Dr. Motlana and Mr. Thebahali, but he will also name a variety of other people, totally unconnected with politics. People like Mr. and Mrs. Nkwe will be named for their social work with orphans and unemployed persons. Mrs. Ellen Kuzwayo will be named for her concern about youth. They will name their sports organizers and sportsmen, Kgomotso Modise and Saint Madlala.

L.R.:
In other words, you are saying that something new has been created in Soweto, a new urban black identity and sense of community.

L.M.:
Exactly. The very divergent groups of Soweto have been molded into a society that gives prominence not only to its politicians, but also to a variety of other people. The inhabitants of Soweto have become a society with much in common. But it is a dependent society, for it is dependent for political rights on the white Afrikaner government and for its economic well-being on English-speaking whites.

L.R.:
What, then, do the urban blacks of South Africa think about their future?

L.M.:
The urban black, whose responsibility it is to decide the future political and economic advancement of blacks in South Africa, is faced with the question of whether equality is to be achieved by evolution or revolution, or by the mythical process of the outside world boycotting South African trade and the disinvestment of foreign capital.

L.R.:
What is your own opinion concerning these alternative courses of action?

L.M.:
In my view, revolution is totally unacceptable. It is only the far left wing or communist elements which still see revolution as an answer. For any revolution to be successful, it must have the popular support of the people—or at least the majority of the people—and it must have the support of the intellectuals of the society. The concept of communism is alien to Africa and even moreso to the well-informed blacks in South Africa.

L.R.:
Are there any circumstances under which you think that revolution would be an appropriate means for achieving black equality in South Africa?

L.M.:
Revolution as a means of gaining political power can only become a popular concept in a situation which is static and devoid of the future hope of change and the solution of problems. It requires a state of affairs in which a man can have no hopes for himself or for his children. But today's situation in South Africa is neither static nor sterile.

L.R.:
You believe that apartheid is beginning to change?

L.M.:
The apartheid laws were instituted to create a static situation for the urban blacks but have failed dismally. A healthy and growing economy saw to that. The emergence of the Afrikaner businessmen has ensured its permanent demise. Black workers are valued assets, educated and trained black workers even more so. Laborers are no longer in demand, machines can stack, and more things. We are thus neither faced with practical considerations which led to the French Revolution and the very same practical considerations which brought the Communists to power in Russia. We are not in the static status situation of peasants or serfs.

L.R.:
Many opponents of apartheid in the United States, including many black Americans, have urged a boycott of South African goods as a way to improve race relations in South Africa and push that country to racial equality. What do you think of this approach?

L.M.:
Those in our country who urge a boycott of South African goods and the disinvestment of Western capital are simply a small fringe of desperate revolutionaries. They realize that the basic condition from which revolution can arise does not exist, thus the world must create it. Who will suffer? Clearly the greatest hardships would fall on my people, the black people. They will be the first to lose their jobs. They will be left to die of starvation. They will be the first to be killed in a revolution. It would not be a revolution against a foreign government, which would withdraw to Britain or France or Portugal, a foreign government that is not prepared to carry the cost of a protracted guerrilla war. It would be a war against locals with no other place to go.

L.R.:
What do you see as the way to bring black South Africans into a position of equality with whites?