

Black
Consumer
Boycott Ctte. spokesperson 1

Interview: Jack Mkhoseli (PEYCO) P.E.

born

A 1957 at...on the farm of Humansdorp, about 70 kilometers away from P.E. on the banks of the (Kantis) River.

JF What kind of area is that? I don't know...what does that mean? Is that a farm or were you parents farm labourers?

A Yes they were. In fact we were labourers and we, at that time, our father passed in 1959 and the process on the farms, as you know, according to the programme applied by the farmers, is that if a male, the father, dies on the farm, the family got a difficulty because nobody is productive at that particular times and when my father passed away, we were a family of 8; there was only my mother who could let us go and do some washing. The rest of us and we had to have difficulty for accomodation and cross over to another farm and where we stayed for just a little bit. This gave us problem with our cattle, because during those days we had a big flock of cattle at my home; like sheep and goats and we used to live on agriculture.

We moved from that place to Oyster Bay but we left our cattle on there...but in 1968 or so, we were forced to sell all those cattle at a very low price because we couldn't keep them. I mean we were forced to sell them quickly otherwise no place to keep them. And this was the introduction of this...these laws that we are prohibiting blacks to have cattle you see. And this, or..having farms on these areas on the farms and because of that we had that difficulty.

JF So, when your dad died was he working for a white farmer?

A Yes but there were those things of...he used to stay on a farm and when they do they...for eg. if they plough, on the field you plant something and then they call it 'drietheel'. Where you used to share your thing as a payment for the farmer. That is how you were paying the rent to stay on the farm. You share everything that you have and then it grows over and you give him 75% of what you have. And that is how they bullied us around because we could not buy farms at that time.

We used...we grew up on the farms, our family have never stayed in the urban areas, from that time.

JF Now what if someone said to you surely if you grew up on a farm, you saw the exploitation by the white farmers, how could you ever

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JF come to non racialism? How could you explain that you moved from those very clear conditions, where the oppression was a white farmer, exploiting a huge family of blacks and all the people you knew, how do you ever move to a point where you supported non racialism?

A Well this...the question of supporting non racialism is based on the..I believe that if you are educated and moral, I say civilised ok, you look at things very seriously and you don't look at things face value, as they come you know. Because your understanding of a person, you just...understand that person goes wrong because sometimes of certain things like environment and things like that, where, and how he grew up and all those things. And this is of course the root cause of the misunderstanding and immediately as you go up and understand things and learn things, you start to understand that now you can't just blame a person on the basis of his colour and say that they are wrong because of that. And we learn to understand that there are a lot of black people who have done bad things against our people and so on. And now as we develop we learn to understand that now really the problem of man and the cruelty of man cannot be judged by his colour and you see that this one is good and that, otherwise you confuse friends and foes.

JF And just tell me a bit of your development. After your father died did that mean that you didn't work for the white farmer anymore or did the family still work for white farmers?

A Yes you see, our problem...we were lucky because we got a farmer who was..gave us a place to stay and my sister worked on the farm, for the farmer and my mother fortunately another elderly couple, of farmers and he stayed there on the farm and our house was there and we could go to school and round about 1963 our elder brother at my home started to work. He was the only one who started to work at that time and at the beginning in fact he was a little bit naughty. Like he to be..to engage in criminal activities, he was arrested for crime and things like that and we later on stayed and I went to school, with some of my family and my mother said that she will popped in the money for me to go to school. In fact, with us as you know, that our names got a meaning all the time to portray the conditions in which we were born. I was born in the time when

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A the Pass Law was introduced to the black women and my mother at that time she said, she hoped he would give birth to a child who will protect her and hence she said that I Mkhuseleli. At those times they had that difficulty; they were forced to go to take the passes and I was...at the back of her, she carried me whilst she go there and this is how it happened.

JF What does Mkhuseleli mean?

A It means somebody to protect; to protect, if you protect somebody from something. Now it developed from her, now it entered, it is easy now to enterpret it, even for the nation, you see. 'Kosedi Mkhuseleli we Sizwe' protector of the nation or something like that. In fact all of us find that our names are similar to that.


