



J.F. Can I start by asking you where were you born and when?

N.M. I was born on the 19th. November, 1960, in Clow Valley (003) Cape Town.

J.F. And so where's that in Cape Town?

N.M. Clow Valley.

J.F. What kind of area is that?

N.M. It's a white area - you know, before we moved to the black locations, we used to stay with my mother and - it's sort of a - it's a suburban area, so it's for whites, so my mother was working for a doctor there, so we have a two roomed house, staying at the back of these white premises.

J.F. That was the kaia sort of thing.

N.M. Sorry?

J.F. The kaia - the back - at the back house or...

N.M. At the back house of this white guy.

J.F. What did you call it? What would you call it in Xosa?

N.M. In Xosa - no, actually there's no Xosa name, because it's just like here in these days now. You'll find the maid's house at the back, so it was the maid's house, so we're staying with the family - with my father and my other sisters.

J.F. So your father was staying there also?

N.M. Ja, he was staying there also.

J.F. And what work was he doing?

N.M. My father was working for South African Navy in Simonstown.

J.F. Doing what?

N.M. He was just a general worker.

J.F. And, what a labourer or...

N.M. No, office work.

J.F. Like a clerk?

N.M. Not actually like a clerk, no. He was doing filing - you know, filing - I think he was doing only filing, not actually writing and other things.

J.F. And did your mother always work for this one doctor?

N.M. Ja, she worked for this doctor, I think from 1953, when my other sister was born, she used to work for this doctor until in 1961 she started to do midwifery, because I think this doctor has something to do with them (021) so she was taking lessons from this doctor, so she done midwifery, and I think in those days it was not as difficult as it is - you have to study before you get qualifications.

J.F. So did you always grow up in that one area?

- N.M. No, in 19 - as my mother used to told me - in 1965 I went to the farm in Tagastaad, where my mother was born.
- J.F. To where? *Tarka*
- N.M. Tagastaad - it's near Queenstown, which is the biggest area it is now(027) so I went to stay with my grandmother and grandfather. They've got a farm.
- J.F. So why did she send you out to the farms?
- N.M. You know, I think that was because of ill health, and she didn't have enough time to stay with me because she had to work, so - and I was a bit problem - wanted to go to school with my elder sister, so I was just giving them a tough time, so they sent me to my grandmother.
- J.F. So when you were staying in the back rooms at that house, do you remember much about it?
- N.M. I don't remember a single thing about that - I don't remember anything. I remember the time when we were in Guguleto because we - my mother - my family moved from this two roomed house to Freehond (034) which is - Freehond it's a free ground which was given to - it was a squatter area and it still exists.
- J.F. When did you move there?
- N.M. In 1965.
- J.F. So when she moved, then she sent you to the farm?
- N.M. She sent me to the farm.
- J.F. And who was that relative - your granny?
- N.M. Ja, with my mother's mother.
- J.F. And was your granny farming or did she have - what did she do?
- N.M. They had a farm - an area which were given by this Mr. Noel Nowell (040) which is the owner of the farm, so they had their own farm. They plough, they've got cattles and everything.
- J.F. And so was that their own - they're black people owning their own land?
- N.M. He ow - he's the only one who've got a piece of land in that area, because I think the family - something hereditary and I think, in the family - I don't know who's who - either my grandfather, his mother was - I think they've got relationship with this Mr. Noel in those older days, so that's how they gave him a portion of land there.
- J.F. So when you got there, did you have to work on that land?
- N.M. No, I wasn't very young, so I think I returned home - I stay only for a year, so because I don - in 1966 I went back to Cape Town because of ill health, so my mother as well (051) and they still have - they've moved to Guguletu, so we have a four roomed house in Guguletu, so they take me to stay there.

- J.F. And you came back with your family.
- N.M. I came back with my family.
- J.F. And then did you - how long did you spend in Guguletu?
- N.M. In Guguletu - even now I'm still staying in Guguletu.
- J.F. I see, so you grew up there.
- N.M. I grew up in Guguletu, and I've done - I've started school in Guguletu up to Standard Five, then after Standard Five I went to study (start) (055) in the Ciskei, in my father's place.
- J.F. And what language did you speak at home?
- N.M. At home in Cape Town we used to speak Afrikaans, because my mother was very good in Afrikaans so we used to talk in Afrikaans, and we grew up speaking Afrikaans.
- J.F. But is she Xosa?
- N.M. She's a Xosa.
- J.F. So why did she speak Afrikaans with you?
- N.M. She was born/the area where Afrikaans was sort of a medium of instruction, or it was used in the farm, and when we stayed in Guguletu, I think this guy for whom she was working he was Afrikaans speaking, so my other sisters were speaking Afrikaans even before we came to Guguletu because they were studying in those school and they were taught in Afrikaans. /in.
- J.F. And in Guguletu, did the kids you played with speak Afrikaans?
- N.M. Some of them, because you know we have that problem - my other family have got Coloured wives, or we've got that relationship with Coloureds, so we were - the family it was just mix up, and we have....
- Most of our friends were Coloureds.
- J.F. But in Guguletu wasn't it just African?
- N.M. Yes, there were African and Coloureds - we've got Coloureds who stay in the location.
- J.F. Even now?
- N.M. Ja, even now.
- J.F. Because the Government is always saying Africans live separately, Coloureds live separately - they don't want to be together - they have different cultures, and all this kind of stuff - did you find that was true?
- N.M. No, it was not true, because cousin has married a Coloured. It's pure Coloureds, Coloured, Coloured, and they stay in Guguletu, and my other cousin's sister is married to a Coloured guy, but he stays in Manenburg (074) and it's a

