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Do you anticipate staying in P.E.?

A Ja, for a few years at least.

J You don't ever feel like they are trying to case you out, you should go?

A Not now, I feel a lot more stronger now, and secure that I was a year ago.

J Do you feel like you have any kind of agenda? Do you want or feel your goal is to get more and more into the white community? I mean of you had to weigh the 2 different things you do, do you place more emphasis on one or the other? Do you have any specific goals?

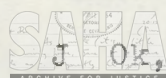
A I am quite ambivalent at the moment. I feel like quite schizophrenic in a sense being torn between two roles and I am quite drained a lot of the time but I think what I would see is ECULT the Education project in the end becoming independent so that it doesn't rely on me being there. And that's if I have to I could move somewhere else else or work somewhere else. Possibly in a year or two that will happen.

J Do something else professionally, but move out of P.E.?

A Not necessarily.

J And what if the future organising whites? Do you think at a certain point you feel ok with that we have got all the 60 whites that are here; in what ways do you actually see moving whites or going and doing out reach?

A I think at the moment ah, that with the ECC just being started here there is incredible potential for that. I don't think there is really a limit on, at this stage on how far we can reach or what work you can do. We have really only just started here and we have done relatively little work and there is an incredible amount we can do in that area. So I don't think there are limitations on that.



J Ok, so tell me a story or two about the reaching whites. I just find it so incredible, knowing what the people are so like. (Ja)

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JF...are there any..

A You heard about the disruption of our meeting?

JF No.

A Well, we had .. it was quite ironic because first we called the forum together of all sympathetic people we knew from all the churches and other individuals to discuss the formation of an End Conscription committee, whether they thought it was viable here. And we got unanimous support in setting it up and we..that was on the 21 March, the same day that people were shot in Uitenhage and we set an inaugural meeting, a date, and we sent out invitations to all the individuals we knew as well as to some groups like the UPE, the University of P.E. SRC, the Technikon, UPE Catholic Society and the Student Christian Association. Not expecting a positive response but we invited them to send a representative if they were interested.

And what happened was that, I don't know how it happened but the word was spread around UPE campus and one of the conservative residences there; were about 30 of us there; 30 people who were committed to the ECC at that inaugural meeting just after we had started the meeting everybody introduced themselves; a few bakkies pulled up outside, full with UPE students and they basically charged into the meeting and filled the whole room. There were about 60 of them. And they started heckling and asking what was going on and what was this ECC and demanding to vote on whether it should be formed or not. Saying they didn't want the ECC around and we said look this is a working meeting; we have established this thing, it is our democratic right to set up an organisation; you were invited to send a representative. Now who do you represent?

They said we all representatives of the SRC and we represent the SRC societies and clubs and so on and they demanded that we take a vote. So what..eventually we had two alternatives, either we close the meeting and we set another date, when they don't know about it or else we try and somehow handle the situation. What we did, Laurie Nathan was there and he proposed a..first he invited one of them to come and actually debate him after which we would take a vote.

They said no they did not come to debate they came to hear about the

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A ECC. So we said ok, Laurie will talk for 15 minutes on what the ECC is and why it was formed and after that you can vote if you want to vote. But it won't have any affect on our decision tonight to launch the ECC here. So Laurie spoke for 15 minutes and then they asked the most incredibly racist, stereotype questions you can imagine. Like, what will happen tomorrow if you give the blacks the vote; how are they going to run the country and that sort of thing. If we don't have a defence force what do you think is going to happen; the terrorists are going to invade us and really the most typical white paranoid reaction that you find.

So Laurie handled those questions and so on and eventually they voted; a few people abstained but they all voted against the ECC. Then they left the meeting. But it was quite a...stormy process of getting this thing going because we had quite a few new people there who were interested in the ECC but weren't quite sure what it was all about. We were very worried that this would actually scare them away; that they would feel, we don't want to come into a form which is this type of violent confrontation and so on. But then we discussed it with those people afterwards and they felt well look, we handled it reasonably ; we gave them a chance to speak and so on and that they are quite willing to work along with it . And I think in a way it also shocked them into realising what we were up against and what sort of attitudes we had to counter/confront.

