

- J.F. What year were you born?
- X. In 1947.
- J.F. Where were you born?
- X. I was born in an area called Folovhodwe - that is an area which is named after my forefathers - we are of the Ne-Folovhodwe. You only have to add NE before the name of the place where I was born, and it's situated at the place which was originally known as Sibasa, but now it's known as Venda, which is now the Republic of .....
- J.F. So do you speak Venda?
- X. Yes, I do - that's my mother tongue.
- J.F. That's the only South African language they speak in Zimbabwe.
- X. Yes - there are people who still speak it ... I've got relatives there.
- J.F. Did you grow up in that area?
- X. I grew up in that area.
- J.F. Do you prefer not to call it Venda?
- X. Well, I prefer not to call it Venda, because there is no such thing called Venda, actually - it's just the northern tip of our country, and that is all, but it has been called Venda for various reasons.
- J.F. And what did your parents do.
- X. Well, my parents are just ordinary rural people.
- J.F. Did they not work for a wage - were they subsistence farmers?
- X. They do not work for any wages - we grew up as people who till the land.
- J.F. Did they own their own land in the so-called Homelands?
- X. No - the land there is not owned by the people; it's owned by collectively, but it's put in trust, and the Chief looks after the land, and anyone who wants a piece of land has got to go to the chief or the headman, and then he can be allocated a piece of land. If he does not till the land properly, the chief can always decide that it should be given to someone else, but the land is owned collectively - well, I do not know now, because they have introduced the question of land ownership - individual land ownership in terms of the fraudulent Bantustan policy.

- J.F. And how long did you live in Venda?
- X. Well, I lived in that area up until the time when I was arrested in 1974.
- J.F. So you were arrested up there?
- X. No, I was arrested in Durban, but I was still living there - I was at school; I was at Varsity.
- J.F. Where did you go to Varsity?
- X. University of the North - that's Turfloop.
- J.F. You went to Turfloop what year?
- X. In 1969.
- J.F. .... tell me about your schooling - did you go to a Mission school or a Government ....
- X. Firstly, I went to what we may call ..... I may not want to call it a Tribal school, but it was a school which was governed by the people of that particular area - from Standard A up until Standard 2.
- When we were in Standard 2, there was this move which came with the Bantu education of 1954 - somewhere there - but the Bantu Education Act was passed in 1947 - that is the year I was born, so that move brought along with it what we may call a Government teacher - that is from the South African Government. Then I attended Standard 3 and 4 as a private candidate - they did not allow Standard 3 and 4 at that particular place where I was staying, but the School Principal decided that I should be given some additional lectures on Standard 3 and 4, which was not recognised, but when I went to Standard 3 at another place, I was then taken as a Standard 5 pupil, together with my other relative - which is about 50 kilometers from my home - that other area. I did my Standard 5 and 6 there, and they didn't have this thing of Standard 5, then you go to Form 1. From then onward, I passed my Standard 6. After Standard 6, I went to a high school - a boarding school.
- J.F. Where was that?
- X. That was at this place called Sibasa - now it's called Thoyandou - that is the place where I attended my J.C. - from Form 1 up to J.C., at a place called Mpapuli High School. Then, when I completed my J.C., I was one of the few people who got a few distinctions in my J.C. Examinations. We were then given a bursary by the Department of Bantu Education, as it was called - myself and another colleague. We were forced to leave that school, because that was a semi-Government school, and .....

- X. .... we were forced to go to a Government school, which was situated at a place called Chakuma, which was a Lutheran Mission. I did my Form 4; Form 5 there, then in 1968 I went to Turfloop to do Bachelor of Science.
- J.F. When you were still up in Sibasa, would you say that you were very politically minded - was there politics going on in the rural area?
- X. Well, the difficulty with us in this country is that, even when you are not politically minded, in terms of what is generally known as being politically minded - you are a person who grew up under material circumstances, which, in any event, would make you not to side with the status quo -
- the whole of our up-bringing is such that you cannot begin to say "I started here to be politically minded" or "I started here to understand that we have got a system which must be fought against" -
- all one can do is to say that "At one given moment, my consciousness" - that's the only word I can use - "developed to a stage where I could actively participate in opposing the Government." I want you to get exactly what I want to say -
- there was that rudiment, which was there right through as we grew up.
- J.F. When was the stage that your consciousness ....
- X. The stage that I began to feel very much against the system, was when I was doing my Matric, but I was an indirect sort of method, where we started having a lot of problems with, particularly white masters, and because we grew up in an area where we had never come into contact with white masters - that is the first school, when I was doing my Form 4 - that is the first time that I was taught by white people, and because some of them came from the Afrikaaner - particularly the Afrikaaner folks, they had the Afrikaaner way of wanting to dominate, and that is when we began to realise that we are facing a problem with people who have got particular attitudes towards black people, and that was the beginning of developing a consciousness which would lead to what I'm doing today.
- J.F. So by the time you went to Turfloop, you had that beginning ...
- X. Yes, that beginning.
- J.F. Do you think that you were anti-white, even as you were growing up in the home - living in a rural area, where you see whites who are exploiting - were you anti-white?

X. Well, in the sense ... we were not particularly ..... you know, there is this real difficulty which one has. We were not particularly anti-white per se, but we were anti those things which white people were doing to our other people -

in fact, if I want to describe the situation of what people generally believe to be an anti-white attitude - it's not actually anti-white - it's just that in this country whites have associated themselves with those

things which any human being would feel are actions which should not be perpetrated against other people - in so much that this conflict which is said to be conflict between whites and blacks - in reality it's a conflict between oppression, perpetrated by the oppressor,

who so happen to be white people in this country - had it been the other way round, it will still hold - those people who are in power who perpetrate certain evils, will still be hated by those who are made to operate under the oppressive system -

so what happened is : our attitude towards white people develops out of the activities of oppression, which are committed with what white people do - otherwise, under any other circumstances, one cannot just grow up and

say "I hate this person because he's not of the same colour of my skin."

J.F. But that level of clarity that you're expressing ..... for example, your parents - were they politically minded at all?

X. Well, to the extent that they believed in maintaining their right to the land, there's no question about that, because every rural person - you cannot separate him from the question of having that piece of land where he belongs, and that is why you find a lot of difficulty

with the question of removals - and the people who are being removed are not people who have gone to university, but when it comes to that association, which has been there throughout the ages, we can definitely regard them as very political. Even in this country, the question of land is THE question which is in the forefront of our liberation struggle.

J.F. When you were growing up, did your parents, in the home, speak about politics?

X. Yes, my parents spoke about politics in the sense that my father served in the second World War, and according to the stories that he tells us, is that, during that time, they were actually encouraged to stand for their land, and they did so, and they were promised that when the war is over, we will then come back and settle the scores here at home, and that we will try by all means to live together, but that did not happen, so already, .....

- X. .... at my home, the rudiments of my political careers were there, because my father could not sit around with us without telling us all the promises that were made during the time of the second World War.
- J.F. Were you aware, from them, of any political movements, historically, in the country - did they speak about the A.N.C. or any ....
- X. No, no, my parents never spoke about any political movement, except that they spoke about the conflict of the War, and my mother spoke about having to be left at home - receiving those token parcels - and that already showed to me that things in this country were not the same.
- What happened is that, when you have that which, when you grow up, is just being related to you as one of those things that parents must talk about - when you go to school, you start reading history books at the very beginning say, Standard 4 Standard 5 -
- you find that the history which is being taught does not tally with the history you are being told by the people who were there, involved. Then you start questioning - you may not be as violent as a university student, or a high school student, but this is the conflict you get, where your parents have been involved in certain activities, and they are relating to you, not with a political motive - they just feel that they should relate the story to their kids.
- When you go to school, you get this conflict where you are being told a history which cannot tally with what you have been told. Now you start to question, and then you start to investigate what is the truth, and, once you discover the truth, then obviously the people who are perpetrating untruth have got to be your enemies.
- J.F. So when you got to Turfloop, had you not heard anything about the political history of South Africa?
- X. Well, by that time, I had come across the political history as far back as Standard 4 and 5 - you see, I happen to have brothers - distant brothers, who were teachers, and one of my distant brothers I was staying with when I was doing Standard 4 and 5, and he knew a little bit about the politics of this country - he was involved at one stage or another, and he told us about what happened before - but not to the extent that I know the politics of this country today.
- J.F. And what did you learn then - what was he involved with - I'm just wondering what the context was.