- N.M. Coloured area, but if an African is married to a Coloured they usually stay in - they just stay - they stay in the location, and we've got many Coloureds in my area who are married to Africans.
- J.F. Were there any Coloureds in your mother's family, or your father's family?
- N.M. It's in my mother's family.
- J.F. And otherwise is it just African, your background?
- N.M. My background is African.
- J.F. And did you ever think about what it meant to speak Afrikaans - was that O.K. with you - you didn't think?
- N.M. No, in those days I didn't think of anything which was wrong with Afrikaans words. I mean she was still not really much hard (082) (hot)
- J.F. And - but with Coloureds did you ever think they're a little bit different from you - they're different than Africans - was that anything you thought about?
- N.M. No. You know, with Coloureds you don't have any problem - we're brought together with Coloureds. It's not like here where we've got to see that the Indians and the blacks - they find out they are - there a very great difference between them, and I was studying (at) the Coloured school.
- J.F. You were at a Coloured school?
- N.M. Ja, I was starting (studying) (087) the Coloureds (school) from first year to Standard Five.
- J.F. Were there many Africans in the Coloured school?
- N.M. Not many. You only find the Africans - I mean the cross between a Coloured and an African. If your father is an African, then the mother is a Coloured, so they went to study in the Coloured school.
- J.F. Did you ever, in those old days, think of - did people ever talk about getting classified to be Coloureds - that that would be a bit better, to be classified as a Coloured?
- N.M. Ja, there was that thing because, even with a family, some of the people they said we must take the ID cards instead of reference book because we were light in complexion, all of us at home (094) and we'd be wise to take these ID, because Coloureds they've got more chances than the blacks.
- J.F. What did you think of that idea?
- N.M. I mean I took the reference book. At least I was old, and I didn't want to associate myself with that. I said : No, I have to take the reference because I'm a Xosa and not a Coloured.
- J.F. But did you think that - what about the advantages that you missed by doing that - did you think : Well, I could have - I could be moving up more if I was - had a - just the Coloured ID book?

N.M. Ja, I thought of that, but my chances were less because I've started from - my post Alma Mater (101) I was studying in the Ciskei, and which was the Xosa area, so I have to produce these papers from school, and I mean I was more Xosalised now because most of my youth days are spent : Correction : because most of my youth days I spent them with fill (film) (field) (105) the Xosas, and which is out - the Homelands.

J.F. Why did they send you to Ciskei?

N.M. You know, when I was*in Standard Five we were studying in a school in Manenburg, and it was chaotic, so we used not to take the bus and just walk because it's not very far from Guguletu, and we used to beg - asking money from people, that we don't have money for bus fare, and it goes as far as my father, so my father said that, no, I'm becoming corrupt, so I have to move from Cape Town and go to the Varing (varying) (112) school, so it started like (that) and the other thing that my father hated, we were more Coloureds than Africans. *doing.

You know, I'm - we were all speaking Afrikaans and we didn't want to associate ourselves with the... because, you know we used to have - we used to be insulted by other kids - said : Ah, move, you Coloureds, and we were wearing ribbons because I used to have long hair and wearing these ribbons, so they used to insult us, and we didn't have any friends from around the location because of that bad attitude from other kids, so we used to have Coloured friends and/other people, and when we used to have some feast where they make this Xosa beer and we didn't want to drink, but customary you have to drink that and we didn't want to drink that, so my father said, Well, assuming ourselves as Coloureds more than Xosas, so I have to move and get educated in that Xosa areas. *no.

J.F. And so what about the kids in the location in Guguletu - did they discriminate a bit against Coloureds?

N.M. Yes, in that time they used to discriminate us.

J.F. Why didn't they like Coloureds?

N.M. Not that they didn't like Coloureds. They just insulted. If we have done something wrong they attack (talk) (127) Oh, these bloody Coloureds - those people they don't have customs and other things. It was the behaviour of Coloureds in the Cape, if you have done something wrong, which is ridiculous, insulting you might say - you are behaving like a Coloured, because they believe that Coloureds they don't have customs, and if they are drunk, a kid will insult his brother, and insult him by the mother or father, so if we've done, maybe insulting another, say : Ja, that's Coloured behaviour (Laugh)

No, it was just the thing in that time, because at least now people are associating themselves, they say that Coloureds are human beings - they don't take them in the other way.