JF You grew up in Humansdorp or in Oyster Bay?

A I grew up in Humansdorp, I mean Oyster Bay is part...is the district of Humansdorp.

JF Ok, and when did you leave that whole area? Did you leave it to go to university or what happened?

A I started school, we were travelling to school from Sub A, I started school at the age of 10 years and then because this..I had to wait until I was fit, to walk the distance which was about 10 km. away from our home and then that was my primary school, up to Std. 4 and from there I moved away to Jeffreys Bay and for Std. 5 and 6, where in Jeffreys Bay, of course, in those days you could see a lot of these overseas surfers; we used to be very sympathetic to us when they gave us a lift on the road and we used to ask them and they used to be very kind to us in a way that was sympathetic and talk to us and we used to like them and hear what they had to say about what was going on in other parts of the world. So from the farm I developed that and you know, I came to P.E. to get school and a secondary education.

JF And was that all while your mother stayed in Humansdorp or did she move to Jeffreys Bay....

 No they just stayed there.

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JF So she sent you to school in Jeffreys Bay?

A Yes.

JF And then did you do any university?

A No, I haven't yet because we had problems with the Ciskein authorities. When I was supposed to start at the university of Fort Hare I was arrested in the Ciskei in 1982, so and I was given deportation orders - not to go to the Ciskei again, where the university is. But I have tried to apply again this year for the university, the other universities. I don't know.

JF So how did your political education come..I am just again my..I don't want to keep coming away because my focus is the non racialism, your view of whites; was there any way that you grew up where you think you had good experiences with whites, ^{that} ~~made~~ you positive about non racialism or did you hear stories about like Mono was telling me about the Eastern Cape being an ANC area and historically when it was legal and all that? I mean what do you think, again if you had to explain to me what moved you from a farm boy who didn't have any exposure in a city to any political theory, to a point where you are a non racialist? Is it because you learned political theory or because you had good experiences with whites, what was the reason?

A Now the reason was that you see, when I came here with we started this thing of engaging in the...the time when we started to be involved in politics, I mean that was, I came to secondary in 1975 and in 1976 there were this ... riots which the uprising, which started in Soweto and spread all over the country and we also engaged in that. At that time we used to speak as loudly and clearly about how our hatred and during those days for me it was easy you see, to expose what..to tell the people that what was happening on the farms and so on and to draw a lot of support amongst the people as I could give and all that. For eg. When white fellows killed a black fellow they were in a court of law, they were sentenced... they were fined only R150 for killing this guy and tramped and digged while he was still alive and put him on a grave you know, and pull a tractor and trample over him.

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A On the coast there at Oyster Bay. I saw it in December 1976 I mean it was in June 1976, during my school holidays and I used to p~~ro~~ph~~et~~ise this and tell them people about this sad story. This amazed a lot of our people, how the law could and these fellows were fined R150. Three of them, each.

JF And didn't that show you that the whites are the enemy?

A Yes at that time but...really it did, I mean I was really convinced that they were wrong. But that was now between 76,77, 78 going right back and with the formation of COSAS, which came out with a non racial line, which we did not understand clearly, particularly myself at school because I was just...I could not believe it.


And COSAS came up with this Congress line and this Freedom Charter business and so on, agh, we said, agh man. But then I was the first to be consulted to go to their conference where COSAS was planned and then immediately when this thing of non racialism was introduced at this stand, I started to step back and started to have excuses that now, I am busy with the choirs of the school and so on.

But later, in 1980 we were engaged in the boycott right, in 1980 I was the leader of the students, during the 1980 boycotts.

JF Where was that?

A IN P.E. and in fact in other parts of the Eastern Cape and I started now to be a prominent leader and I was highly respected in BC circles and this thing now; when I realised that hey man, this group that was talking about, even at school we could just say that there was this thing now developing; people started to realise that hey, chaps, ANC is like this and we used to say that we were saying this because we support the ANC and we like the ANC. And we are Black Conscious because are...later on we saw the contradiction within the PAC. Hey, but how does this happen now and this confused us and we started to read. A lot of books now which we didn't read in the past.