- X. Well, he was just involved as a student - places like Kilnaton - there was a place here - a school where they used to train teachers,
- so he was trained there, and during the time of the A.N.C./P.A.C. most students, one way or the other, supported, particularly the P.A.C. the, but that did not form part of my political career -
- it was just one of those stories that anyone within your home would tell, and I had not formulated any particular attitude towards political movements. It was just a question of telling us what was happening, which then tallied with what my parents had been telling me about the behaviour of the ruling class in this country. I would not have particularly known it as a ruling class then .....
- J.F. When did you begin to express it with any sense of class - when did that come? (?) 174 (You are muffled)
- X. That would have come later, when I was at Varsity.
- J.F. And when you came to Varsity, what did you get involved in?
- X. You must know that, during the early - from 1963 - say 1960 up to about 1965 or '66 - there was a lull in this country, and that is accepted.
- Even those who were involved in politics, unless they were your relatives, they could not even tell you whether he was in P.A.C., or whether he was in A.N.C.,
- and - but as early as about 1967, some people got involved in trying to shape a new direction, and when I went to Turfloop, that was the beginning of the South African Students' Organisation, which had already been
- sort of formed by 1968, so it was inaugurated at Turfloop, where I was a student, but by then we had already gone through a process of debating the question of liberal organisation, but by the time SASO was inaugurated in July, 1969 at that very college where I was - where I attended the inauguration, right through the year,
- they were debating issues like the dis-affiliation from NUSAS - you must know that NUSAS was the only national students' organisation then, and this new mood was the mood which wanted to get away from liberalism as a form of struggle.
- J.F. Why - what was your understanding of liberalism, and why were you so opposed to it?
- X. Well, at that stage, my understanding of liberalism was the understanding that I see in my day to day life - the reactions that I get from white people in my day to day life, and when these people, who were articulate .....

X . . . . came to relate similar incidences, and those similar incidences were then related to people who are not the ordinary white person I meet, then it also came to dawn to my mind that we are dealing with a far more complex problem, where I would have thought when you go to a Varsity, and when you meet people of higher learning, the question of racism, and the question of the attitude will not be there.. By then I had already been initiated into this attitude where I have been attending my classes,

because it was this very difficult belief in most white lecturers who were teaching us science, particularly one white lecturer who was teaching us chemistry, who had a belief that no black student can ever make it in chemistry, and who had a belief that there is no black student who can major in chemistry. Now, already, those are instances which build up your consciousness. It's said you don't develop consciousness from nowhere - it comes from your material conditions. So those were some of the experiences that were immediate, and when people came to relate what actually happens in multi-racial organisations, it went through my mind in the sense that I've experienced it.

J.F. You still haven't told me : what did you have against liberalism - was liberalism equal to multi-racialism, which was useless ...?

X. Well, at that stage liberalism was just equal to multi-racialism. It was equal to the question of having to - at that stage we were in a very terrible state, if I may call it that - where we were searching for our own identity.

We grew up under a system of racism and capitalism, combined, and you can imagine the two combined together, what they do. Now, the system of racism - what it does - it creates in you an inferiority complex, and an inferiority complex is a very terrible thing -

you end up saying "Yes, Baas - Yes, this" without being aware. You automatically believe that that is right to say so - so we were squeezed into a behavioural pattern, which was independent of our will. We were squeezed into - once born black in this country you would be squeezed as you grow up - the material conditions of the country will make you be what they want you to be.

J.F. But you said your own parents - were your parents subservient blacks?

X. They were.

J.F. Because I got confused, because you said they felt strongly about their land, but yet they were still servile - they still felt that whites were superior?

X. Yes, yes - there's no question about that - it even got to an extent where you believe that you cannot even be able to manufacture clothing, for that matter - where you regard every material as coming from those that have got knowledge, and knowledge was a preserve of white people -

you may not understand it, because if you have never lived in such a situation, it's very difficult to conceptualise what is in the mind of a black man. I know it because I've transcended that stage - I know exactly what I used to do before I became what I am.

J.F. So how did that affect you - what did you used to do - were you also ....?

X. Well, I was just like any other black person, so there was a time when we had to search for identity - we had to liberate ourselves from this psychological oppression, and, to do so, the argument was "You have got to be away from the people who, on a daily basis, infuse you with an idea of superiority, because if you continue to be with them,

you will forever not be able to extricate yourself and be on a position of strength, because they will also not want you to do so, because it also".... it's a question of oppressor and oppressed ... because they would not allow us to search for our identity, because the privil-

eges which go along with superiority would fall away, so the question of having to continue with them, will ultimately, lead nowhere for us, so we had to galvanise ourselves, and that's why we came with the concept of black solidarity - to bargain from a position of strength.

At that time I had not come to realise the question of the struggle of the opposites, because that is exactly what - you've got to create a situation where there is a dialectical situation, because you can't expect an oppressor one day, just to say "Come to Pretoria - let's share the (.....)"273 - that can never happen in life.

J.F. But why do you have to create it - we already have the opposition - you already have the conflict.

X. Yes, but you've got to - what we mean by creation is that when a conflict is there, a conflict exists, and, of course, it obeys certain laws on its own, but when the conflict is like that, it needs participants -

on the one hand the oppressors participate in oppression, in bringing about certain measures to see to it that people must remain in oppression - those that are oppressed cannot wait because of the saying that there is already a conflict, which on its own is building up towards some solution - they must also rise up in order to effect

some meaningful changes. That's why I say you have got to create a climate where you've got to push - there is no oppressor who can just say "Come here, I realise there is a conflict" - you can wait until a thousand years and that conflict will still be there.



- J.F. So you're saying that you had to come to terms with the fact that there was a conflict .....
- X. Yes, yes, because I was part of the oppressed people.
- J.F. But ... when you say recognised there's a conflict, how do you insert yourself in that conflict - is it a talking kind of thing - is it saying that you're going to argue with the oppressor ...?
- X. Well, the first thing that we sought to do, which was very clear in our minds, was just to extricate ourselves from the oppressor, and all the agents of oppression - which needed us to run away from multi-racial organisation, and as time goes on, we had then to identify : what is it that we want to do; and against who - it's a very fundamental fact - you can't just go on without knowing what to do. The first thing we realised was that : what we want to do was to inculcate into the minds of our people that they are not inferior to any person; and secondly, that we all belong to one human race. I, for one, do not believe in the concept of races, because I know it's a scientific term, which people have turned, to use later, to mean that you are a race (.....) 313
- All that that means in science is that you come from a Caucasoid race - I come from another - that's scientific classification, because it's got to be done in order that when we study ideology, we must be able to classify things, but that was never meant to perpetuate oppression - it was just meant to identify us - to distinguish between things which are not the same, and that was the end of science, but some other people came even with the concept that the brain of a black man is .... all that jazz!
- so scientists were used at some stages by colonial masters to perpetuate oppression, so we had to, first, get out of that thinking ...
- J.F. Let me just interrupt you to say that I have interviewed lots of AZAPO people - I want to make sure that I focus on a political development, so .... in the flow of what you're describing, can I just pin down a few specifics - how you went from accepting the superiority out in the rural areas, which so many blacks - that's the first phase - and then going to understand B.C. - did you go through a phase where you thought : No, whites aren't superior or equal - let's work together - did you ever have a phase of multi-racialism or liberalism?
- X. No, I never had such a phase - I was from a phase of inferiority to a phase where I understand that we are all the same, but that phase I went through by the process of conscientisation, which I went through as a student.
- J.F. But for you, specifically, was that seeing Biko, or joining the SASO, or getting someone to explain ...?

X. Yes, to me it was joining SASO - as I said, when I went to the university with all that rudimentary thinking, I then met SASO in the same year that I was at Varsity, and by 1970 I was already active.

J.F. Which leadership figures were there at that time?

X. The leadership figures which were there at that time was Steve Biko -

J.F. Was he at Turf<sup>loop</sup>club?

X. No, he was not at Turf<sup>loop</sup>club, but he came to address us on a number of occasions - it was Harry Neng<sup>loop</sup>ulu who was at Turf.

J.F. Did you know him from Venda?

X. Well, I knew him from the high school where I did my Matric - he was also a high school student there, but he was before me. There was a guy called Pat Machaka, who became the first SASO vice president - he was the president of the SRC there at that time.

Other people of note - Strin Moodley (?) 360 - he also came to address us during that period. Then you had people like Obe Musi - he's a lawyer now, in Pretoria - he was in the SRC - very dynamic.

There's another fellow called Linamile (?) 366 who is teaching at the Unisa business of school - School of Business - those are just a few people.

And the SRC in Turf - it was a very dynamic SRC.

J.F. So, from that period .....

END OF SIDE ONE.

J.F. .... walk out from NCSAS - 1969.

X. Yes .... already walk out from NCSAS.

J.F. So there was no question of working with - that had been ...

X. It had been declared - it was just a question of history.

J.F. And then you were at Turf from 1969 till?

X. 1969 until 1972, then I was expelled - during the Abraham Tiro squabble there. Then I went to work in the mines - there's a mine called Mosina Mine - a copper mine .....

- X. .... near my home - for about ten months or so - then in 1973 I went to teach at the high school where I did my J.C. Then in 1974 I went back to Turf.
- J.F.3 Why did you go back up to that area - was it because you didn't have Section 10 rights and it was logical, or?
- X. No - the thing is, we were expelled - the entire SRC, because we were actually spear-heading the reinstatement of Tiro at the Varsity, so the whole SRC was got rid of, plus a couple of students,
- and then we were given certain periods - we were told that within one year we can then return, so the ban on us fell off in, say 1973.
- J.F. Were you deported back up to Venda?
- X. No, no - I just went on my own.
- J.F. And why did you go to the mines?
- X. Well, I went to work in the mines because, at that stage we had a programme within the South African Students' Organisation - a programme which was spearheaded by the labour wing of the SASO, which used to be called the Black Workers' Project -
- that project, amongst other things that we sought to do, was teaching by experience. We had a belief that you can learn at varsities - you can know everything that is written in the books - you can learn theories there - but, unless you can go where the people are, and be with them, work with them, you will not be a better person -
- they will be better than you in terms of knowing the realities of this situation, so every time, during school holidays, we used to be encouraged to go and work as ordinary labourers in the farms - anywhere else - we just go there - we queue up for work - we pretend we are not university students.
- We do piece jobs if there are piece jobs - if you ... any one run to any one run 451 so that you can see the day to day experiences of the black worker - of our parents -
- so I went to work in the mines because there was a vacancy, so I applied for it, because I wanted also to experience that reality, and I did experience that reality, and ultimately the mine felt that they didn't need me any longer.
- J.F. Did you try to conscientise the workers?
- X. Yes - definitely, yes. I stayed with a lot of people and ....
- J.F. In a hostel?
- X. I was a welfare officer, so when you are a welfare officer, you are in charge of hostels - that is single quarters and married quarters .....

