

- J.F. So can you just start by telling me where you were born and when you were born?
- W.Z. Ja - I was born in Port Elizabeth on the 26th. of June, 1957. My family - when (well 005) my family at that time was working in Cape Town so we had to move to go and stay in Cape Town during that time. When after they left, they lost their job in Cape Town we had to come back to Port Elizabeth - that is during the early '60's - because of the nature of the work my father was doing he had to separate in 1966 from my mother, and then we stayed together with my mother in Port Elizabeth and he was working outside with a construction company.
- J.F. So what work was he doing?
- W.Z. He was just an ordinary labourer.
- J.F. But he needed to be - did he have a migrant labourer's contract or something or he just had to go to Cape Town?
- W.Z. No, it was not a migrant labourer's contract really, but it's because he found a job in Cape Town - could not find a job in Port Elizabeth, and my mother was away, you know, so then we (015) you know, had to follow him, to go and stay with him in Cape Town, although she had to come back to Port Elizabeth to live, I mean.
- J.F. And did she work also - your mother - was she working?
- W.Z. In Cape Town she was working. Now when we came back to P.E. because my father had to go and work outside, she was forced to seek a job as well, so she was working as a domestic servant. Now that was from 1966 until 1967.
- 1967 my father lost, you know, this job, and he was employed in a farm as a lorry driver. Now it meant that we've got to move out of town to stay in this farm where my father was working as a lorry driver.
- Towards (the) end of '69 my father left that job as well, and he had to go back to town to find another job and again got another job as a/driver for a construction company and we had to go and stay in town again. /lorry
- In actual fact my family didn't, you know, get a house. Now we had to go and stay with my aunt. It was so difficult that my mother was forced to go back to - to her home in Colsburg (031) you see, and my father then was working, you know, trying to support us with my aunt as well, so ever since I've never experienced, you know, a normal, you know, family life, you know. I don't know of a time where we have stayed together as a family under one roof, you know.
- J.F. Let me stop and ask, because I'm going to keep focusing this on non racialism because people tell their stories but I want to keep bringing it back - in those times when you were still quite young did you resent that lack of a family life, and did you blame whites, or did you figure well, that's what all blacks put up with or - did it make you to feel negative towards whites or how did you see it - your plight?
- W.Z. Ja - well, I was still very young that time - I could not relate this, you know, anyhow politically, you know. I used just to accept this as it comes, you know. Most of that,

W.Z. .... well, parents used to try and comfort us as much as possible, you see, and so really politically I was not yet, you know, conscious at that stage, you see.

So then well, we continued like that until I did my secondary school in 1973. That's - it's in 1973 then that, you know - there, you know, became, you know, a spark of light and I started to realise how does this suffering come about, because until then I was still - in fact I'd already moved away from my aunt - I was now staying with my grandmother.

J.F. Where was that?

W.Z. Still in Port Elizabeth with my - from one location to the other - from Vierplus (051) to New Brighton, and with my father as well - we used to see my father very, you know, seldom then. That's because he had also to go and find a place to stay elsewhere, because my grandmother's place was also full, you see - there was no accommodation, you see.

Now in 1973 at secondary school we used to, you know, have casual, you know, discussions, you know, and some political issues would come up, and as we read newspapers and as we listen to conversations from elderly people, you see, we used to gather, you know - we used to gather some information, we used to gather some history, you know, the struggle, and we started realising there was somebody like Mandela, you know.

And I used to also - for instance, in 1964 when there was a state of emergency I remember vaguely, you know - you know, some soldiers coming to the township, you know, with tanks and, you know, all those manoeuvres.

J.F. When - in 19....

W.Z. Was in 19664, or was it '62 - can't remember very well.

J.F. '60 or '61 - state of emergency (Lots of noise going on)

W.Z. Ja -

J.F. '60...

W.Z. - but I remember, you know, there was such a case (065) but some of these things were being related now, and I was, you know, beginning to think of the (that/them 066) and I was beginning to relate them to reality, you see, and as from that time, you know, I became interested, you know, in, you know, in political issues (.....069) you know. (I'm gonna leave some of these you knows out from now on - O.K.)

I could also see now why, you know, are we suffering - that partly it's because there are white people - they are in actual fact contributing to our suffering. We started making now comparisons, you see - that look at our schools are - have got broken windows and don't have, you know, good facilities, but if you go to town and you look at Greyhouse School, you look at Sealy High School, or you look at the primary - the lower primary schools there, they are far better than our schools, you see.

And through conversations and discussions, you know, we started realising such issues. This was in 1973, you know (and 078) 1974 I became interested in the leading newspapers, I started ....

W.Z. .... making some cuttings, you know, political cuttings, small (080) special pictures, you know. I had a special book where I used to placed (paste 081) these pictures, keeping them - and (in) 1975 - in 1975 in - you know, we were already involved now in what I can say mature (084) you know, political discussions.

We could actually pin point some problems and relate them directly to the government, and - well, the point of departure at that stage, you know, was from colour basis, you know. It was I mean from in between (you know 088) black and white, you know - that the blacks are suffering and the whites are causing oppression, but there was not much, you know, who did at that stage really, you know, but it was some process of politicisation, although unconsciously, not consciously.

The same year we started to realise that, you know there some student moveme(nt) - there is a student movement in actual fact - a South African Student Movement (095 - still very noisy) We used to discuss it, you know, and try to find ways of joining this student movement - how does one join it, you know.

We knew that, you know, this is secret, if one is caught, or if one is found to have been involved with it will be arrested, you know. There were also warning from elderly people that you should not, you know, engage in politics - you're still young.

They used to go to Mandela and things like that (101) and this is the time when we used to be more interested, you know - the more people were barring us from, you know, speaking politics is the more we were getting interested.

J.F. The more people who were what (Repeat)

W.Z. Were sort of warning us against speaking so openly about our grievances and discussing political issues, you see. And we used to be interested in, you know, the social subjects, see, more especially history - you know, we used to discuss history - Lenin (109) We used, for instance, to take the example of the French revolution and relate it to our situation, you see, and in that way, you know, we could sort of draw lines now.

When in 1976 - 1976 I was studying in Hilltown High School - it's outside Fort Beaufort - (.....114) class outside (?)

J.F. It's outside where?

W.Z. Fort Beaufort. Now this was one notorious school in South Africa, with strikes and the boycotts, although at the early \*stages they were not political, you know - it was not political strikes, boycotts, but, you know, that radicalism was there in that school. \*stages.

So when I got there I was recruited into SASO - SASO became prominent in that school mainly because in 1975 there were five students who were arrested from that school who were trying to leave the country, and after investigations they discovered that they were members of SASO so SASO became popular, so as soon as we arrived there they were already,

- W.Z. you know, underground structures like (of) SASO, although it was not banned, but you know, the - things used to be done in a very - you know, underground during that time.
- J.F. What was it - underground connected to the A.N.C. or was it underground just to leave the country?
- W.Z. No - I mean underground in the sense that it was difficult to openly speak of SASO or for it to take platforms or address itself to\*lots of people. \*a mass of people
- J.F. This was which year.
- W.Z. 1976 - early '76 and before - that was the situation - and before.
- J.F. The five who were arrested leaving the country, were they going to join the A.N.C.?
- W.Z. The A.N.C. - that's right.
- J.F. So there already was a link between SASUM and the A.N.C. (Repeat)
- W.Z. Well, I cannot exactly say, but I mean what had happened is - anything at that stage (139) was always related to - I mean connected to the A.N.C., you see - like people who were leaving were always\*connected with A.N.C., and some instructions which were coming in on one way or the other I mean from the A.N.C. - some advices, some hand (142) you know. \*going to the A.N.C.
- J.F. Why was that - because the Eastern Cape is an A.N.C. area or because SASAM supported the goals or why?
- W.Z. I cannot say so because SASAM was mainly strong in the Transvaal at that stage, you see - it was not very strong in the Eastern Cape during that time, but well, it had, you know, very strong people, you see, and it's only later on then that it got organised, you know, in the - in a big scale in the Eastern Cape, and it is not during the time when it still had the base underground structures but it was from June, 1976 when it was now being propagated openly, not underground any more, that it gained strength, you know.
- So I cannot really attribute that to the, you know - the fact that A.N.C.'s strong in the Eastern Cape. So then when the upheavals of June 16, you know, erupted - well, it was relatively quiet in our school during that time, more so at the beginning of the upheavals - it was not yet clear that, you know, it was political at\*it's beginning. \*its
- I think it was after a couple of months that it was realised that June 16 was in actual fact, you know, political, because many people had thought that it was a strike like any other - like Hilltown itself - we used to have (a) lot of strike(s) - lot of strikes. Now if one school, you know, striked ....