- J.F. So most of your friends have been Coloured?
- N.M. Ja, most of my friends, and even within the family we have Coloured relationship.
- J.F. So what do you speak better - Afrikaans or English?
- N.M. No, it's Afrikaans.
- J.F. You speak better?
- N.M. No, I speak English. No, I have a problem with Afrikaans now since I moved from the - home and I studied in the Ciskei and there we used to have guys and - I mean school kids from the Karoo, which were speaking Afrikaans - more Afrikaans than those people in the Cape - I mean in the Western Cape.
- You know, the Karoo they stay with them - with Afrikaans speaking people and : Correction : You know, the Karoo they stay with them : Re-correction :
- You know, the people in the Karoo, they stay with them - the Afrikaans people, and speak Afrikaans.
- J.F. So then you went to Ciskei - where did you go to school - where did they send you.
- N.M. I started in ^{Cofimvaba.} Xpfumbaba (That's the best I can do! 146) which is - it was a missionary school, so I started (studied) Standard Six to Standard Seven - studied to Standard Seven, and then we were expelled (in) 1976 just before the independence.
- J.F. Let me take it back - when you went there, at first was it hard for you to adjust - suddenly you left the Coloured environment - you were with all Africans - all Xosa people - was that difficult for you to adjust?
- N.M. Ja, it was - for the first three months it was difficult, and the other thing, to be away from home which I was not used to that, and to associate myself with those kids, but it was better off because we have - I have many people - I mean many school kids from the Transvaal, so that was the first friend that I met, those from the Transvaal, and the others from the Karoo, so it was not difficult on the language side - it was just difficult to stay there - to be part of those kids.
- J.F. Why, what were those kids like?
- N.M. You know, if you were brought up by the family which you used to speak the other languages, and the behaviour - that was the behaviour, I think, that was the most problem - the behaviour because my behaviour and their behaviour was not the same, and I was too fussy, too choosy, so those kid - it was not difficult for them to adjust themselves in that situation at that school, so it was difficult for me, from the background of my family and for me - I mean my background.
- J.F. But what - were they a bit rough or...
- N.M. The food.
- J.F. Oh, just different customs.

- N.M. Ja, and the language - the language, too, was a big problem, because I used to speak sometimes in Afrikaans, forgetting that I'm.. and for them to speak Afrikaans it was very difficult because Afrikaans it was still taught in the Transkei, but it was only taught during the - its period - the Afrikaans period, then after that you don't speak Afrikaans or English - you are speak Xosa.
- J.F. So then you were at that school - did you not like the school, or did you get to - used to it?
- N.M. No, I got used to the school, and it was nice for me to be there.
- J.F. And was it in the deep rural areas or....
- N.M. Ja, it was deep in the rural areas.
- J.F. And then what happened with '76? Tell me what....
- N.M. You know, we used to have a karate team - we were training Karate at school, and one day when we entered Bowjo (185) someone came and he told us to try and push up and do some other things, because on the 26th. October there's going to be a celebration of independence in Transkei and we have to contribute, either by demonstrating or having some other activities just to contribute because there will be many activities, and if (it) (190) we wise for us to have some - to do some things that/are going to present on that day of the 26th. /we.

So mostly we were Cape Townians and Transvaal, P.E. - we were all from urban areas, and the Transvaal kids there were - few of them were returned because the approach was in July, immediately when we (were) (196) opened, after winter(196) holidays, so there was this - there was riots in the Transvaal, so the kids of the Transkei they received telegrams and other things, that they have to return because there is no school in Transvaal, so something must be done to them.

They have to return them, so we were having that problem, and the other thing - we didn't know much about the riots or these unrests - what were they.

Even the other thing to me which was surprising - that they say that they are fighting against Afrikaans; because I didn't see anything wrong with Afrikaans at that time - said, no, they don't want to be taught Afrikaans, and they just asked (and I just asked myself 206) why, and there was no answer for that until such time I went to the sister.

I ask her : Why are these kids rioting - they said they don't want Afrikaans - what is wrong with Afrikaans - so she tried to explain to me that each and every subject is going to be taught in Afrikaans - (I said) There's nothing wrong with that. Afrikaans is a very nice language, and they said : No, not to all of the kids - and, apart from that we have a problem that you are being ruled by the Afrikaans people, so they want Afrikaans to be the medium of instruction - everywhere (you) have to speak Afrikaans, and not all of the people know Afrikaans.

(We) have some areas where people they don't know anything about Afrikaans, so I started to recognise, and I see that

- N.M. many things about the uprising in the Transvaal. I didn't take much care until in August, when the riots start in Cape Town, and we received some calls that we have to return home, or else our homes are going to be burned if we don't return, so I went home in August before starting anything in the Transkei, so when I was in home those riots were hot.
- J.F. You mean before starting in the Transkei, or the Ciskei?
- N.M. No, in Transkei. At that time I was in the Xovimbaves (224) in the Transkei that - in that year of the independence in 1976.
- J.F. So did you go to two schools, one in the Ciskei and....
- N.M. One in the other in Ciskei.
- J.F. So first you went Ciskei....
- N.M. I started in Transkei, because this missionary school was in Transkei Xofingaba (229)
- J.F. So then you went from Transkei back to Cape Town?
- N.M. Back to Cape Town, but we returned in September, and were forced to participate in this, and I was being indoctrinated in Cape Town that this Transkei Independence is not independence.