We used only to read these, ? Myself, you know, all these black ? in America. You read about Marcus Garvey, Martin Luther King and those talking ? and all that you know. And other

 books by Nkrumah and all that stuff. And we started to see now the

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A the other side of the story and we read this and realised, oh man This thing, the Freedom Charter came across to us and we started to sing now.

And of course one other thing that changed me in 1980 was at the time when we were going to introduce AZAPO here, and we realised that the police were strongly supporting our slogans. You know these slogans, and we started to doubt now, why should the state now be so arrogant against the ANC and show us how effective PAC could be with its hostility against whites and so on. But we discussed this thing when...every time we come back from prison, you know, from...we always go and report to other people. And we realised no man, we are making a mistake; why are these fellows encouraging us.

I was definitely encouraged to open...you see they came...this question of AZAPO, it was formed in 1978 and then 1981, in 1980 I was arrested together with other students and we were in Modder. ~~See~~ Prison and whilst we were there we were under Section 10, of the Internal Security Act. We were arrested together with guys of AZAPO. Executive members of AZAPO, from the Transvaal and we saw this was a calculated plot to try and...these fellows was senior to us, to try and tell us how good Black Consciousness is and they denounced the ANC so much and the non racial principle.

We said NO, this is too much, we don't understand and we wanted to know but why were we...because we all were students; why couldn't they send to us some other from the other side. Because when we get there the Natal Indian Congress have just left and we...this was strange for us, ^{that} these senior fellows from AZAPO should be there then it started to...

In 1980 I was arrested at the time when, 81, during the Anti-Republic Campaigns. It was myself and at that time I had discussions with AZAPO senior members who came here to persuade me and fortunately elderly people here is P.E. stood up against this now! the old people who were in the ANC and showing us, hey chaps, but I was the only one now, a key fellow, was still on this side who believe that it is AZAPO who correct and AZAPO sent guys to ^{me} at every time they used to come here, they come to my home. The likes of George ~~Wauchope~~ ^{Wauchope} and others; they used to come to me and this...Langani..I have just forgotten his name. He was in the Labour Secretariat of AZAPO. They came to us and then I was arrested at that time and in the... that was my Timkulu and the others. ~~Siphwe~~ ^{Siphwe} Mtimkulu then disappeared from that time and he was a ~~these~~ COSAS fellow but we

SAFIA were not hostile towards COSAS, as such but we were just believing

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A that they were in a verge of splitting now, between us. But when I came back I realised from detention, that firmly, that no, this ? was not good. That these fellows are...they want us to fight this struggle of Black Consciousness. We saw that no, this was not correct and then I stated to...when we came back I said no, I discuss with the comrades and we discussed the question and we saw that no, we are being trapped here.

JF How did you see that? I mean what do you mean, when you came back, from where?

A From detention.

JF Where were you being held then?

A I was detained here is H ? mor Station. In 1981.

JF And when you said you came back and said no, why did you finally reject it? What do you think made you think no...

A It was because, at that time you see the police, I believe that they kept Sipho Mtshulu and Wantu ^{Zenzile} in prison. At the same time I was released and I was the other side; the other fellow who was standing, a strong man, for this AZAPO business; that it should be formed here in the Eastern Cape. And those were the two fellows who were strongly against this thing. So obviously when I came out they expected me to have no challenger on this thing, to go on just like that and with no opposition. Because these two fellows were not there and it would have been easy for me to confuse everybody about this thing.

So I realised that after, in fact, I discussed with the comrades this and the comrades realised no, and we analysed it you see. And we saw that we were going on the wrong path and then immediately we embarked on a campaign to expose and to learn a lot about non racialism and we understood then, as from 1981, I am telling you, we are very clear now about and we are convinced now; not because of the tracks that were made by the police and tricks that they were making you see those things could just...you could believe that agh, we were just playing that to bluff them. That is why we decided to go the other way but we realised in actual fact that no man, this was a

worrying thing and we believed it cannot be practical in S.A. in

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A in the S.A. struggle and then after analysing the struggles through out the world, now we have come to realise that really, the S.A. struggle should not be based on the question of one's colour but should be based on the fact that we collect all those who have got good intentions; who understand that it is their right to fight, to right the wrongs of this country rather than to look at them on their colour; but to look at their commitments to justice. That is how I saw it.