W.Z. .... that time I mean it was not natural that the other one will come out in solidarity, you see - it used to be, you know, its own business and just end up like that. Now that was the situation as well when, you know, the uprising started in June 16 in Soweto, you see - it was not realised yet that it was a political, but the way it was organised it was unlike, you know, before when schools used to go on strikes and got caught (171) you see, but it was now at a large scale in Soweto, and it had taken a different form - that is it was violent now, you see.

It's then that people, you know, started to realise that it is something\*worth (with 175) you know, being supported and it actua(lly) - it was in actual fact affecting everybody, more so that now, you know, there were also clear objectives and aims, you see. \*worth (is correct)

Now each and every school authority (178) realised that, no, we are also affected by this, because at that particular time in our school - that is at Hilltown - what was happening is that...

J.F. Which town?

W.Z. Hilltown High School - Hilltown - what was happening/is that we were being taught by South African Defence Force soldiers, you see, already since 1975 because it was known to be a notorious school - now they used to come, you know, armed to school, and whenever the principal - we had an Afrikaans speaking principal, Mr. Staartfontein, and whenever he introduces them, you know, always introduces them as Rifleman So-and-so, not as a teacher, you see. /there

And the most part of the staff in that school was, you know, the Afrikaans speaking whites, you see. Now there were a lot of clashes, you know, between students and the staff, you see.

Now when it was realised that Soweto has gone, you know, on strike it was so easy now in Hilltown and other schools as well to relate their problems to the situation in Soweto (195) Hence it was, you know, much more easier to come out of classes.

J.F. You know.....(Tape off)

W.Z. Ja, so it ha(ppened) - so happened that, you know, during the stage there was a very strong B.C. vibe - I mean this B.C., you know, ferment (200) in South Africa - most of that at - earlier on it was some B.C. organisations were already existing like SASO and BPC, so a lot of, you know, political work, you know, was done.

So when June 16 erupted it was a question of, you know, of just taking action, because people were realising, you know, already during that time that I mean they are oppressed, but now the question was what to do with it, you see.

Now for, you know, for the students B.C. was appealing to them at that particular stage. They could only, you know, analyse in terms of black and white, and they only saw oppression, you know, in terms of black and white and this disparity of, you know, rich and poor.

Now it is a - at that stage I must say B.C. had played, you know, a very important role in mobilising more especially ....

W.Z. .... the students. So then you find that now from Hilltown this - you know, this consciousness was in already, also coupled by, you know, that radicalism which was existing then (there 223) and also some, you know, political work which was being done underground, you know, by SASO and some people (.....225) actually recruited into SASO.

Now you also find that Eastern Cape itself, you know, was also a stronghold, I can say, of, you know, B.C., more especially those areas of King Williamstown, East London, up to Fort Beaufort, you see - we could easily make contact with BPC, you know, SASO and all those people, and Fort Hare was only about 25 KM. away from our school, you see.

You could easily see SASO people there discussing then (their 233) action, you see. Now when the strike was introduced in our school, you know, it was a question of, you know, packing our things and going, you know - we just told the students that, well, in solidarity with, you know, other students who've been killed in Soweto and other schools which went on boycott, we should follow suit, you see.

Now the school itself, you know, was situated in a very bad position because it was in a rural, you know, place and there were just villages around us, so there was not much really to demonstrate....

J.F. There were just what around you?

W.Z. Villages, you see - there was not much really to demonstrate there, and to say, you know, you are going to mobilise such areas because the conditions there was such that, well, the rural people were - I can say they were really backward, you know, they were illiterate, and it was - it would be a long process to say we are going to mobilise them, politicise them.

Well, that was not the only, you know, problem in that area, but you find that the situation during that time, in 1976, was such that it was not easy as we boycotted as students or as we took action as students, to say we are going to mobilise people in the street, because there was still that tendency which was existing that I mean children cannot tell, you know, elderly people, you see, so this is the main, you know, problem which was there in terms of getting support from parents or (260) elderly people in 1976 - there was that attitude.

Secondly, the boycott itself at the beginning had sort of strained the relations between students and parents. Thirdly it strained relations between students and teachers, you see. The students were sort of going it alone, you know, during that period, but somehow some tactics and strategies had to be applied in order to reconcile this.

But now the way the what you call - the, you know, boycott, you know, was taking place at that time, you know, it was not possible to co-ordinate activities so smoothly so it became almost impossible between '76 and '77 to achieve that goal, so much that at the end of 1978 we found ourselves in a position whereby, you know, the students were sort of isolated.

Now if you look into June 16 itself, you know, it had brought about a lot of problems. Let alone that well, June 16 was the beginning of it, and it had helped, you know, dynamising ....

W.Z. .... the struggle a great deal, but before we could, you know, go on again or take where we have left after June 16 it was a, you know - quite a difficult task.

But now, what had happened is after we were - when ex - some of us were, you know - in fact we had to be chased away from school during that time, and then we went back to our places (292) but now before we dispersed, now because that was a boarding school and we are coming from different places we had made it a point that wherever we go we must make it a point that we keep the fires burning.

Now other people were coming from very, you know, isolated areas and others were coming from urban areas. Now we planned that we should go back and rejoin other schools wherever we come from where schools are still, you know, continuing normally and then start in the action against particular schools.

J.F. Start boycott action?

W.Z. Yes - in those particular schools. O.K., we were then expelled from school and then we went back to our places - we started joining schools in our respective, you know, areas. Well, in our case what had happened is already, like in Port Elizabeth already - that is where I was staying - already there was a boycott, you see, so it was not a question of starting a boycott or so but it was to join action.

Now it is then then that we actively became active members of SASAM and, you know, were carrying out, you know, on instructions and actions and so (313) we were being given instructions, you see.

Now in 1977, you know, most schools went back, you know, to school, you see, so that it was not really a planned thing but it was because of some weaknesses of the boycott in 1976 that others, you know, went back to school and others were losing confidence, others, you know, was because they did not realise that I mean June 16 was actually, you know, the beginning of it, you see.

But now the actual - that is in the rest of South Africa except Soweto - the actual action started in 1977. Now all schools went back to school in 1977, and it is after - well, towards the end of the year the number of schools were already out in boycott and there were a lot of action in different towns, you know, and countries, and then it is now after the death of Steve Biko that, you know, things were sparked off, when almost all schools, you know, got out and all - I mean almost all students were involved during this period.

J.F. Did you know Biko before he died?

W.Z. Yes, I - well, I used to read about him, you know, that he was a president of BPC, and when BPC was introduced to us, you know, just told about him (341) you see, so when it was announced that he'd died, you see, there was already - well, the situation was such that, you know, it was ripe really, because I imagine if he had died before that I mean I don't think the response would have been the same, you know, like the number of people who went to his funeral, and the number ....