X. .... you're generally in charge of the day to day life of the workers when they are not at work - they bring complaints to you - all sorts of things - you organise sports; you organise this -

so in those circumstances, I gained a lot, because you also organise in the literacy schools - classes. In my literacy classes, because I used to help voluntarily - that's when I used to teach people to know the immediate circumstances,

and the mine manager did not like it. I was reported several times, but I defended myself at several meetings. Ultimately I was just called into the office in the morning and was told "Right, we no longer need your services" but I knew very well that they no longer needed my services for a specific reason.

J.F. And then you went to teach?

X. Then thereafter I went to teach, with the same purpose - I didn't teach for the sake of teaching, and I taught a number of people who are now well placed in the black community -

then I went back, because then we had some difficulty at varsity. When we were removed from varsity, particularly at that varsity, a reactionary SRC took over, and we came together and then we decided that some of us would have to go back again, so that the situation can be redressed -

so I was one of the people who was approached by the black peoples' convention leadership, to say "We would like you to go back for specific reasons" - I agreed, because I felt the same way, so I went there as a student, and we began to change things by April the same year we were already in the SRC,

J.F. What were you studying - B.A or ?

X. I was studying B.Sc. - Bachelor of Science - so we went there - we were able to redress issues. At that time SASO was also banned on campus, so we were able to bring it back again on campus that very year, so ultimately it culminated in the Viva Frelimo Rally.

J.F. Did you organise ..... (traffic noise)

X. Well, at that time I was SASO president.

J.F. Of ...?

X. The national SASO branch ...

J.F. And tell me about that rally - it's so interesting because of what Frelimo is today - the changes and things - .... what was this rally about - why did you do it?

- X. Well, what happened is that, after being elected SASO president, which was in July, we then then met around about that July, and then we met again in September in Durban, and during that time there were these talks between Frelimo and Portugal ...
- J.F. Was that '75?
- X. '74 - and September 25th. the Frelimo government was going to take over officially - there had been an interim government, which was led by Chissano - Machel & Co. were still in Tanzania, so that, we decided that, as people in the B.C. movement, which was then spear-heading the liberation struggle here, we were to celebrate the downfall of Portugal, and the taking over of our fellow comrades in Mozambique, so we decided to organise rallies throughout the country, and one of the rallies was held at Turf, where I was a student, but I was a SASO president then, and other rallies were held throughout this country - and then those rallies were banned, and when they were banned, we decided we are going ahead with the banned rally, because we saw nothing wrong in celebrating the victory of Frelimo. We felt that that was a positive stand, because we believed that Frelimo had a right to rule that country - then the rallies were held, and then thereafter we were arrested - a number of us, in fact every leadership OF THE B.C. movement was in, except Steve Biko -
- J.F. Why was he not in?
- X. Well, I have my own interpretation, which is shared by all the comrades I was with in that trial, is that Steve Biko was a very important figure - he was the founding father of the B.C. movement, and as such - that's the first version - as such, the system felt that it will not gain anything by arresting Steve Biko on a viva Frelimo rally, which he did not participate in, because he was banned, so as a result, because system, when they arrest you, always want to sentence you enough so that you do not have any influence - that it their aim - now, any person who is a figure, they will not just go on arresting you for small trials where you get a suspended sentence - they win nothing - so our first analysis was that they're leaving this fellow, because rightfully he belonged to that charge (?) 520 - there's no question about it, and he said so, also, when he gave evidence - that this document was written by me - he wrote a lot of documents, but we were then tied up with the conspiracy, that the second issue which we came to realise was that, .....

X

..... the system wanted to discredit Steve Biko - that was their fundamental thing - they knew very well that their case was not very strong - also they felt they won't be able to just sentence him to that stretch -

secondly, they wanted to discredit Steve Biko - their argument was : "If we were to arrest all the activists of B.C., and leave the founding father, we can go out and say "He co-operates with us" - they did so when we were in detention -

they were telling us that "You are followers of Steve - now Steve is at home - now here is Almali - in the Afrikaans - you are all here, and you see your founding figure is a man who supports us" - so they wanted to bring a rift -

they wanted to destroy the movement, so they leave the leader; they arrest you others who are followers, so that you can start hating your leaders - now why can't they arrest him, or, why can't he be here? - that was the second.

Now, the third thing we came to know later, which is late, really, is that, we definitely believe there was an orchestrated move by the system, to kill Steve Biko. He was not killed by mistake. They had felt that, if

they were to bring Steve Biko to the docks, they could not easily kill Steve Biko when he's in prison - it's very difficult just to kill a person when you are now sentenced -

it can be a big issue with U.N. and other political ... so they felt that if they were to lock him up with us, it will mean that he may get a sentence of three years, and the situation here warranted this leader to be eliminated, so the best way is to leave the leader outside - when a situation arises, which can make you

justify what you had planned, then you go for a kill, and that is the third thing we came to understand, and we are convinced, because there is other evidence which shows that which came from Craig Williamson.

J.F. When did it come from him?

X. When he came back to give evidence in a number of trials, and when he started disclosing the kind of evidence he was able to get at that place where he was sent by the A.N.C.

J.F. What place was that? (Very faint) 551

X. To .... you don't know about Craig Williamson .....

J.F. I know about Craig Williamson.

X. .... was a very important - there was an organisation here with .....

J.F. I.E.U.F?

- X. .... Yes - that organisation which was led by Eric - now, that organisation used to be in the forefront of funding political organisations, including movements in Zimbabwe ...
- J.F. Yes, I know that ...
- X. ... so Craig Williamson happened to be placed in a position where he knew who is who in this country ...
- J.F. .... I never heard he gave evidence about killing Biko ...
- X. No, he never gave evidence about killing of Biko, but the documents that came out, which he says he had - he was able to gather - shows to us that he had already given word to his brothers that there is this person here, who must be watched, because it came -
- Steve Biko was just about to move out of this country, in terms of our resources, but he could not move out of the country, and they killed him, but those are very important issues, which needs more time to explain to you how they are linked with the death of Steve Biko, and that's why now we definitely believe that they left him out in order that they must (.....) 568 him up from the political arena.
- J.F. Tell me the other defendants in your trial.
- X. There were Saths Cooper; Muntu Myeza; Lekota, who is in the UDF now; Aubrey Mokoape - Dr. Aubrey Mokoape -
- J.F. What's he doing now?
- X. He's practicing in Durban - he was recently charged here by the Medical and Dental Association, for misconduct, and the charge was that he was arrested and convicted for terrorism, and they wanted to strike him off the roll - just now - it's not very long ago - he just won the case say, two months back.
- J.F. Is he in AZAPO in Durban.
- X. Yes - then it is (.....) 578 Nkomo; then myself; then Tule Legindi; then Strini Moodley; then (.....) Dube 580 - we were nine, but originally we were charged with Linga Moodley, who's staying in Britain - brother to Strini, then Sadiq Variava, Ishmail and Rubeni .... their cases were withdrawn - we were thirteen and then we were left with nine.
- J.F. And other than Terror of that group, were there any - are they all in AZAPO now?
- X. Yes, except Terror Lekota (?) 585
- J.F. ... there's a book written about that trial - there's been a lot written, so maybe for times reasons I won't ask you too much about it, but ..... so, how many years did you get - seven?

- X. We did six.
- J.F. Six - and you went to Robben Island?
- X. Yes.
- J.F. And when you were inside, did you hear about the '76 up-rising.
- X. Yes - in fact the '76 uprising happened when we were still here - we were still in court - right through that time we were still in Pretoria. We were sentenced in December, 1976.
- J.F. And then you went to Robben Island - the majority of the people there were A.N.C. people?
- X. No, not at that stage - at that stage the majority were the B.C. people.
- J.F. On Robben Island?
- X. Yes.
- J.F. You mean P.A.C.?
- X. That is when we arrived - when we arrived there, there had already been a lot of these young activists, who were sent there before us - our trial started in 1975 - it went right through to 1976 -
- before we even arrived there, some youngsters had already been sentenced to Robben Island - there was a new section opened for them, so the majority of people, when we arrived, were already of the 1976 uprising, which were all expounding the B.C. philosophy.
- J.F. But how many numbers, in six months, could there have been?
- X. There were so many.
- J.F. And what kind of figures - were there any well known people?
- X. Some, yes - some not.
- J.F. What names would there be?
- X. Well, the people who were there before, coming from the B.C. movement, was Musubuli Mangena, who is now the head of the BCMA, abroad - he had gone there - that's the first man to land there. There was also Mutsao; Nkutsi, who went there in 1974.
- Then there were three others who went there - two others, who went there for a NYO trial - National Youth Organisation, which was also a B.C. movement, one of which is Masondo - he's outside now.
- J.F. Who was the '74 case - what was he sentenced for?