JF And what happened - did you have any trouble with those guys after that?

A No. We sent letters to the press and to the SRC and to the Rector of the University. And we got very rude replies from the SRC and the Rector; basically saying that they weren't interested in the ECC and had nothing to do with them and the students did that of their own free will and they were not going to take any action against them.

JF And what about any positive stories about going out finding some whites who wanted to get involved...was there a UDF area committee set up in P.E.?

A Ja.

JF And how was the process of that setting it up? Were there..is.. there is always the criticism of preaching to the converted 147

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JF and could you give me a story that was showing there was someone who wasn't already converted and actually came somewhere because of the situation; your involvement with them.

A Ja, I can tell you the one guy who is actually amazing: Barry. After we had had this million signature campaign/committee for some time going out trying to collect signatures from people at supermarkets and that sort of thing, we had a round the hole election campaign in August; we had a public meeting in Walner which was a big break through because it was the first time we really tried to establish any sort public presence in P.E. in the white areas for the UDF and it was very very successful.

We had Helen Josef down to speak and after that meeting we invited everyone who was interested in joining the area committee to come and sign up and we got about 15 people coming to sign up. A couple of them UPE students and so on. One guy who came to sign up was Barry who is a...he is much older than most of the people who got involved and he works on a small holding out in Kragekamer. He is not formally employed at all and he has never been involved politically in any way. He just got incredibly involved anyway.

He literally, he came to every meeting after that and incredibly dedicated and he'll just do everything; what is very interesting is that he is very nervous; he is quite a sort of defensive person and he really did not like this idea of going out into the white community- getting afraid that he would get beaten up and so on. But he actually..he was prepared to go out and collect signatures in the signature campaign.

We had a picket at..towards the end of the year when UDF meetings were banned and he was prepared to stand in the picket and on Mount Road, saying Dont ban democratic opposition. Despite the fact that people came past and swore at him and somebody tried to run him over with a motor bike and so on. But he was..he is still fairly involved.

JF What do you think moved him? Do you think he was someone who had feelings unfocused and you came along and gave a channel?

A Ja, I think it was partly that. I think it was also..quite a personal thing that he was looking for some group socially which could give him direction and give him something <sup>to do</sup> which was positive in his life which would give him some actions which would be meaningful 194

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A ..which he found and which he found very exciting.

JF This is another question I am asking everyone: Do you think this is at all useful to look at white resistance; to look at the phenomenon of whites in the resistance? Or would you say again the black leadership is most important; this is just a tiny section?

A I think it is very important because you look at a situation where the state relies almost entirely on its white support..on the support of the white population plus the Labour Party etc which are very small in proportion of the black community. And in a situation I can see where S.A. is going into civil war which is going to drag out for many years and probably for much longer than that Zimbabwean situation did. But to create that descent among the white community so that it is not actually giving the government the right to rule; that is actually trying to undermine that legitimacy of the state is very important.

And I mean I think you can see the..there is an incredible difference here, between here and Rhodesia, before independence where literally you had an almost homogenous white population there with very little voice of descent and they were prepared to just fight unquestioningly until the end; not actually knowing at any stage what was really happening; and what the black community thought and here it is different because we have got that room to move and to change peoples attitudes and to get them involved and actually align themselves with the people more broadly. Even if it is not a majority, I don't think it will ever be a majority of the white population, but it is already I think a significant section and could, as things become polarised, could be even more significant section of the white community.

JF What about a place like P.E. where the state seems so clearly threatened and able and willing to try to smash it? Do you really think you are going to keep going on and building and slowly building up the UDF area committee, the ECC..

A You see I don't think it is a question of formal structures...I mean quite honestly there is a possibility that the UDF will be banned - already our area committee is not functioning at the moment. We have channeled all our energy into the ECC precisely because there is a banning order on all UDF structures. They could easily ban the UDF; they could easily ban the ECC but we can always find some

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A other structure around which to mobilise people and I don't think that the fact that it..certain actual organisations are banned is going to stop people from being committed or get involved at some level.