W.Z. .... of action which was sparked off by his death, but I think it's because of the situation which was created by June 16 that, you know - that Steve Biko was, you know,= merely complementary to June 16.

So now it was after then his death that, you know, almost the entire country got involved and -.... you see, at least everyone was aware. Now the government also came hard on organisations - organisations got banned, people got detained and so forth, and this, you know, contributed a lot -

Now this was not only affecting students now, you see. It was also affecting, you see, elderly people, you know, parents, you see. Now the more students were getting detained the more they were being affected, the more they were being shot, you see.

I mean the parents started to take this thing into themselves, and they started to realise, too - well, to a little extent - that there's no way that, you know, they can stay away from it, but there was still that element in 1978, that is from parents, that it is better for these children to stop this thing, you see.

Now in 1978 there was a relative, you know, quietness in the whole country - quietness in the sense that there was no action, while on the other hand well, some people who had survived detentions and who didn't go to exile, you know - who have been working quietly, trying to draw up, you know, some strategies and working out some tactics - that is : How do we get out of this.

Now we had, first of all, to start analysing the June 16 itself. Now we came with, you know, conclusions that there has been a lot of, you know, shortcomings - there's been a lot of shortcomings in the way.....

END OF SIDE ONE.

J.F. .... 408.

W.Z. Yes, O.K. Now you wanted to know....

J.F. No, continue what you're saying but maybe not in as much detail - so you're still talking about what year now - '77/'78?

W.Z. Ja, sure - ja, well, there has been no change really since 1976 in the attitude of the people, you know - there was - they were still anti white, you see - more especially after the death of, you know, Steve Biko - there hasn't yet been any change.

J.F. Now at that time was that fine with you - would - were you anti white?



- W.Z. Personally I was - I was anti white - I mean I was seriously B.C., you know - I also saw things I mean in terms of black and white.
- J.F. And did that mean that you - to you - I guess the only whites you'd ever known were the whites who employed your mother and the white teachers at the school?
- W.Z. Well, the white teachers at school more especially, you know - they seriously affected me and well, as I had experience with the way my parents were, you know, going through it, you see, I always realised that I mean it is whites who are bringing about, you know, the - all this suffering, so I was taking it from that point of view, you see.
- But now later on when I sort of became, let me say diluted - well, it was in '78...
- J.F. Say what?
- W.Z. Diluted in this, you know, anti white feeling.
- J.F. What diluted this?
- W.Z. (Laugh) There were people like Donald Woods, you know.
- J.F. Who?
- W.Z. Donald Woods, you know, working with Steve Biko, you know, and they used to come up in discussions, you know, from time to time, and other liberals inside the country, and we used to read different books, you know, like Alan Paton, you know, and so forth.
- Now we - some of us started, you know, recognising that at least there are sympathisers, you know, in our struggle. We don't necessarily mean that all the whites, you know, are oppressing us, you see...
- J.F. Were you impressed with Donald Woods - did you meet him or did you read his stuff?
- W.Z. No, I used - just used to read his stuff and I used to read, in actual fact, about him, you see. I used to follow his stories, I mean he left the country and so forth, and writing books about Steve Biko, you see, and it's also during the time when people like Raymond Tucker, you know, were being assassinated, you see - I mean issues like those, you know - they started injecting in.....
- J.F. Who was it who was assassinated?
- W.Z. Raymond Tucker - in Durban.
- J.F. Was he a detainee.....
- W.Z. No, he was a - an - a political activist - was - in fact was progressive.....
- J.F. What's his name?
- W.Z. Raymond Tucker - Tucker.
- J.F. A white guy?

- W.Z. Yes - (he) was assassinated in Durban.
- J.F. You mean the one who was shot through his window?
- W.Z. Yes, through the window.
- J.F. Ja - no, his name was something else.
- W.Z. Something else (..... 442)
- J.F. Richard Turner.
- W.Z. Turner - ja, I'm making a mistake - you know, such people, you know - so one started to realise that, in actual fact, we've got I mean white people who are actually working with us, you see.
- So now when you're analysing further on one would come to think that in actual fact we can even make use of them, you see, so there was already, you know, that reconciliation, you see - there was that reconciliation.
- But now....
- J.F. Was it ever meeting any of those whites or was it just reading about them - did you ever personally see any of these sympathetic whites?
- W.Z. Yes...
- J.F. ... at that stage?
- W.Z. Yes, but not those I'm mentioning. For instance, I'll make you example of people like Dan Watson and Cheeky Watson, you see - you see, those people, I think, more especially in the Eastern Cape, they had turned, you know, this anti white feeling...
- J.F. So did you meet Cheeky Watson?
- W.Z. When they were staying with us we were always together - we used to go to their shop and, you know, buy from their shop, you know - they were just amongst us all the time, you see, so we were staying together, I would say so.
- J.F. Did you play soccer with them or...
- W.Z. Ja, they were playing rugby, so it so happened that some of them were playing for my - the club I belonged to, you see, although well, I was not playing in the A team - I was a small boy running, you know, after, so we used to idealise them and such, you see, and there was that whole hullabaloo, you know, of that group of them together with others, you know, from the white club - you know, the white clubs wanted to come and join the African clubs here....
- J.F. Did you see them as political people or were they just decent people - were they political, the Watsons?
- W.Z. I mean the question of the Watsons, you know, let alone whether they were political or not, but the very issue became political from the onset, you see, such that even the way I mean the government were responding, you know, sort of blew things out of proportion to such an extent that people had just to take it like that, you see.

J.F. Such people were just what?

W.Z. Such that people, you know, had to take it political(ly) you see, because they were literally barred from coming to the township - they were defying them - they were coming in without permit - they were actually staying in the township with us - they were playing there, you see - such that, you know, this came to be accepted by - and people started to realise that, in actual fact, if this could be the situation we could live in harmony, you see.

And now this - you know, such incidents, you know, which started changing some of us, you know, during that stage.

Now politically, you know, we were still active during that period into 1979 when we formed COSAS. Now the formation of COSAS - because if you realise COSAS became non racial from the outset - now there were - it was not as easy as that to introduce COSAS if it was going to be like that. Now the initiation....

J.F. If it was going to be non racial?

W.Z. Ja - now the initiation of COSAS started in 1978 - well, there was a lull in 1978, but now what had happened is we tried to go to all these areas which were active, you know, until 1977, and try to revive the people who were active and the organisations which were not actually banned but who had just died out, you see, come together now in - now in the analysing the situation - that is the reviewing the 1976/'77 period, you see - it was realised that we need to move, you know, a bit forward, you see -

Well, as far as B.C. was concerned, it was telling us that, well, we are black and we are oppressed, and so what next, you see - you know, such questions which came up, you know.

J.F. Did they come up in debates with your people?

W.Z. Yes, as we were - in fact, we were planning now to form a new student body, you see. Now questions were, you know, coming up how are we going to avoid the problems/experienced, you know, with organisations like SASAM - in organisations like SASAM and in June 1966, you see. /we

J.F. Just sum up what the problems were?

W.Z. I mean firstly the - the relationship of the students to the society as a whole. Secondly the question of a - I mean what do we do about the fact that I mean we are black, you know, and secondly, you know, it was the shortcomings of the - of the boycott itself - that is, you know, the tactics and strategies which were involved - that it was taken that the boycott is an end on its own, you see - it was not a (.....503 traffic etc) you see - such issues had to be clarified, you see, so well, we - I can say we did find answers there -

Like I mean on the question of colour now, it was felt that now this organisation which is going to be launched, you know, should be - should not appear to be racist, you see. It is better that it leaves its doors open, although we know that it's practically that - it might not yet be right, you know, to say we are going to establish ourselves in white areas or

W.Z. .... in white schools - in actual fact it's not going to be whites at that particular stage, but in terms of policy we have got to put it, you know - I mean make it clear that we are not - that we are non racial, you see.