JF I have got so many questions: you spoke very well but I just follow up little things because I didn't want to stop you. Ok let us just take it back chronologically: Coming from the Eastern Cape, what would you say was the thing that you grew up with? Was it the kind of thing you, you were born in 57 so by the late 70s you are still quite young; was this, you have to describe the Eastern Cape, is the E Cape a place of Biko, the birth of BC, or is it still the place of the ANC?

A Definitely there is no doubt about the fact that the E Cape is a stronghold of the ANC. I don't believe there in a time, I am not sure but I don't know what the people want to defend, BC are saying today, but I cannot adjust. Dismiss what they are saying or just agree to it but I do not believe that Steve Biko even at any stage could have stood up and said something openly against the ANC, even during those heydays. Between the 70s, I mean up to that period, against the ANC because the people would have definitely not followed him. That is for sure, in the E Cape particularly.

JF Ok. When you were much younger and there was the early days of BC, BPC, AZAPO, happening, do you remember thinking positively about it, because you talked about yourself as someone who was quite a BC and pro AZAPO up until 78, 81? Were you attracted to BC? Do you remember hearing that....because there had been that period when nothing had happened, that lull, do you remember being attracted by BC at one stage? Hearing about Biko and that kind of thing?

A Yes, I do remember because the first meeting I attended was in 1975 and it was a ^{memorial} commemoration, during those days there were very few commemorations, that was only the Sharpville shooting. We went there and were told and we got some books and we read them and we were very impressed by what we were reading there. We were really impres-

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A impressed and of course we say that it helped us at that time because during those days it is a fact that we used to just...to have the inferiority complex which the BC was a medicine to destroy it at that time. But now presently, we have matured now, like...I don't believe my child^{will} have to go the same way as I did, in order to... understand politics. He must first start black consciousness and then come round to the right thing as they are saying.

I believe there is no point now in actual fact but there was a point then for us to kill that inferiority complex within our minds and now ok, we have developed into what we are and now we can put our case across to the masses, what we believe in. And they are taking it from that. We don't have to first start them from where we started- it is foolish to do it.

JF Now again I am interested in tracing it. When did you first get this.. when was that Sharpville commemoration day that you read that literature, what year would that have been? When you spoke of that Sharpville day and of being aware. When was that when you were quite interested in that BC? What year?

A It was in 1975.

JF And then do you think that Soweto 76 reinforced BC feeling? There is the whites killing the blacks and...(What do you say) Do you think that this 76 business reinforced your anti white feelings in terms of blacks...

A Exactly, yes exactly, in 1976 we could just see nothing further than that black versus white.

JF And you said this, but I just want to make sure I understood it. You gave speeches then, what capacity would that have been in? Just with students, you weren't the head of any organisation in 76? Were you?

A Oh, then in 76, ja we used to speak as student representatives.

JF Were you on an SRC or were you anything?

A Ja, I was a prefect, in fact I was lucky to be a prefect even from the farm, until I was Head Boy at my school in 1980. I was a Head Boy right through. I have been speaking most of the time for...

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A to the students, I have been addressing meetings, right through.

JF What school was it?

A I was first at Loiso High School; I have problems with the teachers after the death of Sobukwe in 1978 when he came back from the funeral we had some problems at school and then I was expelled from the school. I went to ^{Cowan} ~~Lawan~~ High School, the same year and that was from 1978 and 79.

JF Do you, you went to the funeral of Sobukwe?

A Yes, I was there.

JF Was that quite a big blow, an important event in the Eastern Cape when he died?

A Yes it was seen as a big event by us. See, during those days we did not, I am saying, that we in fact hero worshipped him, even today, for what he did but then not because...I mean we supported PAC then. We couldn't even ~~appreciate~~ ^{differentiate} if the was a PAC or ANC man.

JF Did you say you supported PAC?

A No I am saying at that time, we were not aware as to whether was he PAC or ANC.

JF He was just a black hero?