- X. They were sentenced for activities of NYO.
- J.F. But the one before that.
- X. The one before that was sentenced for a poem called Rat-a-tat-tat - a poem which he wrote, which talks about the gun and things -
- those were the people who were really in the forefront - before we arrived - the rest were just followers who arrived before us.
- J.F. And so, did you mostly just spend your six years talking to those B.C. people?
- X. Well, no, we stayed on various occasions (?) 626 even with Mandela & Co., and we talked to them - well, we talked to all political organisations, really, to (.....) 628 their leaders.
- J.F. So what was your view of Mandela before you arrived?
- X. Well, the view of Mandela before I arrived was that he was a leader, and that I felt he rightfully belonged to the calibre that the world say he is, and I did not know much about his outlook -
- he was just taken like any other person in the liberation struggle, and, even now, in the AZAPO, that is how we regard him. He's one amongst so many leaders that we refuse to single him out as THE leader - we
- don't believe in building cults in the liberation struggle - that has never been our philosophy - we believe in collective leadership, and, in fact, we were - we opposed, at the U.N. last year, the move that a resolution should be passed, which specifically says :
- "Release Mandela and other political prisoners" - our argument was that it must just read : "Release all political prisoners" - finish - because we will be belittling the contribution of other people, simply because they happen not to be known,
- and there may be people who have done much more than Mandela himself - there's no question about it. There are people who, perhaps, when you look at their activities - the total activities that they engaged in, they are much more dangerous, and even much more broad than what Mandela is - Mandela just happened to be ....
- when you are a leader of a political organisation, sometimes you may not do all the things that a country does, so we feel that it's belittling even a small guy here, who risks his life to do a number of things by instructions given by the leader, and later you've got to single out that which you believe is an important figure -
- leave the rest of the people, so our view was taken, and even now, if you accept those that support just the Mandela line, most people talk about releasing all .....

- X. .... political prisoners, and which we feel that is the most important thing.
- J.F. So when you went to the Island, were you - in those six years, did you leave with a different view of Mandela than when you came?
- X. Yes - definitely yes.
- J.F. How did you feel then?
- X. Well, at the moment I feel that he is just one leader - he is a leader of a political persuasion - of a particular political (.....) 668 - I didn't have that notion before I went in. I used to think that in the totality of this struggle, he will be able to bring all together, but after my life on Robben Island - after coming across P.A.C. people - coming across the unity movement people - coming across other persuasions - independent persuasions, for that matter, and studying the cross-section of that, I came to the conclusion that, even if he was to be released, he will only be able to lead one section of the political (.....) 677 which will be the A.N.C. and those that support the freedom charter.
- J.F. So did you leave Robben Island more impressed with the P.A.C., or had you gone on being impressed with ...?
- X. No, I'm always myself. I left Robben Island much more convinced that the B.C. philosophy is the only philosophy which will bring about total liberation in this country.
- J.F. So how do you see it actually bringing about concretely - it's one thing to have people understand their consciousness and their ability to assert their own dignity, but how does that lead to making the Government relinquish power?
- X. Now, we in AZAPO today, which is actually a continuation of our ideology - we have come to a very fundamental analysis .....
- J.F. .... '76 to '82 ....?
- X. '82 - December.
- J.F. And what did you do when you got out?
- X. Well, I went home to see my parents. After I'd run about much, I then began to assist BAMCO, as a volunteer - the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers' Union - that is the Union I worked for.
- J.F. When was it founded?
- X. 1982.

- J.F. So it had just been founded - you didn't found it?
- X. No - I came to assist it.
- J.F. You began to assist it - and then did you get involved with them?
- X. Yes, and then in April, they appointed me the regional organiser for the Northern Transvaal - then I organised in the Northern Transvaal mines up until July that very year. Then in July, they called me up here to come and assist with other duties here at the head office, so I stayed here - starting from July, 1982 I was - not '82 - '83, because I was released in December, 1982, so July, 1983 I was here up until 1984 - 1984, June, I was then elected the secretary general of the union at congress, and ever since that day, I've been just working here.
- J.F. And what are you now - secretary general? And what about AZACTU - when was that formed?
- X. Well, AZACTU was formed round about last year - we started all these preparations for AZACTU at the beginning of last year - that is January last year, and met last year, then we came together to sign a declaration of principles, and those are the principles we operate under, but it was formed because of the fact that there were a number of unions which were left out of the unity talks, and which unions were left out because they were of a B.C. orientation -
- although it was not explicit, but that was so, because when you judged all unions which were left then, you found that, predominantly those of the B.C. persuasion were left,
- so we decided that we cannot cry for inclusion - if people do not want to work with you, the best way is to galvanise yourself in order to defend yourself, because we have to defend ourselves against the employers, and
- so we felt that it is our duty, irrespective of whether we are being invited or not, to protect the workers that we represent, so that's when we came together and formed AZACTU.
- AZACTU started as an alliance - as a loose alliance, and ultimately we came to agree that we must now operate under strict principles, and we are doing so now.
- J.F. Strict principles being what?
- X. There are a number of principles, particularly the principle of developing an authentic black working class leadership - that's a most important principle, and .....

X. ... and also the principle that we believe that the black working class is the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle in this country. That is the corner-stone - that is, we believe the working class is the vanguard, and that, if you want this vanguard to take over its rightful place - its historical role - you've got to develop an authentic black working class leadership - not black leadership - black leadership is another concept - black leadership may mean myself - intellectuals, but black working class leadership means the working class itself having to come up and take leadership of the organisations that are called trade unions.

J.F. Why do you say black working class - if there was a legitimate white working class in this country, as there is in Europe, or any other part of the world .....

X. Insofar as the white working class in any part of the world is concerned - because we believe in working class leadership - there is no difficulty with us - completely no difficulty, because we're aligned to the working class as a whole,

but in this country it's a different kettle of fish - and we emphasise in this country - it's a very important thing for us, because here, in this country -

I'll start by explaining to you how we come to this conclusion, so that you can see its scientific nature - its scientific nature is based on our analysis of the material conditions under which we live, and we have come to realise that no process of change can come

about unless you grapple with the reality of your situation, irrespective of who says what. If you were to look for agents of change, in any given situation - I'm not talking about this one - you must go and look for the most oppressed - there's no way in the country

where an agent of change can come from any other class - he must come from that class which is the most oppressed in that given moment. If you go to Britain, the most oppressed class there is the working class - therefore that is your agent of change in Britain -

you don't have any difficulty now - my agents of change is the most oppressed in this British system is the working classes - you go to the working class - they must rise up and bring about fundamental change, and you put aside -

you come to this country - when you come here you use the same yardstick - you don't want to debate - you say " I want to look at who are the most oppressed in this country" - you can argue and argue - the most oppressed in this country are the black workers - no way - so that we believe that, when we look for agents of change, we must.....

END OF FIRST TAPE.

J.F. .... just backtrack for a second - not ... it's interesting to me that you decided to get involved with the unions and with workers - there were many B.C. figures seem, from my observations - to have, possibly, come from a working class background, but - and other not, but have certainly been with the intelligentsia, and that's their place and that's where they've stayed - I'm just wondering if you think that that has been a problem - is that the reason that when you came out of prison, you wanted to insert yourself in with working class issues?

X. No, you see, there are two dimensions in any political struggle - for any political organisation - it's that, there is no struggle, actually, without revolutionary intelligentsia - I have never come across such a struggle -

If you look at the Soviet Union's struggle, you will find Lenin - you will find Trotsky - who were all in the intelligentsia. You look at Cuba, you will find Castro, but what we want to emphasise at this moment in time,

is the dictum which was put by one revolutionary called Mao tse Tung, which I believe in. I don't believe it because he has said it before me - it is because when I analyse it, I find it is correct - it's that, when you are an intellectual - an intelligentsia, you must bear in mind that you don't have any - you cannot put direction on your own - to the political struggle -

you must forever go to ..... you must forever liaise with the most oppressed - forever you must be in direct contact - Mao puts it by saying : Theory, practice, then try to concretise; go to theory again; go back to practice - he puts some dictum of that nature -

now, this is a fundamental matter to any revolutionary struggle or any struggle - to be able to see exactly where the most oppressed want to go. The role of an intellectual is only to concretise ideas - to systematise them, because the workers by themselves cannot systematise ideas, but that the ideas come from them, is the truth of the matter -

say all the ideas about whatever revolution you want, they come from the people who are the most oppressed - all that you are supposed to do as a revolutionary intelligen - systematise; frame it in a manner which can be a guide-line towards that which they want.

J.F. So, even though you yourself are part of the intellectual intelligentsia class, you're able to be involved because (a) you systematise ideas from the workers, and (b) because you're black? What if a white wanted to do the same thing?

X. No. (b) because I admit to the fact that I am an intelligentsia, and I'm not like a worker - that admission is very fundamental to any person.