Now the question was : Do the people understand that if the people moved away from B.C., and the answer was that : No, you see. Now the problem was that now it meant that COSAS had to start, you know, moving people away from B.C. and start showing them the, you know, non racial way, you see.

Now - well, in principle we agreed in that way - that we need to move away from B.C., you see, and then in 1979 we launched COSAS, and well, these problems naturally came up, you see, like as people were analysing the policies and our aims and objectives - that does it mean that we are opening doors to white students to come and join, you know, the organisation, you see, and in the process of explaining such questions it is I mean the time when now we were actually sort of politicising or, you know, showing the people the importance of going the non racial way, you see -

Because like one of the other problems was that in 1976 and '77, you know, very few so-called Coloureds and Indians were involved, and our first aim of COSAS was to go to those areas - draw them in - and that's exactly what we did - hence 197 - since 1980 it was, you know, so-called Coloured areas which came out on boycott and which in actual fact led the boycott, because we started, you know, going out to their areas, you see.

J.F. Unlike '76 there was .....

W.Z. Unlike '76, you see.

J.F. I guess what I'm so interested in is to have you just shed some more light on that, not necessarily in a sum it up in points, but how did you get to that point of deciding that COSAS had to be non racial - I just really want to try to push this a bit, even if there's any anecdotes or anything on the emotional side - did you get people saying : What is this nonsense - how the hell can you even think about whites - just tell me a bit about what people said and why you were committed, or was it purely ideological and strategic for you - did you speak to people who were more clear, or where did it come from?

W.Z. Ja, you see, initially what had happened is we were planning to launch a new organisation. As such we had to consult elderly people and experienced people, you see. In actual fact it is them who showed us, you see, that I mean our shortcomings, you see, in 1976 and 1977.

Now it was in that process that also the question - I mean they were trying to show us the question of racism - that we are going to find ourselves, you know, attendant (552) in a racist problem if at all we are going to pursue B.C. like that.

Now we were being sort of politicised, you see, ourselves as well, in that process, you see. Hence we had to come back also, you know, and discuss it, and we saw the light - that really....

J.F. Discuss it and?

W.Z. And we saw, you know, the right way, you see - that in the ....

W.Z. .... true sense of the word, you see, this thing is not going to take us anywhere, but also during the same period, you see, there was a hot debate which was going on because, if you remember, early '78 AZAPO, you know, was launched, I think (563) only six months after BPC was banned, you see.

Now there were a lot of questions (questionings 564) when AZAPO was launched, that how feasible is it for people to launch an organisation only six months after, you know, one was banned. Where did these people get funds - when did these people organise themselves, you see, and in actual fact these people didn't do any spadework before...

J.F. The AZAPO.

W.Z. Yes, AZAPO - you know, it was such rudimentary questions which came up. Now in the final analysis even the very ideology was being questioned, you know (Now 572) - if it is in actual fact the BCP ideology, this one, you see, because it seemed to what you call - pronounce, you know, exclusivism, you know, too much, you see, and worse than BPC, you know.

J.F. Worse?

W.Z. Ja, worse than BPC, you see. And then, you know, this became a very hot debate.

J.F. AZAPO wasn't banned - they just arrested/the leadership - that's why they re - they refounded (579) that AZAPO in 1979 - I'm just thinking it didn't - because they couldn't have banned it then, because you remember they did it again in '79 with George Wilcock and those people. /and banned

W.Z. You mean?

J.F. AZAPO.

W.Z. They did what?

J.F. In '78 they didn't ban the organisation - they banned the leaders...

W.Z. The leaders, that's right, and dismissed them (583) That's why they had to revive it in 1979, elect new leadership.

J.F. So their experience of being chopped right away....

W.Z. Ja, right away - in fact a week after they launched AZAPO the whole leadership was wiped out - banned same time, you see, and we started asking questions - why has the system got to act like this (587) why are things moving so fast, you see.

Now the whole thing ended up in questioning the whole (.....588) Now there were things now like even Steve Biko was working with whites like Donald Woods, you see - where does all this thing come up, you see, and well, some people you also explained that in actual fact, you know, Steve Biko was in touch with the A.N.C., and in actual fact he - in fact not in touch, but he approved with A.N.C. policies, you see, and he had\*so - there were indications that he was working with it, you see. \*shown (593)

Now - well, in 1979 already there was A.N.C. literature coming up, you know - there was an A.N.C. vibe growing inside the country - A.N.C. started, you know, intensifying armed ....

- W.Z. .... propaganda. Now this helped a lot in our (now) you see - this was helping now to sort of change all that mood (599) not I mean by the end of 1979 personally I was already - I mean I could already I mean make difference now, that there is B.C., there's non racialism....
- J.F. And were you on the non racialism side then?
- W.Z. Yes, I was already on the non racialism side, you see. But well, personally I must say that again what contributed most is that as we were working towards the launching of COSAS we were already in touch with some white university students, you see. Now we've got to understand that in actual fact they are working with us and they are with us in the struggle.
- They used -\*they used to get material from them - they used to help us in printing material - some (613 - traffic again) you know, material things, you see, so we began to realise that, no, in actual fact it's just that we didn't see these, you see - it's because we were far away from them and they were also far away from us. \*we
- That's why we used to believe that, you know, there is a barrier between black and white, you see, and that was towards the launching of COSAS, and by the time when COSAS was actually launched we were already working, you know, together while (well 621) as few individuals - those who were very active, you see.
- Now we had to plan our\*strategy as to how do we actually, you know, come together up to platform level, and how do we make this to be accepted really, because in terms of, you know, the grassroots students and people this was not yet accepted, you see. \*strategies
- When (while - well 627) people who were aware that, you know, there was some, you know, activity within the white section, and they were getting A.N.C. material (and) some of the things, but you know, they were not yet totally transformed, you see, and so this was a problem now - how to explain this.
- Now we had to - we had to sort of find a way of doing (it) Now we planned that in order to make this acceptable and make people to realise that we've got to work together, you know, with the whites, we've got to organise jointly, be it a rally, you know, be it a funeral, we should invite each other to come and, you know, attend, just like that until they accept this.
- So in 1980 really this had happened - we also organised, you know, joint projects, like we'd go to the SRC's and heads (644) you know, Rhodes and these other universities, to ask, you know, some white students to come and help African students to develop them some skills in doing silk screening, you know, such that will (649) produce posters and so forth.
- Whenever we want some printing matter we actually send some of our students to go and do them themselves, you see, on the premises of, you know, these white students, you see. Now in the process we exchange some views and have discussions, ....