A Ja, he was just a man who fought

JF Ok, now when you gave those speeches in 76 and around those times, did you use the experience of your farm days of being oppressed farm kid who was suppressed and the typical situation of being oppressed by whites in the rural areas? Was that strong I mean, would you have spoken about that? Would that have fuelled your BC feelings, having grown up and had that kind of...

A Yes, exactly, yes. I believe really that the people were saying that ...whites could not lead us, they would just delay us at that time.

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A We knew of no examples of white who were involved in the struggle, at that time. We hadn't even known that Bram Fisher, there were people like Bram Fisher, and so on.

We understood these things so gradually; when we saw what was written in the walls, in the ...you know when they ? main road was burnt down we saw the names of Sisulu, Mandela and Bram Fisher, 'Hey but who is this one now?' You see from that time we started to notice that hey man, there are white people who are involved in the struggle and so on. We started to understand, to learn as time goes.

JF And I am very interested coz you spoke about it, when you said that you first heard of this non racialism you thought now this is non-sense. You could just tell me about that, I mean who came and told you about non racialism. I am just interested because you told me about 76, Sobukwe and suddenly you come with this non racialism, I don't understand who told you about it first? Tell me a little bit...

A I am saying that you see, we were involved, all of us, all of the leaders that you see now in the Eastern Cape, particularly the young ones. We involve in the same manner as I am saying, like that where they moved over as they understood things. And we learn, they leave the others back, standing like myself. Like for eg. ^(sic) ~~Wantu~~ Zenzile the first ^{second?} president of COSAS who has left the country now, he was at my school and ~~it~~ gave him a lot of problems because I was a prefect at school and I commanded a lot of support among the teachers and amongst the students, because I was a sports person and quarrelster and all that. But he was just an activist you see and he came up with COSAS and I was involving but I gave him problems now; But we started now bang, these chaps, let's listen to him & talk sense a little about that; when he came up he was a strong member of COSAS who explained and stood for what COSAS, what it stands for with its non racialism. So we don't believe in this. We but gradually... he was instrumental, and lone voice at my school who stood for this thing full.

JF And tell me can you remember when you say...I am just wondering where did he get his non racialism from and how did he explain it? I am sure he didn't just come in one day and just say, oh I have discovered white people are ok; did he get it from older guys or ANC line or

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JF where was he getting it from and then how did he say it to you?

A Ja, definitely he must..have got it from the elderly fellows and fortunately one other thing that I gorgot, in 1981 there were these Edgar Ngoyi, the president of UDF here; they came, it was just... they have just recently then..released from Prison, Robben Island and then they were other people who were very instrumental in to driving us into this non racialism and explaining it to us. Because he spent a lot of years in prison and they had...his comrade who is missing now Comrade Fazzie, I mean Comrade Mashe. They rorganised a funeral of Mrs. Smiko, another comrade....

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A ...from East London, like former ANC members and spoke...explained the non racial concept; that was in 1981 and then we started to realise, hey but these people are talking sense now. And they... one other important aspect, now they started now to take control and to get involved now. There was that general lull amongst these fellows who were...arrested and imprisoned before. Particularly here in P.E. but they were silent when they came back but their goal is to initiate/giving direction to the youth now and from that time really, things changed dramatically. All the organisations immediately developed here in the Eastern Cape, they just worked for this non racial business.

And everybody started to now understand and you find us now, we are not challenged here in the Eastern Cape in terms of numerically speaking in numbers, and understanding by the people of the concept.

JF So again, you...one of the influences was these older guys (ja) and then do you actually remember arguing with one or two?...

A Yes, because I was troublesome because of...they called me at one stage, to explain to me privately, because you know, I mean, it was obvious that I...as I was keeping on saying these things, denouncing non racialism, I had a following amongst the young people. So it was important and we argued and they explained to us, they told us about the comrades, that they have in the struggle with white comrades who have sacrificed, laid down their lives for freedom in the country- and we started really to see now this is a fact.

SAAFA And they showed what the struggle for justice was not a fact, and we

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A are not oppressed because we are blacks but it was just..and they came with this theory of working class things which we did not know. We were just battling against apartheid as we see it...at first when they started to explain things to us...

JF So again this could take a long time but in a brief way what did they explain? What do you understand non racialism to mean which you had not understood before?