- J.F. But what about a white like, say Neil Aggett, or any white in the trade unions - do you deny that person a place in South Africa?
- X. What we say to that person - we recognise, and we admit, that there is such a person - a committed white - we have never said there is no committed white - it's a misconception of those who do not know us. There are committed whites - let me just put a blanket statement like that.
- When we have come to realise that there are committed whites within the given material conditions, as I told you - we have said - we have put a very important rider to that - we have said "Yes, committed whites - we have a diametrically opposed situation in this country - you stay with whites; we stay with blacks" - not because of our own choice. We organise within the blacks - we have done so, and we will continue to do so, but in this change that we are seeking in this country, we would not like to have all whites running away from this change -
- We would like them, at the end, like Steve Biko says "There is room for all of us at the rendez-vous of all victory."
- J.F. At the end?
- X. Yes, at the end - and the end of our victory (?) 047 - that is, when we say we have got victory there is a room for all of us.
- J.F. Are you saying end?
- X. Rendez-vous 048 (Hope this makes sense to you)! - that is the dictum which I believe, so we say to them : Look, assist us, you revolutionary whites; you committed whites - to change the material conditions, and the perception of this white community, which we are not allowed to address ourselves to,
- so that, at the end of it, we are together marching towards a change in the attitude of whites, and a change in the attitude of the oppressed, so that, by the time we reach there, we shall have also conscientised this mass
- of people which may be very dangerous to us - it is happening all over Africa, and we have said so, but unfortunately white intellectuals, and those that are involved in the struggle, have never wanted to heed that call, and we are still talking to them even today - that,
- please assist us by organising from within the communities which I can't organise - for instance, if I can go with you now, and we are found in the suburbs there - tomorrow I won't be at the office - I will be somewhere in John Vorster there.
- J.F. For being in a white suburb?

X. Yes. So it's only now when they started to scrap all these laws. White people will also not be allowed to come to Soweto without a permit.

J.F. But that's scrapped as well?

X. Yes, it's scrapped now. Now this is a very fundamental dimension for us - we have never denied the fact that there are committed whites.

J.F. Then the only thing I'm taking issue with is you saying that one must recognise that you're not of the working class, but you can only assist in ..... operations, but then you're saying that you're different from the white who realises the same thing, because you're black - because you live in a black community, but my question is ....

X. No, I'm not saying I differ with him because I'm black, because I will be making a mistake if I say I'm differing with him on the basis that I'm black, because then I will be using blackness as a skin pigmentation, which I do not.

In our concept of black, we never use black/white in meaning our skin pigmentation - so once I say I differ with you because you are white, then I'm committing a very serious mistake, because there is no such thing as differing with a person because he happened to not belong to the same group you come from.

J.F. But you're saying a white union official you're not that impressed - you say they are committed whites, but you think they should be out in the white community - right?

X. That's all we are saying.

J.F. O.K., but what I'm saying is : if there's a white who believes just exactly as you do, who understands revolutionary theory exactly as you do, and feels the same way you do in terms of allying him or herself with the working class - the only thing I'm questioning is why that white you don't think should ally him or herself with the working class as a union official, or whatever, because you're saying you don't stay with the working class - you don't - you can't ..... "I live in a black areas - you don't" - what I'm saying is : If you live in Dube, that's so far from P mville (?) 081 ..... that's the validity I'm questioning ..... I think that you don't necessarily live in a working class - if you - Che Guevara was the son of a .....

X. Yes, but that is what you are making as a mistake - what I'm saying is that it's not what you are saying. I'm not saying I'm better off from the white intelligentsia, who has committed himself to the struggle, simply because I live in Soweto - that's not what I'm saying, and which is very fundamental,

and I'm not saying that the white person should not be a union official on the basis that he is white .... I want to get rid of that basis, because it's a basis I've been fighting in these unity talks for so long - and people never get to understand - it's not on that basis .....

J.F. What's the basis?

X. .... we have made a request to all whites - committed white comrades, if I may call them that - to leave an already organised community to those that are organising there, but assist us, who are not allowed to organise the other community - to start with that community first,

so what we are saying to them is that we've got a serious situation here, of two distinct communities, which are at loggerheads, but at the end of the struggle, we want these two communities to understand each other -

if you are a genuine revolutionary, you will understand that you will need to involve yourself in both communities in order that, at the end of it, they must end up with one product - that's the reasoning we have within AZAPO.

Now that reasoning forces us to request any person who'll stay within this community, which we are unable to reach because of the laws - we are in danger of the laws - and because of the attitudes that have been developed over over a century - we are saying : you are revolutionary guys - permeate that wall which we cannot break, so that,

by the time we reach that victory, we shall have other people who can understand that we need to be what we are.

J.F. I think that could be said to be a liberal view, because I think either you're saying : Look, the whites are pretty irrelevant, but I think it would be hard to make a case to a white person in this country unless you were just being - on a liberal basis - that you're going to do much good out there - I think there are things that can be done, but already the Government has arrested every single person in JODA leadership, so obviously it's going to be - that .....

X. Yes, but that's what the whites must do - for instance, they have arrested a lot of people in the black - in fact, they have been doing so, so that those whites committed whites, must not fear the repressive measure, which has been brought about by the Government, in as much as we do not fear these repressive measures, which have been .....

J.F. .... the idea - I think they .....

X. ... when we were there, even if they want to come this way, they will still end up in jail, so they have no choice insofar as permeating a very difficult situation.

J.F. O.K. that was a very good point ..... the more important point, or the point I'd like you to answer is, it would seem to be a liberal notion that all the assets of the committed whites should be put into this notion of changing the whites - how? The revolutionary idea is that whites are only going to be changed when they are confronted with worker power, or whether they'll be confronted with violence, or whatever ... if the way that the struggle could be won was to be to conscientise all the whites to love blacks - that just doesn't seem to .....



- X. Well, it's not a question of conscientising them to love blacks ....
- J.F. What's it a question of .....
- X. I wouldn't like to go ....
- J.F. .... if it was just : go out there or : you're not going to shed any blood; you're just going to be in there and get these people to change their views, and then we're going to be in the working class, and - It would seem that you ..... that the real change is going to be coming from the working classes - from working with the working classes - and that to send them all out to try to change whites - the liberals think you do .....
- X. Well, if the white community - there is also a working class - it's just that in this country, it's a difficult - I don't want to get into that - it's not an argument of AZAPO. I don't want to get into an argument of other people, but this is what they tell us, but it's not an argument of AZAPO -
- the argument is that there is a white working class, which also can see to the process of change. Now to test the validity of the argument is just to say : Look, if you believe in such a thing, let's go and sing (.....) 134 with the white working class and see how far we can develop, if indeed we are committed to this thing of
- saying a working class is a working class, and therefore, it can be changed - what makes it ....
- J.F. Now you're caricaturising it, because it's not a question of singing (.....) 136 - it's a question of possibly doing what - I'm not making this as a big thing - but seems possibly to have happened with the boiler-makers union - that possibly whites would see their future with the majority of the mass of the working class people - if, indeed one was going to push this view of going on the small working class - white working class, then, indeed you wouldn't be singing with them, or making them aware, and talking to them about anything - you'd just be saying : Look, here's a union, join with, and that would be non racialism, which brings me to the point that the next point would be, if you truly do believe, and say : Look, let me stop you, this is a wrong notion, wouldn't it be valuable to have the few Neil Agguts around, just so blacks would see in practice that there are whites who - that that is that future ... are you just going to .....
- X. Let me ask you a different question - we have debated this matter ... but let me ask you a question which we must ask : what will be the need of having a Neil Aggut near Steve Biko - it's a question which talks about two people who are no longer here, but what will be the need of having a Neil Aggut every time, near Steve Biko?

J.F. Well, the population spread in this country is such that the vast majority are blacks - I mean, you know, you wouldn't have one to one. I would just think that a sprinkling of whites at the funeral in Craddock are a sprinkling that - 18% of whatever the white community is, to have - and it wouldn't even be anywhere near that - at this stage it's tiny, tiny - but just - it seems to me to say to all the committed whites : Go out to your community and beat your heads against the wall trying to conscientise these people is a flawed notion, because (a) it's a liberal idea that that's going to do anything - I mean it'll do something, but it is quite a liberal notion to think that it's actually going to effect change, when the revolutionary idea is the working class, and secondly, that that prevents, almost artificially, by telling those whites : Sorry, please leave here, blacks from ever seeing in practice this non racialism idea until the rendezvous of Steve Biko - I mean, are you just going to one day pull the whites out from the closet - so you see .... then the blacks will say : Nonsense, where the hell were they during the struggle?

X. Right, now I've asked you that question, and you can see how difficult it is - let's go further. Now I will put a different view altogether, which is - does not pertain to this country - when this fellow called Karl Marx - this year I've read him -

when they came with the idea, which is not entirely his alone - it's a question of history, but he's the only one who came with it - that the working class must develop a sense of identity ..... and even to some extent hatred to the ruling class - there's no question about it - it comes up clearly, and secondly he goes on - he describes what we call a working class for himself, and a working class as a working class - for itself, or just a working class per se -

now if we may parallel that idea, Marx was not saying, at all, at all, that if you were to find a man who also belonged to the ruling class, in terms of the material conditions, and in terms of capital relation to the .... he was not saying that that fellow, if we find him, we

have got to kill him, as a working class, but he was mentioning what we may call a broad analysis - he was dealing with a broad analysis, which is the only way of moving towards any change - you work with a broad analysis.