- W.Z. .... and then eventually we came to accept each other. Now we find again that, you know, well, some of us who were actually getting some informal lessons, you know, that is from these - from more advanced white students, you see - those who were exposed to the history of the struggle and some A.N.C. background, literature, you know, of the struggle (662) they were sort of giving us that sort of knowledge to a - well, a little extent some Marxism, you know, used to be discussed and was introduced, you know, amongst ourselves.
- Some literature was exposed to us by then, you see - we used to read it and understand it, you see. Now we were sort of - you know, as people who were sort of in the forefront of this we had to sort of spread this to the other, you know, students, try to establish now the contacts with branches, you know, with some white students - to go to them, have discussions and organising just like now (674) until such time that this whole question was accepted, of non racialism among students, you see.
- J.F. So did you find that students did accept it then - did the non racialism begin to take root then - did people accept it, or was it a long process?
- W.Z. Well, I can say it was a not too long process but a very difficult, you know, process, to actually - in actual fact instill it in them. It was not too long because by the end of '80 well, I can say relatively those students who were active they had accepted it, and it is because of those students who by 1980 had accepted it - they made those, you know, who later on joined the struggle to accept it, because what has happened is, you know some of late - of late I mean now, some students know nothing about B.C. - that is those who are involved now, you see - students who can actually speak of B.C., it's those who were involved prior to 1976 through 1976 perhaps until 1980, you see.
- Those are the ones who can speak of B.C., you see. Those who got involved after 1976 they found, you know, the ground fertile with it, you see - they could understand issues more easily than the others, because it meant that earlier on we had to sort of transform these people from this B.C. mentality to non racialism, but now we don't actually even go through B.C.
- J.F. With the ones that you had to, can you give me an idea - I'm just interested in having it being convincing and understandable to people - in those days, say '78/'79 say I'm a young student who'd say to you - a black student who'd say : Look, why are you pushing this line - why are you wasting the time of the whites - why is it so important - what would you answer - what did you answer to them - on what level did you respond - you obviously couldn't just say : Look, B.C.'s not politically correct...
- W.Z. Sure.
- J.F. What did you actually say to them - can you remember any particular person who was very negative - I'm thinking, ja, of - maybe Kusele Jack was telling me about how he was somebody who was really B.C. and....
- W.Z. In fact he's the actual one I can make a example....

J.F. O.K., tell me then, because I'd just like to have it be on a more personal level, not necessarily the names as much as what was exchanged - it just seems so incredible to be able to be pushing this point and how people accept it.

W.Z. Ja - well, what had happened is, you see, there were people in actual fact who were very stubborn when it came to the question of changing from B.C. to non racialism, more especially the time when AZAPO started introducing this AZASO - Azania Student Movement, you see - \*they were very stubborn guys there, but well, they never had any facts, you know, as to why do they perhaps support B.C. or push this B.C. line, you see, but at the same time there were people who were genuinely not convinced that B.C. is not a genuine line, you see. \*there.

But now we had to show them, you know, concrete things which were happening in South Africa in order to show them that well, B.C. is not going to take us in (738) you see. Now their argument was that I mean the whites are oppressing us so we cannot take the oppressor and fi(ght) - and have him to fight, you know, next to us.

Now our argument is - was that it is notm you know, all the whites, you see, who enjoy privileges, you see. There are whites who don't enjoy privileges. And secondly we cannot deny that (but 749) those who are well off - those whites who are well off but who are sympathetic to our struggle. Thirdly it is a matter of principle that we cannot drive people away, you see, from the struggle - we should always, you know, try to draw them next to us. If/a white person wants to join us or support us why should we turn him away? Isn't it rather an advantage for us, you see, to have that person to work with us than driving him away, you see. /at all

We used to put forward such arguments and well, they would try to come up, you know, with all sorts of stubborn arguments, you see, but we are going to try and show them that in actual fact the problem is between the rich and the poor, you know, because you actually find even blacks who sell us, you see, like Gacha.

Are you going to tell us that Gacha is a - I mean is with us in the struggle? Should we rather accept Gacha than this person who's been actively involved, you know, in the struggle, this white person. Now we used to take concrete names and make comparisons - like one would come up and say : Do you prefer Gacha than Joe Slovo - you know Joe Slovo's in exile - he's been actively involved in our struggle, you see.

People like Braam Fisher were being\*compared, you see, and what was special at that time - it was the time when, you know, some were being detained and so forth, you see. We make such examples, you see, that look at, you know, so-and-so has been detained by Q and\*U because (787) under Section six like you and me - what do you say about that. \*counted (782 ?) \*me

Should we, you know, chase these people away, you see. You know, these are some of the arguments/used to come up with, you see, then they would try to refute them, and now the whole class question, you know, would come in - as the argument goes on we sort of show them that I mean even the whites \* themaelves, you know as - I mean they don't all enjoy the same



W.Z. .... privileges. Some others who are - I mean they are also oppressing each other - I mean you also do find, you know..... /we \*themselves

END OF TAPE.

W.Z. I mean (we) try to show them that there are workers even in the - we show them that there are workers even in the white - within the whites themselves, you see, and you find, you know, petty bourgeoisie among ourselves who are not prepared in any way to support our struggle, and who are I mean committed to oppress us in actual fact, you see.

J.F. What was the most successful argument, do you think - what can you remember was the one that would convince people the most?

W.Z. Well, whenever you come with a class analysis, you know, you would always get to win them over, but well, not directly - I mean in the sense that he immediately changes but we can actually see that he has changed from the original position.

Now the - the more the struggle was becoming popular as well - I mean this - well, let me say this non racial thing was becoming popular - well (while O14) others changed because, you know, they felt that they are going to be isolated, you see, and because they saw that now this is becoming reality so this is the right thing. This was the case with Mkusi Lechek, you see, because he used also to be, you know, this pro stubborn B.C., you see, to such an extent that he was in actual fact being used by B.C., but because, you know, he was a populist as well he realised that sooner or later I mean non racialism is becoming a reality, you see, he decided to change.

Secondly he also realised that it was a - I mean if at all he claims to be involved he s going to be affected like any other person because he was getting detained like any other person, you see - he was feeling the pinch like any other person so he also realised that now why should I what you call - run parallel, you know, to these other people, you see, so he decided to join us as well, more so that he discovered that he's going to be isolated now, because I mean like in P.E. there was no B.C. at that stage, you see.

J.F. Earlier on when you were talking about the white names that you would bring up you mentioned liberals like Donald Woods and that kind of people but now you've suddenly mentioned the Slovo - was there a point - do you remember when you first heard of, say Slovo or Fisher or Goldberg or someone like that?

W.Z. You see, the history of the A.N.C. - well, let me say the history of resistance, you see, we were getting exposed to it during the struggle in 1976/'77, you know, '78 from time to time. Now names like Slovo, Oliver Tambo, they were evolving, you know, around the names of Nelson Mandela.

Now when Nelson Mandela became popular some time ago, I mean even before the June 16, but immediately after June 16 these were names which were, you know, evolving together as people

W.Z. .... who were speaking of the history of resistance, you see.

J.F. But did you - were your parents political?

W.Z. No, they were not.

J.F. Did they tell you about Nelson Mandela - can you remember when you first heard Mandela's name, or did you always know his name?

W.Z. Now this is another question, you see - like you find that my parents they were not political whatsoever, you see, but you find that, you know, they did used to mention the names of Nelson Mandela and relate what was going on. I mean this was the situation in South Africa, you know - Nelson Mandela was a household name, you see.

They used to speak about him, whether a family was political or not political, but there was no family which never used to mention (050) Nelson Mandela, you see - like - what I mean - I mean what I know is that whenever, during those times, you know, a person speaking about the struggle or anythings political there's the name of Nelson Mandela in the front.

J.F. Sure - that's....

W.Z. Like - let me give an example - like if the - an elderly person you see's afraid to speak openly about the struggle or name the name struggle, you see, he would say this thing of Mandela, so there was that, you know, that expression: We must leave these things of Mandela, you know - we have joined Mandela - it's not any more the struggle or, you see.

J.F. That's because A.N.C. might be a bit hot to say but Mandela everyone knows?

W.Z. Yes.

J.F. That's why I'm asking - that's quite good the way you said it, and that's why what I'm trying to say is you've always known about Mandela but when did you learn that besides Donald Woods there was a Slovo or a Fisher or....

W.Z. You see, the other thing was now as, you know, there were uprisings in South Africa - I mean even newspapers used to hint a little bit, you know - come up with a bit of history - like they would mention the A.N.C. and the P.A.C. - they would always try to put some pepper and salt in the story, you know - mention some bits of the history of resistance and mention Joe Slovo, mention Braam Fisher there (067) you see.