We attended meetings - most of the meetings (we get 234) and then we are told that (we) mustn't participate in anything (.....) because we told them that there's this and this, because we were supposed to make some reports, so when we returned we went on strike, and we said we are sympathising with those kids who have been shot, because the uprising has started in Cape Town now.

Then there's - there was a brigadier which was very hot at that time - Brigadier Xwele (239) There's one boarding school which is named after him - Xwele, which is a boarding school for boys, and ours was for girls, so these boys they came - it's not very far from our school.

They came to the school and they said : Today - for the whole of the week we won't attend any classes. We have to sympathise with those schools, so we stayed in classes for about two days, and on the second day this brigadier came and said all the Cape Townions, Transvaal, P.E. must come to the hall, and we are addressed and we are told that they're going to give us the refunds because they've received many threatening calls, because when we went home we reported of what is happening, and we were told that we mustn't give anything out, so we were expelled from school.

They gave us change for the boarding fee for the year, and we have a bus at school, which we used to take us when we are on holiday, so they couldn't take us right in Cape Town - they only put in Bellville, so they said (we) must get other transports to take us to the location because the bus has stalled, or specially if they saw the bus is from the Transkei.

So it was just before Independence - it was, I think, a week before Independence in October.

- J.F. So why did they expel you?
- N.M. Because we didn't want to participate and we went on strike, so those were the two reasons.
- J.F. So then what did you do when you got to Cape Town?
- N.M. No, I stayed in Cape Town for that year - for 1976, then in 1977 I went to Queenstown in Sada (268) - it was a new township in the Ciskei.

Actually, this Sada township was for the Transkei and it went to be part of Ciskei, and I arrived at the time when there was this conflict between Transkei and Ciskei, because Matanzima say that that area we don't see is - I think that land was her mother's - her grandfather's land, so the Ciskei took over that, so it was a new township.

Most of the people were from the rural areas and our school, for that matter, was - we started in that school - it was new. We only opened that school in 1977.

- J.F. So what happened that year you were in Cape Town - did you do any schooling?
- N.M. No, there was no schooling at all in 1976 at that time, and there were no exams which were written.
- J.F. Would you say that you got a bit more political understanding - did anything with politics happen that year?
- N.M. Ja.
- J.F. What?
- N.M. I mean I have been politicised because of the attitude of the Transkei, and to get - and the other thing that made me to be more politicised, that were the pamphlets which were being distributed (291) by helicopter in Cape Town, not here - stating that all these kids who went on strike are bastards - we don't have fathers and so forth there, but were insulting us, so that thing made me to be very, very, very angry because I know that....

You know, I used to take things, as far as I see things now, in a way that, if someone is insulting me, I take that back to the parents, and I wanted to know to my mother what is a bastard, and my mother was someone who was very strict.

She didn't want us to know this vulgar language things, so I ask her and she told me. She said : No, it's nothing - and I got one pamphlet which was written in Xosa, and we used to discuss that a lot, and I hated this area, Transkei, and there's supposed to be a braai in the Cape for the Transkeians, and they say that the people mustn't attend that, because if they attend or they eat that meat, which means that they're eating the blood of the blacks because that independence is not independence - it's only oppression, and people will be starving.

So in 1977 I started to see things very, very seriously, which the way I saw in the Ciskei, /this area. People were starving, kids were dying in polio, because there were some people from Herchell and Glengrey which is part of Transkei

N.M. so they escape when this independence started.

So they were staying in tents in Thornhill - those people are Tsoto's or Tsutu - Tsutu speaking there, so we visited this area, and - I mean, reading in the paper that there were people who were staying there - just becoming very interested to see if there's this place./I mean in this area.

So people were starving. We saw many graves. About 300 kids were dying there, being just buried like soldiers. People were eating baboons. I mean, to me it was just like a fairy tale, but from the experience - I went to this place and I saw the place.

It was so terrible - terrible - it was very, very terrible, so I used to become - I mean, more politicised now.

J.F. Let me ask a few questions - what do you mean, they were buried like soldiers?

N.M. I mean we saw, 1976 the people who died and their families were not known, or they were not - that the others had died in jail, so one evening we saw a big van came into the graveyard, because I stayed near the graveyard.

J.F. Where was this?

N.M. In Cape Town.

J.F. Guguletu?

N.M. Ja - so we went as a group there, and we saw these coffins which were made of woods, and one - I mean about ten box in the same grave, and they just put this up (347) - they just put the soil on that, and we see many - I was just see crosses that graves - there's number grave so-and-so, grave so-and-so, grave so-and-so, but not knowing who's in that grave, so same thing like those graves which were - I saw in Cape Town, I saw them there, because there were no names, only the cross - no numbers, nothing, and we were told that those kids who died from hunger in that area, those people were escaping from the Transkei.

J.F. So this was the year that really politicised you?

N.M. Ja, that was the year that made me to be more politicised - that was 197(7) (359) that I started to see things serious, because in 1976 I didn't see things as serious as it is, and in - no - the other in - I think it was in November or Decem - it was in December, when one of my friends was shot, and the next day the army was right round the location guarding the places, so I saw things to be more serious when I saw the army in the area.

J.F. And the pamphlets that were criticising you, they didn't impress you - they just made you more angry against..