There are what we can call exceptions, like a fellow called Engels, who was a very good friend of Marx' - he came from a very rich family, comparatively speaking, with Marx, but Marx didn't say : Right, you are coming from a bourgeois class, your father was this and that and that - we are therefore omitting you from the struggle -

Castro - if we want to know the facts of history - he also comes from a father who was not just a father, but a well to do father, but Castro today is the leader of a revolution - now we are not saying that because we have analysed the situation in these broad terms, we cannot therefore find people from that oppressor group who are as genuine as myself - we are not saying so - that is the idea we want people always to understand, .....

X. .... but what we are saying is that, when you study the material condition, and you are looking for the agents of change, it's inescapable that the largest portion of these comes from the black working class, and that is the class we must work through, so that we can pressurise for change, and it ends just there,

and we can't go around and say "Hey, Aggut, you just died your natural death - you didn't die for us" - that will be very dangerous, at least for myself, because I don't believe that a person is born who cannot change - I would not be preaching to people if I believed that once born white you are doomed forever -

I would have made a very difficult analysis of situations, so we are quite happy with committed whites - quite happy at all, at all - we are very quite happy, but in our analysis of the situation, we just felt that if they are there, which there are very few anyway - if they are there, please, for the moment, we want to try this venture

of being with you, but of being able to work within the communities that need to be changed - it's like when Mugabe said: You other white people - pull out of Smith - come here, but work there, and let's see how whites can adapt to this thing - it's the kind of thing we want to see -

it's just that it's very difficult, maybe, to put it into practice, because, for a long, long time there, all committed whites have been lending their support to already existing political organisations, except one time, when ~~Bute~~ decided to form some organisation called *Okhela* that's part of history, and he was also motivated by a similar notion, of trying to see how whites, as a group,

were working within the groups of whites, can be able to bring some fundamental changes within - there are white groups, even at the moment, who are doing what I'm saying - it's just that they're not as prominent as those who are leading black organisations -

when you lead a black organisation here, you are automatically going to be known, but there are definitely people who are working along the lines I'm telling ...

J.F. Such as what - would you say JODAN is one of them?

X. Well, I've not really been able to study Jo'burg, where there are a lot of small white groups, who understand that they are there to assist - this assistance I talked about about intellectuals - that's why I say I'm not different from any other intellectual because I'm black.

All intellectuals, whether black or white, must accept this fundamental rule that you've got to assist - yours is an assistance to the ideas and goals of the most oppressed. You must never come to a stage where you believe: they are going to get liberation through me, as a leader, a person who can articulate - that will be a wrong notion.

- J.F. How about if someone were to say : Look, the black masses are beyond that - if you take all the SALAB (?) 239 killings - the ideas that they can differentiate the classes and the communities, and the alliances in the communities, and that has nothing to do with colour any more - that there are enough people that they see as sellouts within the black class, and there are enough exceptions within the white class - I mean, 40,000 people at a funeral in Craddock carried (.....) 244 - they also carried Beyers Naude on their shoulders so that it seems that ... there's that aspect, and then there's the aspect of people being killed, who are blacks who - they don't stop and say : Wait a minute, I'm black - I'm a brother in the struggle - look at my skin colour - they say : Forget it - you've been selling us out, or you've been taking money ....
- X. No, I'll tell you how that is, and it's a logical conclusion of what I've been saying - logical conclusion in the sense that - if I were to take you today - I go with you to my home - you will never be hated, because it symbolises that we are the people who choose who our enemies are and who our friends are, and it is the working class again which chooses - there's no question about - you are so correct when it comes to that -
- it is the working class again which chooses who are their supporters, and it is in that sense that I can go with you to a meeting with this thing - they will never say : There is an informer white here - they may even beat a black person who said "informer" and leave you there - I'm telling you the reality -
- the realities of the situation are just like that - they are able to identify people who are clear in their conscious, and that's why they can carry (?) 266 you any time, because they recognise your contribution - this is the contribution I'm saying AZAPO recognises, and we are not going to teach our people not to recognise that contribution - they must always recognise it -
- it's a question of the rules - it's just a question of the rules - where to play a more fundamental role - that's the only thing we are battling with, and it's also one of the things which, in political theory, is the tactic and strategy, and in most cases, people never agree in toto on tactics and strategy.
- We are not differing at the level of analysis - we are differing at the tactics and strategy - others feel that their tactics and strategy is to involve whites and everything to one side - we feel tactics and strategy must involve whites on the other hand, and us on the other hand, and then we will see as time goes on -
- it's not at that level of not recognising peoples' outlook - I wonder whether you are getting the clearest view of this matter.

J.F. What if someone were to say that in '68 to '76 it was THE tactic to use - there was the low (?) 286 and there was what Biko brought up, and that it achieved so much in terms of just making it not a case any more - that blacks have to feel inferior - all that historical stuff was thrown off, but that the tactics now should change, because B.C. has achieved that goal strategically, and that new tactics are needed, or old tactics - some people say it's going back .....

X. ... although with a rider - the rider here is that the black working class at the moment is still in that state of crisis - the black working class, you must remember, started to evolve the self identity - it's still in that ...

if you've ever been with them, you will realise, they are still grappling with the question of being themselves, and they have not crossed - it's only the black intellig-entia which has crossed with, really, a limited comma-something percent of the black working class (.....) 300

I'm really putting it too high, because it's only about 15% of the black workers in the whole country which have been organised - only 15%, so that, we are talking here of a very minute percentage of the black worker - say that, at this formative stage, the AZAPO line will still persist -

at this formative stage, where the black worker is still grappling with matters of liberalism and matters of being couched (coached) 308 into a direction which may be detrimental to himself - he needs to be built by people who are really in the forefront of this commitment, and to be built properly -

it is not always so, that you will get a Neil Aggut in the trade union movement - let me also clarify - he was one amongst so many whites who are in the trade union movement. Some of them are there to perpetuate the status quo - let's not even cheat ourselves to say every white person who is leading a black trade union, therefore he's a Neil Aggut. We came to know Neil Aggut, actually, all of us - we came to recognise through what has been revealed after his death -

it's always a difficult situation where, even myself - many people will come to know my life properly when I'm not there, because there are certain things which I may do which I do not want to share with any person, and that is what we came to realise - Oh, Neil Aggut - Oh, this fellow left his luxurious practice to do one, two, three, four - we never could understand why he left - we thought maybe he left in order just to come again and inculcate these oppressive - Oh! Now, that's the only time we say "Oh" so it's not everybody who's ... this -

so as people who are in this revolution, we can't just allow every Tom, Dick and Harry en mass, because next time you'll find they're dwarfing - what I may call the dwarfing of the working class, and the working class will not know where it wants to go, and to us, it's a .....

- X. .... fundamental matter as AZACTU now, to guard against that encroachment. How we are going to grapple with guarding it is a matter which you can leave entirely to us, because it must be guarded under all circumstances -
- that we don't have the ideas of the ruling class coming to dominate the working class - I'll give you an example - with the working class in Britain - I've never lived there, but through my analysis and through other things I've read, during the time when Britain was still having colonies, Britain took a lot of money through the exploitation of the colonial people, and it, sort of, enriched the working class of Britain to the extent that they were dwarfed from seeing their own liberation within the British structure.
- Another example which is very funny - most of the workers in Britain, if you were to say : you must get rid of the Monarchy, they can stone (?) 354 - I'm telling you the honest - why I say that Monarch is detrimental to their aspiration - that is the kind of thing we don't want to have.
- It's a working class - it's the most oppressed - it's everything, but the colonial masters saw to it that it enjoyed certain privileges, which made it to, sort of enjoy - a balance, and that was delaying their process towards emancipating - getting rid of that status quo, and become a properly free working class - that's what we don't want to happen here in this country,
- and we will always guard any infusion of any idea detrimental to the aspirations of the black working class, by any class.
- J.F. But how can you guard it by just not letting whites in - how do you guard it from black informers - do you just figure that if you leave whites out, then you leave out the ideas of the ruling class - there's no way of detecting if any black in this union is pushing the ideas .....
- X. Well, even then, we guard it by the principles that we want you to abide by.
- J.F. Yes, but a black could say they abide by it, and a white could say they abide by it.
- X. Yes, but that is a 50-50 chance.
- J.F. But you think it's just a better idea just to keep all whites out, because that's an easy way of ....
- X. .... (Gabbling!)

END OF SIDE ONE.

X. .... important. We are also not saying - this is an important thing which I want you to get before you go -

we are also not saying that, because you are black - again I say you are using black in the skin pigmentation - but let me use the phrase that you may understand - we are not saying because you come from the black community, you can therefore not be reactionary - are we together there?

right - in as much as we are able to discover (.....) 434 and we feel that he is a reactionary fellow - in as much as we are able to say the community councils - you are reactionary - it clearly shows you that we don't use the term black - we use the term black here to identify, first those that are, traditionally; by law and tradition in this country, discriminated against in this country, but

on top of that we add a rider, and identify as a unit, towards their emancipation - you are only a black person if you belong to this group which, by law or tradition, has been discriminated against, but on top of that, you also join as a unit towards your emancipation,

so Gatha cannot be a black as far as we are concerned - he will be black in terms of the terminology of the white rulers - in terms of the skin, but blackness, to us, means that which forms - which is concomitant with our liberation struggle.