But now since 1976, you know, literature started flowing inside the country and started flowing in (068) although at the early stages it was mainly a B.C. literature. Now even in B.C. literature we used to find well, to a larger extent some .... What is the time now?

J.F. O.K., well, let me try to ask kind of shorter questions - so you don't remember any particular person telling you about Woods - about Slovo or Goldberg or anything - it wasn't any particular time that you heard of them?

W.Z. I don't know really - you see, the thing is, you know, initially, you see, most of these people, one read about them, you see,

- W.Z. .... so the next stage was to discuss them, you see. Now I don't know if in actual (.....079) they had somebody who was actually trying to sort of come and push a particular line and (..... Lots of noise again 081) I can't say so exactly, you see.
- I think this, you know, happened consciously, that one actually came to accept the A.N.C., came to accept non racialism, you see - it was a conscious process.
- J.F. It was conscious - was it purely an intellectual theoretical thing for you or did it have to do with meeting some nice white people - were there any particular - were there friends you made or was it purely it fits into a kind of a class analysis of the world?
- W.Z. No, not really. I think, you know, all these things happened together, you see, because you can imagine we are out of the 1976 situation. Now there were, you know, all these things happening. On one side there was - I mean like on the other hand there - even the whites were active - I mean \*they were demonstrations, actions at Wits, at UCT, Rhodes, everywhere - the police used to come in, baton charge them, you know, disturb - disperse them like that, you see. \*there
- They used to issue out literature - it used to fall into our hands, you see. We used to get A.N.C. literature, you see - it fell into our hands, you know, we are reading all the time, I think such time that (097) we went to white students and established relations with them after receiving their literature, you see.
- J.F. I've just realised..... (Tape off) - maybe even with the questions you can (Tape off) - so for you did non racialism continue to be an important issue or once you'd worked through it was that it - you just decided O.K., we're here, or did it continue to be debated, or did it continue to be seen as important?
- W.Z. I would say that it - we saw it to be important, you see, because it was taking us a step, you know, forward compared to B.C., you see.
- J.F. But once you saw it to be important, say in '78 and '79 you had to convince all these guys, but in '81/'82, even the present, do you still see non racialism as important or do you think, Oh, that's that hump that I got over in '79, or do you continue to see it as being an issue that you discuss?
- W.Z. Well, it's not discussed that much any more. It's an issue which has, you know, been accepted now, you see. I think this is also obvious in the struggles which go on inside the country between those who are stubbornly, you know, pushing this B.C. and the other camp which is non\*racialism as such.  
\*racial
- J.F. And once you found that you believed in the non racial, how did that affect things practically - did that mean you felt any different towards those white soldiers\*carring guns in your school?  
\*carrying
- W.Z. Yes - yes, you do, I mean find that you are different, you know, from that, because in the first place those who are ....

- W.Z. .... carrying guns in my school are not serving my interest, you see - they are serving the white interest...
- J.F. Sure - I'm saying were you just as anti white - did it make you less anti white to those you saw as being on the other side - did it change you over night to be less anti white - you were talking about there was a time when you would have been quite anti white with those soldiers, for example, being the only whites you knew - once you had gone through non racialism and say, before you left the country in '81 or something like that, were you less anti white - did you find that immediately you accepted people and you didn't see colour, or was it still a process you had to go through?
- W.Z. No, it was not a process any more because I realised that even that - you know, with that white soldier it's just an attitude - he can also be changed to think like me, you see, and I can accept him again too, you see, the very one who was pointing a gun at me, as long as he can only change the attitude.
- J.F. And then when were you COSAS president?
- W.Z. From 1980 to 1982.
- J.F. Did you have two terms?
- W.Z. Nnn - ja - well, the - it's one term - the term of office is two years.
- J.F. Oh, I see - and the one before you was Mahale?
- W.Z. Was Ephrim Mahale, that's right.
- J.F. Did you know him?
- W.Z. Yes, I knew him.
- J.F. And was it at all a surprise to people when he was arrested and prosecuted and all his A.N.C. connections, at the time?
- W.Z. I can't say it was a surprise really - it was not.
- J.F. And was it a help or a hindrance at all that COSAS got obviously so identified with A.N.C., especially because of Mahale's trial?
- W.Z. To a larger extent I can say it was a help, but I cannot deny the fact that it was a hindrance, that is from the government's point of view, because it would always exploit, you know, if Mahale's on trial and the charges which he was facing in order to prosecute COSAS and some members of COSAS, you see, but as far as the people are concerned, you see, they started to accept COSAS more than before.
- J.F. And had you - just a couple of loose ends - had you - you talked about being exposed to B.C. - had you been exposed to P.A.C.?
- W.Z. No, not really, but well, its literature used to come across our hands, and a few individuals who were active in the P.A.C. long ago.
- J.F. And you said that you - were you at all attracted to them - any point when you were in your B.C. phase?

- J.F. Were you at all attracted to P.A.C. back in the B.C. era - do you remember people being pro P.A.C. - those who were B.C. even like yourself then?
- W.Z. You see, the question of P.A.C. to be accepted by other people in (king 159 - lots of noise again) at the time when both P.A.C. - in fact, since the time I knew both the P.A.C. and the A.N.C. they were treated, you know, on equal basis, you see. There was no stage whereby P.A.C., you know, was preferred than the A.N.C.
- J.F. Can you just tell me briefly some people - Mtunkulu connection - was he from P.E. - where's he from?
- W.Z. He's from P.E.
- J.F. So was he a long time friend of yours?
- W.Z. Yes, of course he's a long time friend of mine.
- J.F. And is it Sipewe or Simpewe?
- W.Z. Sipewe.
- J.F. Just Sipewe.
- W.Z. That's right.
- J.F. And was he in the COSAS executive?
- W.Z. Ja, he was in the regional COSAS executive.
- J.F. And was he older than you or younger than you?
- W.Z. He was younger than me.
- J.F. So who was - was either of you the elder in terms of ideological - did you affect him or did you grow together.
- W.Z. We - well (when 173) we started - we became more or less at the same time political, you see, but in terms of what you call - ideology - that is moving away from B.C. - I can say that I had left him behind, you see. It is only later on, and because of my influence as well that he also became non racial.
- J.F. Became non racial.
- W.Z. Yes.
- J.F. And why was - were you arrested at the same time - detained at the same time - what happened with his detention and all - I know the story of it but I don't know about your connection with him.
- W.Z. Well, our connection really before - before our last detention - he has been detained before, and I have been detained as well but on different occasions for different purposes. Now - well, the very first occasion where - when we were arrested we were arrested together - it was in 1977. During that time it's - we were arrested together with many other students - it's not because we were brought together by a particular perhaps operation - that is as myself and Sipewe, but it was a j