N.M. Ja, against the whole system of independence in the Transkei, ja.

J.F. Now - and who was it who told you when you said why about Afrikaans - you said a sister - you asked someone why the children were fighting aga against Afrikaans.

N.M. That was the sister in the boarding school.

- J.F. What does a sister mean - your sister...
- N.M. No, it's a convent school, actually.
- J.F. So one of the Convent sisters?
- N.M. Ja.
- J.F. And so during that time when you were getting politicised, were people saying that this is - we're fighting the whites - was it your understanding that what was going on in South Africa was an anti white struggle?
- N.M. Ja, it was an anti white struggle.
- J.F. Did you have - did you ever hear of non racialism or was that - you hadn't heard about that?
- N.M. I heard nothing about that.
- J.F. And so did you think there were no good white people?
- N.M. I mean, at that time I used to think of that - there were (Interruption)
- J.F. I'm just interested because people talk a lot about non racialism these days, but I just.....(Tape off) - your full name and your surname.
- N.M. My real name is Mulelowa. This Nisa is a nickname.
- J.F. And your surname?
- N.M. Malange.
- J.F. How do you spell it?
- N.M. M a l a n g e.
- J.F. O.K., and that's a Xosa name?
- N.M. That's a Xosa name.

END OF SIDE ONE.

- J.F. When you were growing up on the farm or when you came back to Guguletu, or from your mother, do you think as a small girl were you anti white?
- N.M. Ja, I was anti white.
- J.F. As long as you can remember - was there any time when you thought whites were good or they were nice to blacks or they were better, or anything like that?
- N.M. You know, I used to think of - I mean the Afrikaaners, because my mother she was a very good somebody because she used to teach me everything. I mean, I used to ask her many of the things. If there's something that is happening I used to ask her : Why is this, Mother.

N.M. Like, she used to tell us about the ruling of Verwoed, and how things changed in the Cape. How all this happened.

So I ask her, and she told me about the National Par(ty) - the ruling of the National Party. We were not taught that at school at that time, to know the history of South Africa, so from my mothers teaching and from the outside, because I used to attend some meetings, to hear that Vorster is a puppet - he had done this and this and this.

The other thing that's made me to be - to hate Afrikaaners was the way that Vorster treated the riots with that system of shoot and kill, because many people were shot, and I had a very bad experience because most of my friends that died in 1976, so I hated the white man because even me, at one time, I was nearly shot, so I hated, more specially, Afrik-aans, at that Jengusha (429) in 1976 when I was in Cape Town then, in October, November.

J.F. But before that you liked Afrikaans?

N.M. Before that I used to like Afrikaans.

J.F. And when you asked your mother what's going on, did she tell you it's the whites - we must get rid of the whites - they're bad, or what did she say?

N.M. No, she told me that : Look, we have experienced this. In 1916 (434) just before you were born there was this Dombas business, so we campaign against that. She used to show me where they were running in Simonstown, and from the experience I know that people were being chased out, there were these pass business, and they used to come, and my mother, I think she was once arrested for reference book.

For several times, leaving the reference book at home, and she'll be arrested in the bus stop. Even the police used to come in and raid the houses for the reference book, and my sisters - one of my sisters didn't have a reference book for a very long time because she was staying in farm.

She was studying in the farm, and my mother couldn't take the reference book in time for her, and one time, you know, there was a school at the back, and one of my half brother was arrested and they were chased by these police dogs, and she was - she had bitten by these police and the dogs, and I have a very terrible thinking of all the things because my mind ran back to what I saw and what was happening in Cape Town before these riots started, so I saw that : No, it is the time of renaissance.

The kids saw everything and I think we had enough of that, that our parents are being arrested, and we couldn't go in most of the areas, like in Sea Point. One day I went to Sea Point. I didn't take the reference book in time to you know (449)

So one day I was in Sea Point and my sister saw the police. They were wearing private and they said : Just go to Foshini (451) Maybe they thought you were a Coloured because you are light and the Coloureds were not harassed for reference book, so I just went to Foshini and they just look around

J.F.

Go to where?

N.M. Foshini - it's a fishing (452) stop. I just went around until such time that they went away, because they were arresting people for reference book.

Standing in that bus stop, at home, everywhere, you are not safe, so from that thing I started to see : No, these people, really, they are fighting us. I mean, we don't have any happiness, and people they don't have jobs - most of them they don't have jobs, and if they find out that you stayed for about three months not working, they say that : Oh, this is a tsotsi, and you will be caught and detained.

J.F. So that story about hiding in Foshini - was that before '76?

N.M. It was just before '76, so thinking over of all those problems, I found out really, because you were just told that the Afrikaaners are the people who are ruling South Africa, so those are the people who are pressurising us - who are oppressing us, because those are the people - there was no reference book before and when the Afrikaaner started to rule South Africa that's when the dombas were - I mean where people have to take the reference book.

My mother used to tell me about all those things that women were not taking the buses, and because of this migration business, when they saw that women are coming in the rural areas, so they were supposed to take the reference book, too, ja.

J.F. So were you anti white or anti Afrikaaner?

N.M. Anti Afrikaaner.