A Was that one, we could not believe that it was wrong to believe that all white people were oppressors and of course they made us to understand that it is a fact that because of the policies of the state they have made it possible that each and every white person, by virtue of his colour benefits from the priveleges that are protected by apartheid. But at the same time it is for us to judge in other countries too, like if you go to Europe, during the industrial revolution in Britain, you will find that people have been exploited and they told us about it and we also understood history what happened in other countries of the world where you find like in the Soviet Union before the October Revolution. You find the people being oppressed seriously there and divided along the lines and that was only one race, right. There were no different races as it is in terms of colour; people of the same colour and so on.

So the problem here basically lied on the question of the greediness of man and the evil intentions of man, be he black or white and we realised then we could easlily be a...equate that with what was going on in our country; where you find a lot of blacks, like the Matanzimas enjoying the benefits and fruits of apartheid. Yet they could not by virtue of the fact that their colour being blak, being classified as our comrades and many other public leaders. 141

So it was obvious and we started to understand that really, I mean if we allow the comrades in this country, who see that apartheid is not good for humanity, it is fair for us to allow everybody to take part in the struggle; to fight for justice because we don't have to monopolise that role. It is the role that should be played by everybody. One other aspect that is important is the fact we are not doing whites a favour, nor are they doing us favour by engaging in the struggle for freedom; but they are doing what is rightfully a good for them to do for this country in order to right what is wrong here.

SAPPIA

JF So do you have any doubts anymore? Do you feel like

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JF that you would ever look at what AZAPO said or look at Biko and possibly that maybe they, the BC strategies, are in any way correct?

A I..am convinced that non racial is ok for our struggle you see. There is no other way; we have just...it is alright, and the best and that is clear on the fact that despite the attractive slogans that AZAPO always shouts..I mean the people who are running away on a daily basis from them and so far you can't hear of any man of credibility who moved from the ranks of the non racial group into BC and this is scores of them moving from that way to this side. ?
And like the terrorists, like the Poppo Molefes and the Rastafas, and the Curtis Nkondos, the ^{Aubrey} Ubu Makoenas and the rest of them, we all have been involved that side and we moved across over to this side That makes us not doubt whatsoever that BC has no future. It is a fact.

JF You said something that is quite a serious thing and I think there are people who have not spoken much about it; in any way given any evidence about it, that you felt that the state seemed to be pro BC pro AZAPO; when the business of them shifting around this cells in Modder Bx and this kind of thing. Even today I said to you ja, but can you show me any evidence that the state is pro BC, pro AZAPO, what could you point to?

A Well, definitely there is no doubt that the state is...the fact that the state...I mean there is a lot that is involved. Look ultra..I don't know whether to say ultra leftist or whatever, in most cases anyway in the world, and ultra rightist, they are in a way to measure somewhere on the top there, with their common goals; for eg. look at the visit of Kennedy to S.A., I am saying this just as proof that the state want just to neutralise the non racial group; when they move they allow AZAPO to go and demonstrate at the airport. That thing...the UDF members can't even move twenty metres demonstrating with placards without police intefering.
And of course look in the Eastern Cape, all organisations are banned. and AZAPO has been left alone to organise the people. Hence we find ourselves now in this mess here and the police, it is clear, that the state is very pleased about what is going on now. Because what they want is just to neutrdise our strength and in fact they are fighting a losing battle in any case because they will not...they are not going to succeed in what they are doing. And there are a lot of other

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A factors to point to if time could allow which proves that really the state does in a way try to neutralise. Because why are they afraid of this thing of the non racial group - it is because we are joining from their group, the white people who are ? to be part of us and see them...and now the whole... and they, on the other side, they see that really these people are comfortable within our ranks and now they want to create problems so that these people can be pushed away and go back to support that government; have that stand of white versus blacks. Now that whole thing is being frustrated by our strategy of non racialism, of allowing all people of good intentions to engage in our struggle.

JF What do you think would be in it for the white system, the whites, for the government to be pushing AZAPO over the non racialism?

A I beg your pardon?