- W.Z. .... a joint action of all the students, you see, and we were charged with public violence, and then later on we were acquitted, but after that we were involved in different actions but working together and we were still B.C.
- Now what had happened is he had been arrested after attending a funeral of Robert Sobukwe (.....197) you see.
- J.F. In '78.
- W.Z. That's 1978.
- J.F. Did (.....198) attend that funeral because of any feelings about P.A.C.? Did you attend the funeral because of any leanings toward P.A.C.?
- W.Z. No, not really - it's just that I was barred by police on my way to the funeral - it's not because I - in fact, I was going to the funeral, so I was arrested by police on the roadblock and I was sent back.
- J.F. I'm saying your wanting to go to the funeral, did that indicate any support for the P.A.C. on your part?
- W.Z. No, it was not a question of supporting P.A.C. at that stage - even with the people who were attending the funeral it was not the question of - of them being P.A.C. or A.N.C. but, you know, the struggle at that stage was still general, but also the people were still B.C. at that stage, you see (209) but I can't really say it was because of P.A.C. or A.N.C. affiliation - it was not.
- J.F. And how many times were you detained before you left South Africa?
- W.Z. Six times.
- J.F. Beginning which year?
- W.Z. Beginning the 1977 I was detained six times.
- J.F. And what was the longest period?
- W.Z. The longest period was the last two detentions, which were both six months.
- J.F. O.K., so briefly what happened to Sipewe?
- W.Z. Well, Sipewe, after we were released from detention (..... 219) at one - he had to be admitted to hospital 24 hours - after 24 hours after the release, and it was later on reported that he has been poisoned, and according to the findings of, you know, this Professor Ames (223) who was handling his case he - the indications showed that he was poisoned in detention, because the symptoms of that poison can only show eight days after the poison was....
- J.F. Eight days?
- W.Z. Ja, eight days after the poison, you know, was taken, and he was released - I mean they showed 24 hours after he was released, so then he was - he had to be transferred from Middleton Hospital to Groote Schuur. Well, at Groote Schuur they tried to fight it out, although he was paralysed, you know, he was

W.Z. .... discharged in 1982.

J.F. He what?

W.Z. He was paralysed, you see - he was using a wheelchair. Now during that period after his release - his discharge from hospital in February, you know, I was - well, back in COSAS active again, and we were preparing for our national congress at that particular stage, so I couldn't take him to many places - he was only active in the P.E. region, you see, but a few weeks before his disappearance, you know, there had been some funny movements around our places (243) at his home (.....243 - it's getting very difficult to hear now) as well, you see.

And when I heard that Sipewe, you know, was nowhere to be found it didn't immediately appear to me that he could have been kidnapped or was lost (248) I thought perhaps he must (have) gone somewhere on mission (249) you see, but I realised I think a week after that I was also cornered by suspicious people, you know, and I had to - I had to run away.

Two days later the same thing happened..... Two days the same thing happened to me, you see, and I reported this to the police (256) For a third occasion (it) occurred again. Now it rose a concern because - and by that time it was two weeks after Sipewe could not be seen, and we started realising that it's also a concern that Sipewe's not seen around when on my part the parents were already concerned, and some other people, but I thought he must have gone, you know, on a mission, more so the person\*that he had disappeared with - his son (263) was somebody who used to transport us around or take us to confidential places, you see, so..... \*whom

J.F. What about somebody who took you around....

W.Z. Somebody who we were working with, to take us around or to any other place we feel is confidential.

J.F. And what about this person?

W.Z. He disappeared together with Sipewe.

J.F. Also?

W.Z. Yes - there were two when (.#.....270) it's not Sipewe alone. That's Dobson Madagu. \*they disappeared (?)

J.F. What's his name?

W.Z. \*Dobson Madagu. \*Topsy (271) (?)

J.F. Madaka.

W.Z. Yes. Now it's from, you know, when I was harassed for the third time that we realised that there was something wrong, you see, and we started to be concerned about Sipewe. We started checking all possible places - we could not find him, and then now we had to go and check in places like Musutu and elsewhere, and then we realised that something had happened to Sipewe and I had immediately to make a decision as well, you know, because I felt that I was not secure as well (281) -

- W.Z. .... I had to leave the country during that stage.
- J.F. And when did Sipewe disappear exactly - what month - what year?
- W.Z. It was April, 1982.
- J.F. And when did you leave?
- W.Z. I left in June, 1982.
- J.F. I see - O.K. - and then do you want to say - I don't know what you want to say about what you've been doing since then or what - if you can talk a bit about how that non racialism has been a factor even now, or how that was integrated into your understanding in the A.N.C. - can you just, to finish off...
- W.Z. Ja, well, I feel it had benefitted me a lot because by virtue of joining the A.N.C., you see, was the culmination of this non racialism, and I feel if I had not joined the A.N.C. I wouldn't have had such an opportunity to develop or, you know, pursue the struggle in this manner any more (301)
- J.F. And when you met the A.N.C. outside was their non racialism as you imagined it - was it more in practice and was there any kind of difference from how you had envisioned it being?
- W.Z. Well, the non racialism, you know - well, which I found in the A.N.C. really impressed me, although already at home we were sort of reaching that stage, you see, but I cannot really compare with the one which is existing in the A.N.C., which is a practical, you know, and effective.
- J.F. And do you think that non racialism is worth all this effort I'm making to look at it - do you think it's worth discussion and research, for example, in this project that we're doing by me talking to you?
- W.Z. You said do I think it's?
- J.F. Do you think it's worth all of the discussion - all these interviews that I'm doing - if you hear there's someone who's doing something on non racialism - in a sense you've said : Well, you've accepted it - that's that - but do you think - what do you think about the idea of spending time looking at the concept?
- W.Z. Ja, I think it's worth it because I think it's going to serve a purpose, you see, and as you are saying, that it's going to be - you're going to publish a book - I'm hoping that this book is going to fall into the hands of those who have not yet seen the light and those who do not yet believe in non racialism, and it's going to help to transform them, so I think it's worth, you know, this interview.

END OF INTERVIEW.



- J.F. .... ask you - I know that..... I know that your understanding of the A.N.C. had been pretty sophisticated by the time you'd left, but did you have any sense - was it at all different than you expected in that did you have any sense that you'd be immediately - that all people would be immediately militarily deployed - did you think that - the idea that you're actually furthering your education in a very sophisticated way, was that something you'd expected?
- W.Z. That?
- J.F. Did you know when you left that that would happen, or did you think that you'd come out and get a gun or what?
- W.Z. Oh, I see - no, it's just that I happened to know when I was still inside the country that I mean we'd have options in the A.N.C. If I want to go to school I would go to school, if I want to go into military training I will do so, and I also knew that the A.N.C. had a school, you see, so it was in my programme, really (012) that I would go to school and this was further prompted by health problems. (Lots of background noise, so may not be exactly word for word)
- J.F. What, your ears or?
- W.Z. Yes, and backache - I suffered\*terribly back injury when I was in detention. \*terrible
- J.F. So, because I think (016).....
- W.Z. But what dominated me was school, really, in the A.N.C.
- J.F. You'd always wanted to study?
- W.Z. Yes.
- J.F. What are your goals in terms of studying?
- W.Z. Well, when I was still at home my line was always law, you see, but when I came outside I had a broader, you know, view of, you know, the different avenues as I switched over to economics.
- J.F. And why - what do you - does that relate to the struggle, your interest in economics - can you tell me how it relates?
- W.Z. Ja, I think it's directly connected with the struggle, because with the understanding of, you know, economics, one is in a position really to have a, you know a broad understanding of, you know, political issues and the struggle itself one is in a good position to make, you know, good analysis. (I'm gonna start leaving some of the you knows out now!)
- J.F. So do you ever think about what your role might be in a free South Africa?
- W.Z. Well, I don't exactly know, or I can't really say, but I think with - I'm going to play an important role, because I do realise that we've got very few economists, you know, in South Africa, that is in terms of progressive people, and I also realise that they've got a very important and significant role in the reconstruction of the country. My aim is really - .....