J.F. So does that mean you thought that the English speaking were O.K.?

N.M. Ja, I thought that the English people were very good people.

J.F. Did you know English speaking or - why did you think that they were O.K.?

N.M. You know, even from the background where we stayed - that guy was an English speaking....

J.F. Oh, this doctor?

N.M. The doctor - so even when we were old we used to visit his place, so I thought that the English were the better people than the Afrikaaners.

J.F. So does that mean they're worse than good whites, or was it still that whites were bad?

N.M. At that time I used to take that whites were all bad.

J.F. But the Afrikaaners were worse than the English?

N.M. The Afrikaaners were worse than the...

J.F. But your mother, when you had asked her of those old times, what is the story, she didn't say whites are bad - or did she?

N.M. No, she didn't say that the whites were bad. She used to say that the police - those people the S.A.D.F. were the

- N.M. bad people, and those who are in the parliament are the bad people because those are the people who make these rules, and we have to pay for what they have done, so mostly I used to hate the police.
- I used to hate those the most people that I used to hate the police, not the ordinary single because I - at that time I couldn't differentiate an Afrikaans speaking and the English speaking people until such time that he or she spoke, and I used to have fights with whites.
- If I went in town, seeing that everything was being banned in 1976, and if you want the post office you have to go in town. If you want a library, because I used to have some cards the library books - if I want some books I have to go in town, and seeing that you are being discriminated, that attitude started at all - he's the one who - she or - he or she's the one who's siding with Vorster. We used to say that.
- J.F. This is all '77 - this year in Cape Town?
- N.M. Early in '77 : Correction : Early in '76 and early in '77 because I went to the Ciskei in February, 1977.
- J.F. Now had you heard anything about B.C. all this time?
- N.M. I only heard of the B.C. when I was in the Ciskei.
- J.F. O.K. - and had you heard the the A.N.C.?
- N.M. I heard of the A.N.C. even before that - before the 1976 riots.
- J.F. And how did you hear about the A.N.C.?
- N.M. You know, I heard of the A.N.C. was one of the organisations or the parties that were in the older days, and it was not really called the A.N.C. - they said it's Polxa (500) so those people who used to do this bonzi (501) business said - they used to say at the time of Ubonzi, which is the time of the power of the older days, and most of those people - we used to differentiate them - they're old timers with this card - they used to comb their hair and open something here...
- J.F. Forehead?
- N.M. Ja - so we hear that those were the guys who protested against the reference book and the other things.
- J.F. When you say poko in putting up...
- N.M. It was po - ja.
- J.F. What does that word (.....) 507 mean?
- N.M. It's poka - I don't know - it's a Xosa name, this Poka, which means that the - those riots of the A.N.C. or.
- J.F. In the Transkei?
- N.M. No, I mean in the Cape as a whole - in the Cape as a whole.
- J.F. That I've heard of, but what's it Bonti - what's that word?
- N.M. Uponsi - it's just like power now - you know we used to do

- N.M. this now, and they used to do this, which is...
- J.F. With the thumb.
- N.M. Ja, with the thumb. Their power with the thumb they don't do this.
- J.F. How do you spell Uponsi?
- N.M. Uponsi - it's ~~U b o n i t s i~~ ^{Ubonitsi} - Ubonitsi.
- J.F. And does that mean it was P.A.C., not A.N.C., or does it mean it was A.N.C.?
- N.M. You know, we didn't know anything about P.A.C. They used to tell us about Poko (516) and as the time goes on we used to say Poko. We associate Poko with A.N.C. All these - we didn't have that mind of differentiating the organisations. Only you get that when I was in Standard Nine or Ten, to know that there was P.A.C., usually a rival group from A.N.C., to differentiate these organisations.
- J.F. And what did A.N.C. symbolise for you - what did it mean - was it a good thing.
- N.M. I mean it was a very good thing - it was an amazing thing to me, because I used to associate A.N.C. with the M.P. (524) That was the organisation which was supposed to - I mean I associate A.N.C. with Nelson Mandela - I said (526) O.K., Nelson Mandela was supposed to be our leader.

He was supposed to be just like P.W. Botha or Vorster, and reading the history of Albert Luthuli and hearing that Albert Luthuli - Chief Albert Luthuli has written something about if he could be the First President of South Africa, what he would do, and we were told that that statement was never publicised, and we were just interested to hear what was that, and it shows that it was a very good thing, so I just become very, very, very interested in the A.N.C., thinking that one day I'll get what was written by Albert Luthuli, and hearing how he died, and hearing the news that Nelson Mandela was being detained and he was arrested and put in jail, and reading what the Revonia (536) Trials and all those sort of things, so I used to say: O.K., fine - so the National Party and the A.N.C. was one of (and) the same.

But why did they want our leaders to wise up or to rule South Africa - that was the problem. I mean, many things that were coming to me - reading, because I was very, very interested in reading - some of the things - reading things, and I used to become very angry, seeing that those things are insulting us, and reading the history books from school, telling us about how the blacks originate, their place of origin, getting different stories from one side, from the general knowledge (544) of the people, and reading that from the books that we read.

