor. You see, the Eastern Cape was always the most militant area, not often enough given credit. The CP was strong in Cape Town, where you had the Simons and Brian and the paper ... some was in the coloured community, and a strong trade union movement. The ANC was much stronger in Port Elizabeth. In spite of Govan's activity, they had these terrific men who later went out completely. Well, Matthews was very important there, although he was obviously a very moderate fellow, and then his son Joe, who was all things to all mean and then later

became a disaster. But Dr - what was his name? Oh, anyway; and Robert Machi was a wonderful organiser, and then he went off and now lives in Lesotho. But they were the ones who did the Defiance Campaign, which had by far the most backing in the Eastern Cape. And then in Natal the ANC was stronger, with the Indian Congress, and then in Johannesburg the CP and some of the ANC ... so there were sort of elements. That's a very rough, superficial typography. And then the leaders in the Transvaal nearly all came from the Eastern Cape, the important ones ...

DP: Why was the Eastern Cape so particularly well-organised?

MB: I think because all the missionary education, the sophistication of the people there and the newspapers, and having the vote, Fort Hare, Lovedale, Healdtown and all the others ... and then in Natal, where Dube and all the others had built up their school and newspapers, they became so Zulu-orientated, I suppose. I don't know quite why the Zulus were rather backward, in a way.

DP: More tribal, perhaps; more deference to the chiefs.

MB: An awful lot of them became servants, too, in the Transvaal. I mean, when you think of one's childhood ... where were you born?

DP: The Eastern Cape. Queenstown.

MB: Oh, really? That's where my mother's family came from, she was married in Queenstown. I've never been there. Lady Frere, she was born in.

DP: I grew up in Queenstown.

MB: ... and so I have a longing to go and look it all over.

DP: I love the Eastern Cape, although it's a terrible place to live in, some of the time.But also very exciting. Do you think the way the ANC organised, in the form of mass meetings and top-down-type organisation would have contributed towards the - should I say, easier smashing of the movement in the 'sixties?

MB: I think - well, I have a theory which goes back to Makana and his attack on Grahamstown, and it relates to some of the present-day captures of young africans in the townships, that they always had a way of doing things very openly - it was part of their battle strategy. They would come out - they would announce they were going to attack and they would come out in the morning, and in spite of the poem that lodged in one's minds in Afrikaans lessons - "Donker, donker middernag, nader kruip die Zulu mag, kruip swart **[indistinct]** om die laer" ... they aren't good at doing sneaky things underground. There was one of the young 1976 chaps, I think he was, in Soweto, who every day when he had done his underground activity would tell it all into a tape-recorder which he kept under his bed! He's just one case, but I think it's quite difficult for blacks to disguise themselves, actually, because they're black ... I think it's astounding Mandela functioned underground all that time, six foot three in height and so striking. Because there's nothing they can do - they can't change the colour of their skin, they can grow a beard ... there's not much else they can do. I know there's the old theory that to whites, all blacks look alike, but then there are blacks in the security police who are terrifying creatures. There was a dreadful man in New Brighton, who was just hand-in-glove with the security police. There seemed to be no colour-bar between them, they just ... so I don't know, I don't answer any of your questions quite directly, I go off at tangents all the time!

DP: You don't! If you think you're answering them badly, it's my bad questions! You see, I'm trying to capture a feeling of that period, and I wasn't there -

MB: Well, nor was I for a lot of the time. I mean, I was only in and out. I think there was a sort of an excitement - you see, the Congress of the People. When you look at the Congress of the People platform, there were no top leaders there at all. You see Albie Sachs at the side in one picture, and I think Piet Beyleveld's around, and so in the treason trial most of the people charged were ordinary workers and members, which in terms of your question of why the ANC didn't sort of reach the workers, well, the treason trial had an enormous number of workers on trial, and it did relate on the whole very directly to the Congress of the People, although others like Mandela and Tambo and Sisulu, who were banned and couldn't go to the congress, were charged. It was quite exciting, the whole thing of the meetings and the opposition. At that point people had been shot at, you know, the young chap in the ANC who I think was communist in Durban, he was shot at in 1930 and killed at a meeting. JB Marks was shot at in Potchefstroom.

DP: There was a feeling that the people might win. That's the sense I get of that period.

MB: Yes. Yes. I think that runs through a great deal of that period, I must say. I think that optimism is a strong element in Marxism, because ultimately you believe anyway that socialism will become ... I mean, Bram Fischer was very optimistic and would point out, when he was underground, that - I forget what proportion of the world had become socialist in the past few years, etcetera. And I mean Mandela's almost - Tambo says he's never known Mandela to be depressed! I think they know they will win, ultimately, and that keeps them going. They believe, which is a very important factor, in the

righteousness of their cause.

DP: It has almost religious proportions to it.

MB: Yes, almost. They would hate to hear that reply, some of them ... I mean, when one speaks to a communist about their beliefs being like a religion - I was in Vienna at the end of the war, and the four powers thing, we had these huge pictures of Marx and Lenin all round the streets of Vienna, we felt it was like Christian icons. But it makes them very angry if you draw those comparisons. But it certainly does seem to explain some of the confidence, except they will get pie in this earth and not in the sky!

DP: It keeps them within that belief-structure, it keeps them going.

MB: Yes. It's very important, it's so - sometimes you envy people who've got such a strong ...

DP: But I wonder if there's not a certain danger in that triumphalism. It's necessary, but also it might -

MB: But it doesn't matter if it is or isn't dangerous, you know. That's the way it is. And also it gives people the strength to go on, whatever the setbacks, and whatever the deaths. But also there was a wonderful man in Port Elizabeth, Christopher Geld. Did you ever hear of him?

DP: The chap in the iron lung? Tell me about him. I've just heard that he was extraordinary and that he had a publication.

MB: Yes, he did - what was it called? **X-Ray**. Anyway, he was a superb essayist, and it was a terrible loss when he died because he was quite unique as a writer and an analyst. He was very close to Govan Mbeki and others in New Brighton, who used to come and consult him endlessly. He'd been in the Indian civil service, that's when he got polio. He was married to a South African, she was a woman I'd been to school with in Pretoria. Anyway, so I had a couple of marvelous encounters with him and some correspondence, and Ruth wrote a very beautiful piece about him when he died, in **New Age**. But he said however many fall by the wayside, we will win in the end, and none of us is important.And in my memoirs I've said that's rubbish, he was unique, and how one felt his loss, because there was no-one who wrote with quite that precision and brilliance. He was an honorary member of the ANC, and he had a tremendous attatchment - he had a correspondence with Patrick Duncan, I don't know who would have that.

DP: Probably the Duncan papers.

MB: Maybe, because he got very angry and he - Patrick, who saw communists under every bed. When Pat took over **Contact** he was endlessly attacking the ANC and Lutuli, etcetera. Christopher was - and then Robert Burley, later, you see, who was a totally different form of sophistication and knowledge and experience. Burley knew everything about every nation's history through all time, and could talk with such experience and knowledge and wisdom. Burley came to South Africa and within months had bridged every possible gulf. I mean, he went to see ...

[end of side two]