J.F. So a white could be black?

X. No, white .... you see, whites have defined themselves also - not by skin pigmentation, if we want to be clear - whites have also defined themselves as a group, with a particular purpose - you become white - that's why we call them non whites, actually - those people.

J.F. Who's that?

X. The people who are selling out - the community councils - they are non whites, because they want to belong to that group which has identified itself, as a group - because you can be an Afrikaaner, you can be this, you can be this .... you are still white, because there is no such thing as a white person, actually, if you want to get into the skin colour - white as a sheet - if you were to find someone of this nature, it's a mis nomer,

which means that the - as far as I conceptualise - I conceptualise whites as a group which has defined themselves as part of the oppressor, so blacks must also consolidate themselves in that respect,

but the difficulty is that, to some extent, if you have never lived in a situation of this nature, it's very difficult to grapple with reality, because to us it's a struggle of life and death - it's a reality we see every day - as that which manifests itself daily as we go .....

X. ... up and down. They have scrapped what you call all this mixing, but you can ... let's walk through the street, and judge the South African community, through just judging it as you walk, and tell me whether anything has been scrapped, because it's no use for us to scrap things on paper, whilst the practice still stands -

that's what, in America, the black people are still fighting for - in America there's nothing in the statute which says you can't be President of America, but that you can be President of America is another matter - we can debate it alone - it has got a lot of other difficulties.

J.F. So how do you see change ultimately coming in this country?

X. Well, in this country, I've always put it to those that are in power, that they're the only ones who can determine how change will come in this country - they're the only ones who will determine, even the methods, of bringing about fundamental change in this country.

If those methods become violent, they are still the determinant. You can never place a responsibility to the oppressed.

J.F. O.K., but I don't think anyone debates even .....

X. You get what I'm saying ... in a nutshell, change in this country, whether it come violently, one cannot speculate how it will come, but one can, say, tell you who are the determinant towards the methods that will be used.

One of the methods which is being used now is violence - again, they are the determinant - they banned political organisations here, which were overt - they forced people to exile - they determined the method again - they're doing the State of Emergency -

that State of Emergency, itself, will bring about something else - again, they will be the determinant, so the choice is with the oppressor as to how change will come - it's a difficult question ..... I will not be able to answer it by saying it will come by violence - it will come -

but, all I can put is, it's a yardstick you can use any time when you are at home. That is why people all over the world would like to talk to the oppressor - that : Please change - because he is the determinant.

J.F. You don't think it will have to do with workers, or guerilla activities, or other things?

X. It's as I say, any method which shall be used by the oppressed in this country will be determined by the oppressor.

J.F. No, I just - understand that point, but I'm just asking about what then .....



- X. The possibilities are there, of course, that it can be violent. Now by violent one cannot say (?) 489 it will be by guerilla tactics - it will be by bombing the towns - it will be that - you cannot say - but whatever method shall be used by the oppressed will definitely be determined by those that are in power. The actions of those that are in power breeds other actions from - right?
- J.F. Just some other quick things - there are these various terms : non racialism; multi-racialism, anti-racism, what do you think is - do you support non racialism?
- X. Well, non racialism and multi-racialism are not very far from each other. If they are far from each other, it's a level of conceptualisation.
- J.F. So you reject them both?
- X. Yes, they are rejected by us. Now, the rejection lies here, in the sense that, people want to grapple with a reality and change it to what they believe - a reality doesn't work like that - we like to .... that's why B.C. was derived from the concrete material condition of this country, so that
- we don't want to fault (?) 501 the reality in order to parade - we believe in the concept called (?) 502 anti - racist - that every person who is interested in the liberation struggle, has first got to be anti-racist - he must hate racism ,
- and anti means you must be actively engaged in getting rid of racism, and we feel that that is a positive note, because it teaches you to say, any racist who exists - I'm against this racist - your struggle is much more fundamental that way - non racialism - what is it -
- and non racialism to us, again, denotes that there are various racists - it denotes that there are various .... a thing we do not agree with - I told you about the scientific nature of our non-agreement ...
- J.F. .... I don't think it denounced that .....
- X. ... it is acknowledging the term racialism.
- J.F. No, I think if you're going to say non, you're saying it doesn't exist - if you say anti, you're saying it exists, then you fight it.
- X. No, what we are saying - we say anti racist - it's not anti racism - anti racist. Anti racist means racists exist - there's no question about it - there are people who are racist, so we are anti those people. It is from a racist that an ideology of racism can come up - you can't have racism without the existence of racists, so our cornerstone is to get rid of the first - we don't want to get rid of the second - that which accrues as a result of .....

X. .... the existence of the first - so we go to the first in the chain of reaction - they are racist first, in order to be able to have a system of racism - first you must get those people who believe in that belief of superiority in something, and we are anti those people,

so we feel that term is too positive, in the sense that it denotes a clear positive aggression towards any person who - whether black or white - who want to practice. We are not saying : anti white racists - we don't say that, because that will be out of order -

we are just saying we are an anti racist organisation, and we want to bring about an anti racist socialist republic of Azania. Now we believe that socialist republic, which is anti racist, will get rid of - or if a black person wants to be a racist there, it will get rid of those people we don't want in that -

Now multi-racialism, well it is say, - there are a lot of racists which can come together - a concept we don't agree with - we don't believe there are such things as racists - as I said, non racialism, also, because racialism also is bringing about the question of the different races, and we don't feel very happy -

we want to clarify matters, and be clear from all these concepts which have been brought about by even the status quo. And I know, at this time, non racialism is used all over the world, and so many people love it, but we feel that it should not be used under the circumstances.

J.F. And how about - just some closing questions - after all you've said this afternoon, how would you assess your support - if you look at the other organisations it seems, just in terms of the numbers of people who come to whatever rallies are allowed, or just membership of unions etc. that your groupings is much smaller - do you agree with that?

X. Well, I wouldn't agree with that, because I don't look at the liberation struggle in terms of the people who support the UDF, and the people who support AZAPO, and the people who support whatever organisation - AZACTU, CUSA, AZACTU -

when I talk about the liberation struggle, I'm not for one moment trying to defend that I have got to be .... I'm talking about a movement towards a goal. If so many people happen to attend a certain function, it means that all those people are agreed that there must be a movement towards a goal - I cannot be opposed to that, otherwise I would not be seeking my freedom.

If there happen to be 5,000 attending say, a UDF rally, and because I differ with UDF over principles, those are the people, and the people must be supported in their struggle towards emancipating themselves -

X. I cannot start saying : No, people, you shouldn't be there - people must listen to whoever they want to listen to, so that I'm not going to be able even to debate the question of this supporter - and all I can tell you is that in the liberation struggle, as it continues, you get certain phases - this is one of the phases, where populist movements are supported.

There will be another phase - I will give you a proper example about Muzorewa - Muzorewa, at some stage, used to have 150,000 when he comes to the airport - coming from abroad - can he still get 150,000 people now?, if we may just talk about that issue -

I'm talking about stages.

J.F. Yes, but that's because Muzorewa took a specific step - Muzorewa was the hero in 197 .....

X. Yes, that's why I'm saying to you that I would not stand in the process of change, of the people, simply because at one given stage, there was a funeral where there happened to be 20,000 supporting say, the UDF addressing that funeral, and I'm substantiating my point by saying

there are different stages where our people must evolve themselves into the process of change, which include attending Muzorewa's funeral; which include attending Ndabaninge's functions, but which will include a process of change, up until they may be able to attend a bigger function, which may not necessarily be led by say, AZAPO or by the UDF ultimately,

so that what I'm saying - I'm trying to dissuade you from judging our political dimension in terms of support.

J.F. O.K. so ....

X. ... that AZAPO can - AZAPO tomorrow, may have a particular issue, so people are attracted to functions by a particular issue.

J.F. So that if it appeared at a certain stage in the South African history, like two or three years from now - for example, there've been so many A.N.C. flags at funerals and this and that - that there was a very strong mass ..... in support of Mandela - would you, at that point, insert yourself and say : Look, no, he's not the man - there are other leaders - or would you feel that this is what the people are saying will go with that?

X. No, you don't wage a struggle like that.

J.F. I'm saying if it appears that the people supported the A.N.C. for example, which seems to be a lot of people are saying - would you continue to persuade people that this wasn't the way forward?

X. Sure, certainly yes - if I believe that the A.N.C. is not bringing them any freedom whatsoever, it's my duty to tell them that : No, there is no freedom under the A.N.C., in as much as it had been a duty of Mugabe to persuade people from Nkomo, who is the father of Zimbabwe,

and who, actually, has been a popular figure for so many years, but Mugabe felt that, in so far as he was concerned, he had a better deal for the freedom of the people of Zimbabwe, and he was able to ....

J.F. ... they're all supporting someone you can't criticise .... if the people are all there and saying that, what mandate would you have to come and say : Look, I don't support .....

X. ... you must know that when you are in a political struggle where you have certain convictions -

J.F. As an individual?