Then I was just very confused and I saw those white people or the National Party doesn't want us to know their history of our black - I mean, of us, and hearing that we are all foreigners - we are regarded as foreigners in the land, and we are told that Africa is for Africans and why are these people, and reading the history of Simon van der Stell -

- N.M. how do they come here in South Africa, and the other things. I was just becoming more anti white, to know that those people were from overseas and they came to South Africa and they take our land, and hearing the news from the old timers, that how they stayed in this place, and I was just becoming more and more politicised.
- J.F. But did you ever hear - when you said you were anti white, did you ever hear that the A.N.C. had some white people in it?
- N.M. No, I didn't hear anything like that - I didn't hear anything like that at that time.
- J.F. You just thought the A.N.C. was fighting whites?
- N.M. It was fighting whites.
- J.F. And did you ever hear of the A.N.C. wanting to change the economics to make workers be in power or to make everyone be redistributing the wealth - did you ever hear of that?
- N.M. No, I didn't hear.
- J.F. So what did..
- N.M. The only thing that I hear about A.N.C. is that A.N.C. was fighting the coming of whites in South Africa, taking their land to their hands. Introducing oppressing laws amongst the blacks.
- That each and every law which is done, each and every thing that is oppressive is only done for the blacks - that the A.N.C. was fighting that.
- J.F. And how did you come to hear these things - was it just people talking or did you see literature, or how did you hear about the A.N.C. then?
- N.M. I heard more about the A.N.C. then from reading and from the people that they were involved, and my uncle - my mother's uncle in the actual sense, but we say he's our uncle because he's still not very old.
- He was one of the guys who was in Robben Island, so when he came out he used to stay at home, so he's the only one who made me to be - the one who enlightened me, telling me how - about his involvements in those days and how he was detained, and telling us about Mandela, Susulu, Sebukwe, so I have become more and more interested, so he's the person that he guided me up to this stage.
- J.F. When did he speak to you - before or after '76?
- N.M. It was after '76 when he came out from Robben Island.
- J.F. What's his name?
- N.M. It's Reverend Mahawi - he's an organiser for general workers union in Cape Town - Reverend Mahaw (584)
- J.F. I see - but he didn't just sit at home when he got out - he got right back into work.
- N.M. You know, he started to work as a salesman for LRN's (587)
He used to get problems. He's been harassed. The police

- N.M. used to come at home one night to see him.
- J.F. And so what did he represent to you - was he a hero - was he someone to be admired or was he....
- N.M. Ja, I used to admire him - even now.
- J.F. Mahow - how do you spell it?
- N.M. Mahow - M a r a w u.
- J.F. And they just said Reverend - doesn't have a first name?
- N.M. Howard - his first name is Howard, but he's been known by Rev. - even here in Durban is our Rev. (595) of Jehovas (?) and they know Rev. is just the name now. No more - because he's a Reverend in the actual sense.
- J.F. Of which church?
- N.M. Of the African Native Mission Church, but the name was changed to African Reformed Church.
- J.F. So did he say to you : We're fighting the whites.?
- N.M. No, he didn't say that he was fighting whites. He said - he used to tell me that : Look, Baby - because he used to call me Baby (Laugh) : Look, Baby, you know, don't take politics as something that is very easy, because I saw you are just unruly, and you seem to attend each and every meeting, and I'm sure you don't have the right direction of everything - and I feel from the songs that he used to sing here that you are really anti white.
- You know we've got our brothers in Robben Island - white brothers - no, the whites are not all the same. There are whites - he made an example of Rev. - Bishop Russells
- He used to take me to places, show me people that : Look, he's one of the progressive guys, one of the progressive ladies. He used to tell me of the ladies and the men who were involved in the A.N.C., so he's the one who enlightened me about the A.N.C. and about the white men in South Africa, because he said not all of them are the same.
- When you are fighting, you mustn't fight all. You know, there's this freedom song which said the Afrikaaners are dogs - Amabunwa Azijiza (617) so that was the song we used to sing in 1976 and he said : You must stop singing this because not all of them are dogs, so I used to listen to him.
- I said : No, he is old and he knows everything, and he was fortunate that he was born at that time of the A.N.C., and I used to go back to my sisters and brothers - (I) said : No, what were you doing in 1960 because - or before that - because I was not yet born at that time, so what were you doing.
- They used to say : No, we're not - there's nothing. I used to ask my mother, my father : What were you doing in that time - were you involved in these things like Rev.? He said : No, each and everyone, if you are an African, you are involved. If there's a riot, just like at school, ...

M.M. because if your school is not disciplined, or at that particular class is not disciplined, so all of the school will be spoilt by that thing, so all of us were involved, because we're supposed to take reference book which were not used by them, and we were arrested for reference book.

If you don't carry a reference book, you were arrested, so we are affected, as you are affected, as you are affected now, so you only take that direction, and he used to tell me about life - that : Look, my kid, you know, you are involved in stage plays at school, and you must take life in that particular play, and you know, life is just like a play which is being acted, so each and everyone in life is playing its part.

You can be involved in one thing and what is involving another thing, and your place just fades when you die, or when you are put in jail.

J.F. Your place fades - uhuh.