JF What would be the motive for the government to be pushing AZAPO over non racialism? To be pro AZAPO and anti non racialism?

A Well one of the reasons to do that, it will...deepen the conflict of...racial tensions and this is of course, it is a fact that this is a basic...that is a pillar of apartheid; racial conflict. The day we do away with that definitely the state will be in trouble.

JF Stop there.

A When was PEYCO founded?

A It was founded in 1983.

JF And what job do you have now? How are you employed?

A Well, I am employed as an ordinary labourer.

JF Doing what exactly?

A I am doing some sort of clerical work and things like that...hello.

JF So glad I got to talk to you, I wish I had more time, ok. So give me some short answers: Was it influential for you to speak to the

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JF Ngoyis? These people, Fazzie, Hashe and those people who came off the island? Were they influential for you?

A Yes they were, really.

JF And do you think that is what worries the government, that you folks are listening to these old guys talking too much?

A Oh, it worries them a lot. It worries them a lot.

JF And do you think that might be a reason why he was moved out? Why Hashè isn't here any more?

A Yes, exactly because of their role. We knew in any case that the government..the apartheid agents wanted for their arms and particularly the week after this 100% success of this stay away, because that has pointed to things that are going to happen in the near future.

JF Ok. Does; just give me a real quick comment on disinvestment. I mean the Eastern Cape people don't have jobs, it is a bad area economically, surely people might say you must support investment, you must be against disinvestment?

A Well, now we strongly believe that disinvestment could do a lot in this country to try to force the government to change. In terms of unemployment against our people that is a failure of the government to see to it; that the government can not plan, administrate; that is one reason that makes us to believe that this government to go, because they cannot plan. It was obvious that the population must grow, it does not help to tell us that we must engage in family planning and things like that; the fact of the matter is that the people must grow, it is natural; but the irony of the whole is that when it comes to this question of disinvestment, you find people getting so much interested in the welfare of the black people in the Eastern Cape or in S.A. that they will suffer most. And you ask yourself, what are these people saying about suffering that our people have undergone under the Pass Law, what are they saying about the suffering under the Bantu Education System: which enslaves us with a certificate that we get it from them and the job reservation act and the high rents and things like that. What are they saying about that?

Interview: Mhkuseli Jack

A But now people talk about disinvestment today, something that is going to affect both the oppressor and the oppressed. And now they start to be serious about the plight of the black people; that they will suffer most. And one other thing is that in between 197...1970 and up to 78 there was this booming in the gold, standard of gold, where you find it was priced very high, but you find that there was no change in the welfare of the black. Nobody cared about saying that ok, let us improve the living conditions of the black peoples of this and that. Therefore we feel that disinvestment is the only solution because it will create, of course, we believe that, we as revolutionaries, want to see this government going completely. We are not interested in this small pieces of changes, which have no meaning to the vast majority of our people, but we believe that if disinvestment, which would create the necessary chaotic situation which is necessary for a revolution and for the take over of the working class, it is necessary. And we support disinvestment on those grounds.

JF Ok. When you were growing up you just said you didn't even hear of Bram Fisher, I mean there weren't really whites, it doesn't seem, or were there any whites? I mean if you had to think of a new life in P.E. growing up in this area in Eastern Cape, have there been any whites that you think you personally experienced who were useful to your struggle?

A Yes, no but in the Eastern Cape we are unfortunate; for all those years of this non racial but we saw them, in symposium, as we started to go to conferences in other parts of the country, like the Western Cape and Transvaal, Rhodes University; at least where you find some liberals and serious whites in the struggle and then you started to realise gee, but that now there are whites who are sincere. Unfortunately for us here, we have got this university here which is very much verkrampt and it is not useful to us. It is very funny because here in the Eastern Cape we find that the whites, though we are the most people in the country who believe in the non racial concept, but we don't have a lot of whites involved as for eg. in the Transvaal, and Western Cape and Natal.

JF Were you surprised to see there is a P.E. area committee and the Grahamstown whites and these few whites getting together? Have you heard about these UDF white UDF...(Yes) How did you feel when that happened, were you surprised?