- W.Z. .... what you call - you know, projected in reconstruction and such.
- J.F. Now why didn't you say because we don't have enough black economists?
- W.Z. I'm avoiding to say so (Laugh) I'm really avoiding to say so.
- J.F. Why?
- W.Z. You see, you know, most of the time, you know - you know - well, in the A.N.C. let me say we sort of avoid that jargon (040) you see.....
- J.F. That what?
- W.Z. That jargon, you know, of blacks and whatever.
- J.F. The jargon?
- W.Z. Ja - we use, you know - I mean we take it for granted that I mean one must understand, you know, that we refer to blacks - if we say we've got a shortage of economists, we know that we've got a lot of white economists, but we cannot as well bank on them because we don't know how many will remain, you see.
- J.F. Or if they have the right point of view (Repeat) - progressive.
- W.Z. That's right - and more so that even then they've got, you know, different lines, you see. We don't know if they'd - would they actually push our own point of view, you see.
- J.F. But you don't feel that one of your goals is to see more blacks get education - do you really not see it in colour terms at all - do you think there could be whites - progressive whites in a future ministry of economic affairs?
- W.Z. You see, in the true sense of the word really if they put emphasis on this question of blacks, we might find ourselves in a tight corner, you see, as well as - I mean as much as we do not rely on the white\*communists (055) we cannot bank on, you know - if we had black economists or say we are going to train black economists because I mean blacks might disappoint us as much as some whites can. \*economists
- I think we have drawn lessons from many countries who have attained their independence or who have, you know, got their freedom, you see - that, you know, some of the very blacks on the country's supposed to rely on, and who are supposed to be involved in the reconstruction, are the very ones now who are stepping (062) these countries at the back, you see. It's the very ones who are involved in sabotaging the economy - they're the very ones who are being used by, you know, foreign agents, you see.
- They're the very ones who are serving interests of imperialists, you see, so it's a question of a committed person, really, and I do want to believe that we've got hellful (066) of committed whites in South Africa, and we cannot overlook that.
- J.F. Just a handful?

- W.Z. Committed whites.
- J.F. Yes, but only a handful of them?
- W.Z. Well, so far (Laugh) you see, I can say so. So to pronounce the question of blacks too much, I do not like it - not at all, you see.
- J.F. And what were the injuries you had in detention - what happened to you in detention that caused the injuries?
- W.Z. Well - well, some of the injuries might have been inflicted over, you know, a long period like from previous detentions and other detentions rather, you know - you know, added more, because I didn't really notice, you know, some of these effects immediately after the last detention, you see. I, you know - I realised them some time later on, like the - I remember before the last detention ears did bother me...
- J.F. Is what - your ears bothered you.
- W.Z. Ja, and after the last detention, you know, they got worse. In actual fact I discovered that they sort of inflicted more damage to them, and it's after that then I realised that I'm frequently being bothered by backache - by backache, you see, so then - well, different methods were being applied, you know, during detention, ranging from ordinary common assault, like being slapped, kicked, punched, you know, and then directly some methods of torturing were being applied.
- Mainly what they used to do was to, in previous detentions, to keep me standing - I know for two occasions they would keep me standing - keep me standing naked for five days, five nights, you see, under interrogation, you see.
- And another method was to put a sack over my, you know, face, try to suffocate me, you know, and this, you know, strangle me for a longer and well calculated (098) periods, and the worse of them was, you know, the electric shocks.
- At one stage I was taken to a beach - they dug a hole, roped me in a canvas and put me inside this hole handcuffed, and then they, you know, applied electric shocks to my feet.
- And the other occasion I was taken to an abandoned farmhouse ten Km. outside Craddock (104) and I was kept there for six days, so each night they were, you know, roping around this canvas and then started (to) apply these electric shocks.
- They will start by putting them on the feet, you know, ask certain questions, and the more they demand information they will change to - well, more hurtful, you know, positions - like from the feet they will move, you know, to my private parts, start applying them there - from there they will move, you know, to my penis (111) and then finally, when they want to drop me, you know, unconscious, they bring it, you know, behind the ears.
- J.F. And what - through all of these methods, what was their goal - what were they trying to get out of you - what kind of admissions were the kind of things they wanted?

W.Z. You see, basically they want your involvement with the A.N.C. Well, in - from some time ago I had admitted that I was a member of the A.N.C.

J.F. While in detention?

W.Z. Ja, while in detention, but well, they couldn't do anything about it - they couldn't take me to court about it because they had no evidence and there was nobody to corroborate that, and I in fact realised that (121)

Now the problem is they're trying to force me to incriminate some people in order to take me to court. Secondly, they want to get something concrete, like they want me to lead them to perhaps an arrest of a guerilla or an active member of the A.N.C.. Thirdly, they want me to sort of expose any, you know, kind of network of the A.N.C., like a cell which is there (127)

Fourthly, they would like me to expose any source of material which is being brought in by A.N.C., be it military, money or, you know, printing matter, you see, and again they would like me to reveal any possible contacts I have outside the country, and how do I actually go about or how do they actually, you know, go about making contact with the country, you see.

Those are the basic things they usually want. There is all, you know, other information about my activity inside the country - connection with other people, and also what they're interested in is our connection with white left students.

J.F. Really?

W.Z. Ja, and the money, you see - I mean funds, you know, because they would like to sort of stop our I mean wherever we get our funds. Those were the basic things they used to stress on.

J.F. O.K., I just want to ask you some things that - I don't want to breach any securities - obviously anything you couldn't say and I don't need any specifics, but just in a general way, because the regime puts out an understanding of the A.N.C. that it's controlled from far away outside the country and all this kind of stuff - when you were recruited and when you were active did you work underground for A.N.C., was it always with African people only?

W.Z. You say what - did I do what?

J.F. Was your involvement with the A.N.C. in the country exclusively with African people or did you have contact with people of other race groups - when you were with A.N.C. in the country.

W.Z. Ja, to start with, you see, into the A.N.C. personally I was not recruited, you see, but in one way or the other well, I found myself working with the A.N.C.....

J.F. When you were.....

W.Z. ... inas much as those, you know, white comrades who were involved with it, you see, it so happened, you know, with our dealings with the A.N.C. that we came together. It is in actual fact work which brought us together, you see, more than anything else, even our contact with the A.N.C. - it's work which brought us together, because I mean given whatever issue ....

- W.Z. .... we take up, you see, and the A.N.C. comes in, you know, in support of - well, that is materially or, you know, otherwise, and there was no question of saying : No, we sort of reject - I mean we don't want to work with you because you are going to pose a danger to us or whatsoever, but it was out of objective, you know, situation that we had to deal, you see (165) because it's necessary.
- J.F. I'm confused - you wouldn't want to work with who.....
- W.Z. I'm just making an example that..... (Interruption) I'm just trying to explain that to say one has been recruited in the A.N.C., he cannot I mean just put it like that - I mean nobody really came (170) and tried to politicise me, and say look at the A.N.C. is like this (171) come and work for us, but because we are active inside the country, and it became necessary that we've got to co-ordinate activities, because the A.N.C. also had, you know, a programme - we had just to co-ordinate activities like that, and in that way worked together.
- Now same applies to those, you know, white comrades who were involved, you know. We found ourselves co-ordinating our work - co-ordinating our work.
- J.F. I see - but in effect it meant that you were involved with people who were white then?
- W.Z. Yes, it is.
- J.F. Did it surprise you to find that people who were white that you might have known were progressive would have actually been A.N.C. - did you, as much as you were past non racialism did you have any stereotypes or feelings that surely whites wouldn't go so far as to put themselves in a spot like being A.N.C. because of the risks.
- W.Z. No, well, it didn't surprise me because I mean we knew that there are I mean whites who are working with the A.N.C. I mean from history already, you know - we knew that the A.N.C. was working with the communist party since long ago, and the communist party was predominantly, you know, white, so as such we knew that even if people like Braam Fisher died but at least they left some seeds there and those seeds were growing, so we are taking over from there, so they didn't come as a surprise that they still find, you know, such people.
- J.F. And as far back as when were you involved inside the country with the A.N.C., whether it was being recruited or being a member what - in what year - how far back...
- W.Z. As back as '79.

END OF INTERVIEW.