N.M. Ja - so you mustn't take life very broad. You must take your place and see what you can do, and before that, each and everything needs education.

J.F. And what were you trying to say when you said : What were you doing - were you involved - were you disappointed to hear they were doing nothing when people like Rev. were doing something?

N.M. Ja, I was disappointed - I was disappointed.

J.F. And what did you decide about why some poeple really put their lives on the line and other people didn't get involved - what did you conclude - why is it that some people are doing that and other people aren't?

N.M. My uncle replied to that. He said : No, not all of us - you see that there are many, many people, billions and millions, so there are few people who-you cannot lead all of us. There must be some leaders. There must be some active members of the whole situation.

You can go on riots as a mob, but very few people will die on that, and very few people will be arrested for that. You can be arrested maybe you are about a thou(sand) and put in jail.

J.F. You got a what? (You're very faint on this one)

N.M. A thou - you are put in jail - a crowd of about one thousand. Then very few people who are going to be charged or going to be sentenced for a certain period. Some others will be just as charged, because getting from what will be asked from them and the answers, then they say that : No, these people they don't know what they are doing. They are being influenced, so each and everything is just like that.

You cannot all lead, and it take my mind back to the church. He said : In church you see that there you've got Evangelist, we've got deacons (668) we've got reverends - we've got only one Reverend whom he is the leader, and most of the people they are sitting there in church.

Many of them we don't know them, so you must take life like

- N.M. that. Don't look in one side of the life. We must look in many directions, remembering (672) you cannot all be involved.
- J.F. So how did you take that for yourself - that it was O.K. for you not to be involved, or that you must play a part - what did that mean for you?
- N.M. I mean for me I take that, since no-one from my family was not involved in these things, so I must involve myself, and from that matter, I've seen life in many ways. I've started from the experience I got from Transkei. That's why I'm part of this boycott (Interruption) so I saw myself, and I've decided that I must take part.
- J.F. So you met Rev. (Interruption) - you met Rev. or you saw him - he came out when?
- N.M. Arrived in 1976.
- J.F. So it was right at that time - you met him when you were thinking about all these things, and would you say then - did he convince you when he said this business about : No, it's not just against whites - did you think : What is this nonsense - I can see the whites are oppressing us, or did you think that anything he said made sense - I'm just wondering how you reacted, because you've spoken about how it was so clear that whites were the enemy and it was so queer that you felt anti Afrikaans and all that. Then how did it feel to you when somebody like that was saying to you : No, you're wrong?
- N.M. Ja, I mean, I didn't take much care about that. I used to listen to them, but say that : No, I have to decide on my own, because I think the way they were being treated in those days it's not the same that we are treated in these days, from the experience and from what I saw, and when he - I mean by that those death burial were shot (708) so he used to tell me that : No, these day - it's better off these days,
- He used to tell me about this Sharpville, how people died there, and most of the people were women who protested against the reference book, so on those days it was worse because most of the people were mobilised, and when he started to tell me about the story of Sharpville, and I saw that, really maybe it was worse at that time.
- I mean, how can they kill women? I said : No, it was brutality, and I started to realise really that those people have got better history than us, so I have to accept what they are saying, from - because that business of Sharpville that's the only thing that's made me to see that really in our days we are not living the same lives that they were living.
- J.F. So you thought they'd been through really rough times and if they think this way, that must be the correct way?
- N.M. Ja, so that I'll have to take their words because it's correct from the experience they've had in that time.
- J.F. And did that mean that they were correct about the whites?
- N.M. But all - not all the whites are the same. From the

- N.M. history of some of the progressive whites that were involved in the defiance campaign, and the A.N.C. freedom charter, P.A.C. and so forth.
- J.F. Which whites would those be?
- N.M. I don't remember, because after that I didn't care much about the A.N.C., about those organisations. I was just concerned about our lives now and how we see this oppression of the whites, so I didn't care much about that.
- I mean, he was just narrating a story. I didn't take it into consideration, as I used to take things now.
- J.F. Why do you think that was - was that because not many people spoke about the A.N.C. in those days?
- N.M. These days?
- J.F. No, in 1976/'77, did you just think : Well, this A.N.C., it's history, it's not happening now?
- N.M. Ja, I take that as a history, but it was a history, and the other thing, I used to think of those people who are still in jail, and hearing that the A.N.C. was banned and it's something that doesn't exist, so I didn't care much about that.
- 3
- I said : No, there's no A.N.C. now, so the there are new organisations which are growing, and we have to support those organisations. We mustn't support something that is dead because A.N.C.'s dead now.
- From my thinking I think that since I hear that - I mean I was not very much conscious about the bannings - this banning business.
- If someone is banned, and hearing that if you speak of A.N.C. you'll be detained, and from other people. I said : No - which meant that A.N.C. is something which is dead so I mustn't care much about that.
- I have to concentrate on these organisations which are growing up now.
- J.F. And which were those - the organisations which you had to concentrate on?
- N.M. No, I used to hear of the B.C., so which was the organisation that I was - I mean I used to like.
- J.F. Did you join it - any of them?
- N.M. No, I didn't join any organisation, but I used to support - I used to go to the - to attend the meetings.

END OF TAPE.