Interview: Mkhuseli Jack

A No, in fact even in forming PEYCO we had some support from university students from Grahamstown and so on who were very instrumental and helpful towards us into trying to make PEYCO what it is.

JF And what about blacks who say agh, how can you even be interested in liberal whites? What use are liberal whites?

A No we always tell them that...you can't say that everybody with that has to play his role, whether he is white or not. You have got maybe those liberal blacks who don't even care about or struggle or betray our people in fact. Many of them. Most of our people have suffered great sentences in jail not because they were suppressed ^{not} by whites but by blacks.

JF So you think liberals have a role to play?

A They have definitely a role to play.

JF And if you see..and when you see the hippos and the SADF in the townships, how do you answer people who say how can you speak of non racialism, there are those whites killing us every day; five year old child grows up seeing those whites, how can you....

A No, but one other important thing is the fact that they are not only whites, there are Xhosa black policemen who have been seen shooting people and there are scores of the community counsellors who have got guns around themselves and they are shooting the kids, so it is very easy to explain to the kids, it is very easy.

JF I could go on and on - just one little thing you are always speaking about the role of mankind and you mention man, do you think that there is any time when the organisations of the youth will consider feminist issues and talk about people instead of man?

A Oh, I am sorry, this is my mistake and I know if I always go to the platform my comrades will always remind me, comrade please don't make this mistake; just talk about people, I am sorry.

JF Shall I change it to people?

A Yes, definitely, we understand that strongly.

Interview: Mkhuseeli Jack

JF One last question, if you were to be speaking about, thinking about the future of S.A., this is one ^{of} those awful questions, about what is going to happen in S.A., that is hard to answer: How do you think the state is going to move to control the increasing rebellion that is going on? What kind of strategies do you see, what would you predict for the next few years?

A I think the government has failed. Let me try to...between 197.... between 1980 up till last year the government tried to be polite and change its strategies, for ~~eg.~~ the throwing people out of their buildings and so on and killing people in detention, and people started to disappear and die with stabbing in the streets and things like that. We saw that ok, as a change but its real true colours came back again that was now a strategy of trying to avoid this open and naked repression but they started. But again when ~~h~~ they were highly embarrassed and humiliated during those...constitutional... I mean those elections in August last year and the government came up very strongly and viscerally; and showing that really it cannot take it any further; and its atrocities against the people have proven that; and we foresee that the government is in fact going to intensify its brutality and atrocities against the people, as the ~~h~~ voice of opposition to apartheid is growing louder and louder. But at the same time we are one thing that is an advantage to us is the fact that despite that, with the numbers of people turning up to our funerals it is clear that our people have seen that if the government feels it is going to shoot us away from believing that our freedom have to be achieved, then it is making a mistake; because the 1000s of people in the history here in S.A, we have never seen people gathering, some 120 000 people gathering together, ever since the government is shooting a single one ~~the~~ person, whether in the graveyard or anywhere the numbers are doubling, the numbers are doubling and the churches are getting involved seriously and definitely the government is going to find itself in a very embarrassing situation, whereby through its own brutality ~~lies~~ you see, because repression; must ~~once~~ you repress people you tell them that the ~~h~~ protection is to resist it, the repression. And that is what is happening. Definitely the government is going to intensify the repressive law.

JF Ok, when have you been detained and your background I don't know? When were you detained?

A I was detained from 1977 every year, except 19..this year I think,

Interview: Mkhuseleli Jack

A I haven't been in detention actually, this year. Between 77 up till this year, this is the only year that I have been...

JF And what was the longest period you were detained for?

A Well, that was in 1980, nearly the whole year, in 1980. I just spent about 30 days, no I think 35 days out of prison.

JF And you have never been charged for anything?

A I was charged four times but I was acquitted of all those cases.

JF And what kind of charges were there?

A In 1980 it was intimidation and incitement; I was acquitted on that and again last year there were three charges against me: Intimidation and incitement, when we opposed the visit by Lucas Mangope's wife. I was arrested again for attempting to murder a sell-out there in the township and again I was arrested for attempted armed robbery, of the same sell-out and fortunately I get out of all those cases.

JF Is he still around that guy?

A Ja, he is a walking corpse in fact now. 402.

End of tape