X. No, as an organisation, for that matter, because I belong to an organisation - as an organisation - so that, whenever change comes, each and every organisation would like to be in the forefront of the struggle, because each and every organisation believes that, in so far as the terms of the struggle are concerned, this will bring more freedom to our people -

O.K. - you can't relinquish that responsibility - it will be tested - what you offer to the people will be tested. There are times when people follow figureheads, and forget about following their liberation - it happened in Kenya, if we may quote history -

people followed a figurehead there - just a figurehead - Jomo Kenyatta - he was the popular figure - you couldn't stand up - except Oginga Odinga, who stood up, and he was banned, but Oginga Odinga's principles are the ones which can liberate Kenya's working masses, but at that stage, for one reason or the other, people felt that Kenyatta was the best leader,

but what did he do with the people of Kenya - they are still oppressed even today. They are still under the capitalist system properly - in fact, like it used to be - it's just that they swapped - they put a black person, and people felt no, they ....

now, we can't relinquish that - if any person - either Mandela or whoever - can stand up tomorrow, and wanting to sell the principles that we believe can bring about fundamental change - that is the day we must stand up and say : Mandela or no Mandela - you are (.....) 621 you are doing something which will not bring our peoples' liberation -

However, if he was to believe in the same things that we believe in, and the people choose him as a leader, there's no danger - there's no ..... the difficulty is that we can't fight the struggle for the sake of it - .....

- X. .... as I told you, we don't believe in personality cults, so we can't fight you as an individual, in as much as I feel Mandela is a leader, in his own right - there's no question about it - he's a leader in his own right, and you can't question that - he has worked for the struggle -
- even far more than I did, but I can question him if he starts bringing about something which I believe fundamentally will not bring about change - he compromises the aspiration of the people, then we will have to stand up and say : Old man, this is what we thought you are.
- J.F. O.K. I think I understand that point ..... couple of things ..... I understand how you envision the role of the blacks as the vanguard, the working class, but how would you envision the role of the whites in the future, after South Africa is liberated.
- X. Well, all we want to appeal to whites is - we will talk about the Christian modus operandi - that is, how the Christian operates -
- J.F. How the what?
- X. The Christians - people who believe in God .... how they operate. We would like the whites to reconcile with the reality of the times - all they must learn is to reconcile that a new system has been brought about, and they must live with that new system, because if they don't recolcile with that system, they have got themselves to blame -
- that's all we want from them - to reconcile, and sit here and build a country. After all, we won't be able to phase out the Sowetos over night - I'll die without Soweto being phased out, even if the government comes tomorrow - I can assure you it will take about a hundred years without phasing a single township -
- it isn't possible - they will still be living in their luxurious places, but they must reconcile, because if they don't reconcile, they are going to make blacks more angry, and then they're going to have the wrath to themselves, and they can't blame the government which is in power for that.
- J.F. O.K. - I just wanted to know - is there support for the P.A.C. in this country - do you think there's as much support for the P.A.C. as there is for the A.N.C.?
- X. Well, at the moment, there isn't much support for the P.A.C. - that is when you look at their activities - people do not know much about the P.A.C., but one cannot say that is the end of the story - the A.N.C. has got an additional advantage that they can always play around figureheads, and that brings about prestige all over the world, and to some extent, the world has conspired in support of the A.N.C. - to some extent -

X. ... particularly what is called the Anti Apartheid Movement, the entire world - you can hardly move - when you move in the world you can hardly find an anti Apartheid movement which is not in support of the A.N.C. - if you do find it, you are very lucky,

so that kind of concerted effort does bring about some belittling of the other movements that are there - but that is not the end of the story. As far as we are concerned that is happening as a result of the document called the Freedom Charter, that in its description of a future - which they call a future South Africa, anyway,

it does have inroads of a compromise solution, which every thinking person in the world, particularly that the world - it's a world of the capitalist regimes, particularly the West, will be the most acceptable order -

those that are beyond that Freedom Charter, of necessity, must be eliminated wherever they exist, but that is a notion which I say, people will be in danger of as time goes on - it's a notion which must never be followed.

It happened in Angola - people believed too much in Roberto, if you read your history -

J.F. In who?

X. Holden Roberto - he was THE, because his movement started earlier on, but look, MPLA is in power, despite the fact that there are differences - that there are difficulties.

J.F. But Holden Roberto is a documented C.I.A. guy .....

X. Yes, but that made him to be regarded - there was a time when the MPLA wanted to be recognised by UNO, and the OAU - they were told that they recognise only one movement - Roberto - and that was the end - but they were then ultimately shocked - those who were supporting Roberto, to find out that a younger force -

the MPLA is much younger than Roberto - came into power. In Zimbabwe people were shocked - even big companies like Lonro, used to support Nkomo - they were shocked - a young movement which was started as a break-away from Nkomo took over, despite the fact that he's regarded as the father of Zimbabwe -

so our people, as time goes on, if indeed the Freedom Charter brings about total liberation to our people, they will support it, but, if indeed it doesn't, there's no way - it will die with its leadership. That's the only yardstick we have, and our duty is to see to it that that which liberates people must be inculcated in the minds of the people, - there's no way we can dodge that question.

J.F. The last thing I was going to ask you ..... I'm just interested in knowing - the funding of this organisation - are you totally funded from union subscription dues?

- X. Yes, totally funded - we are not affiliated to any international organisation - in fact, we have been squeezed out, because the international scene again - these international scenes always want to recognise people - it had recognised COSA and FOSATU, and thereby meaning that if you want any support, you must go under those structures, and we refused.
- J.F. So how many members do you have paid up?
- X. As a whole, the last time we counted we were about 75,000 - that's last year.
- J.F. That's your salary and every single thing in the union.
- X. Yes, it pays us, but to some extent sometimes we get some other difficulties, but it's better to be self sufficient than to depend on people who can tomorrow tell you what to do.
- J.F. But are there other organisations that you get funding from?
- X. No, we have never been funded by any person whatsoever.
- J.F. It's just surprising that an organisation this young is totally - can have offices etc. - and staff ...
- X. Yes, once you get hold of your workers to support you - we don't even have stop (?) 743 orders, because the Government doesn't allow us to have stop orders.
- J.F. And yet you pay for offices just with ....
- X. Yes, we go and tell the people - we use receipts - they collect - we make people to be committed to the thing that they want, because when you depend on all these kinds of thing, tomorrow they tell you what to do, whilst you don't want to do what they ... and then they withdraw their funds - you don't even have a cent to pay your organiser - you must go back - like all the big powers - they work like that - they give you lots of funds, funds, funds - you become very affluent -
- now, when you want to dodge their strategies, they go to their congresses and pass resolutions that : No, that three million which we gave to Mugabe - this year we must reduce it - he's naughty - but if he was dependent on that three million, he has to go back - there's no way.
- I believe in what Nyerere has said - that you better stay poor, and grapple with your poverty, than to depend on any other person. You are a better man, being poor and grappling with your poverty than when you depend on other people, because you can no longer use your own thinking - you will be manipulated every day - there are very few instances where you get sponsorship which does not tell you what to do - some sponsorship says : We are giving .....

- X. .... you this money, but it's just for education.
- J.F. And how do you feel about the leadership now, like Nyerere and Machel, and the Angolans - that they support the A.N.C.?
- X. No, they are O.K. - there is no difficulty in them supporting - well, Machel has just changed - only Angola .....
- J.F. .... says he supports the A.N.C.
- X. Yes, but he has just changed - he has been able to support even the P.A.C. now.
- J.F. No.
- X. I'm telling you the honest fact.
- J.F. I was just ..... 776
- X. Yes, but he has changed.
- J.F. Is he supporting P.A.C. now?
- X. Yes, he has changed.
- J.F. He's supporting the P.A.C.?
- X. You may not know, because you are outside - he has changed.
- J.F. So is he going to offer them bases?
- X. Well, he's not offering anybody bases now - I think that is why he can change - he's not offering anybody bases - he has never offered anybody bases .....
- J.F. Is he going to give them an office?
- X. I don't know - it's just from utterances he has made in some quarters.
- J.F. And the fact that Nyerere supports the A.N.C. and the Angolans support the A.N.C.?
- X. Yes, but that is immaterial - whatever government - every government has got its own right to support whoever it wants to support - that does not change the complexion - you don't win a victory in a country because you are supported by all the international people - it's completely immaterial.
- J.F. But international is one thing, but your own African people that you've talked ....
- X. Even our own Africans cannot determine - Kaunda, for instance, who drafted the Lusaka Manifesto - you remember the Lusaka Manifesto is Kaunda, properly - Kaunda who was a very strong guy - you must tell me where he is today - he supported Nkomo right through, to the extent of telling Mugabe to go away - and Machel was in alliance with the A.N.C. for that matter, that time - exactly that time when Mugabe was .....



X. .... kicked out of that place - he was in alliance with the A.N.C., but what made Machel support Mugabe - Mugabe's fellows wanted to do the job, and there's no way that Machel could escape, and today, if you tell Machel that Mugabe is a reactionary, he will fight with you - but that

marriage came in the process of the struggle - it didn't come from what the international - or what our African leaders were saying. It came from what they were doing together, and we believe in that - if tomorrow you find us hand in hand with the A.N.C./P.A.C. - whatever you may say, it will be because of the process of the struggle - it won't be because someone said : Go and unite - we will test each other as we are moving ahead , and as we are moving ahead the more .....

END OF TAPE.