I think also in P.E. given that it is a very heavy place, that people like Molly Blackburn play a very important role because they are.. have a lot of legitimacy, nationally. I mean they play a role in provincial council and how ever much the government <sup>doesn't</sup> like them they actually have to take them into account in some way, because they are working within the boundaries of the system. And people like that are on our side and are prepared to stand up for us and so on. So it makes it slightly more difficult for them to sort of crush us completely.

I think that's.. it is a sad fact but it is the same everywhere that whites have a measure of protection in political work which blacks don't have. It is very difficult for them to..like they have done with Hashe Ngolozzi, to pick us up and makes us disappear.

JF A few years ago there wouldn't have been any mention but now the government talks about the ANC and this kind of thing. Do you see the white population, just from your experience, slowly moving towards accepting and understanding that there already are black allegiances and that kind of thing? At even best or do you think that's just a long, long way? Do you think your ultimate goal is to prepare whites for a black lead majority rule government, lead by something that is far more radical than what exists inside the country, such as ANC or do you think shoo, that's just beyond, or do you have any evidence that whites are beginning to take the ANC seriously?

A Well, I think there is very little hope that we will ever move to a situation where whites on any significant scale will accept the ANC. But there is definitely an increasing realisation that the ANC is a force that has to be reckoned with precisely because it is quite obvious, even locally that it has mass support.

I mean one has funerals of 70 or 80 000 people with ANC flags and so on. People can't ignore that and I think in whites communities minds, although there's still an incredible fear of the ANC, I would say among the vast majority an outright rejection of its policies and programmes and so on, but that there is an increasing recognition of its existence, if the fact that it's not going to be destroyed by the government and the fact that it's going to have to be negotiated with at some stage.

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A I think that the majority of the white population would like to see a Lancaster House sort of situation where the ANC sits down and puts down its arms and kind of comes into some sort of what they would see as a reasonable negotiation. But..and there is a small group who I think will..are increasingly becoming aware that the ANC, because it has got the support of so many people here, that they actually should support and have to actually look at it and how they can in some way align themselves with what it represents.

JF Do you look back historically and see parallels between the kind of white organisations now and the white organisation of the 50s? The Congress of Democrats and that kind of thing?

A I think..ja. I think there are parallels to some extent but now in a sense I don't know maybe it is a bit arrogant to say that, in a sense now we almost asking more of people. I think that was at a stage when/where that form of opposition was...it was pioneered really by the Congress Alliance and it was still legitimate before the ANC was banned but they knew the terrain on which they were working and they were..they had a fairly ... they were able to build democratic organisation much more openly in a sense than we are now. And I think in..well since say '79/'80 we've been gradually rebuilding a sort of public legitimate legal opposition to the government, which I am sure they are not going to let happen indefinitely, in the same way that they did in the '50s.

But I don't know, I think before the actual state of emergency, in 1960 that in a sense people were confident about the space they had for organising etc. whereas now we are..to some extent in the dark. We never know exactly what the state is going to do and how it is responding and how far we can go and what the bounds of legality are and so on. I mean you hear all the time the government is saying the UF is a front for the ANC etc. sort of indications that they don't think it can go on forever.

So I am not sure..I mean there are definite parallels in terms of the people that we are trying to reach: we are trying to reach quite a broad group of whites who on principle are opposed to apartheid and that is the sort of baseline of what we are doing and we are organising in a non racial way, in that same way that they did then.

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A I think that the other similarity is that the same way that the Congress of Democrats was actually..it was a white opposition grouping but we structurally part of the UDF, that organisations like JOAC and P.E. area committee etc. are actually seeing that the white community itself must be organised as a separate group because they are different..they do belong to a different..to the ruling class essentially and it requires a different strategy to other organisations. So we can't form huge non racial organisations which everybody is a member. We have to adopt different tactics etc for organising the white community.

JF I am sorry but maybe you have said it but I could clarify. Are you ..do you say you feel more confident than the 50s or do you figure that it was smashed then and it can be smashed now? Or do you feel that it would be easier to rebuild and they can ban it and there is still enough, there is more grass roots support or something?

A Ja..I mean quite honestly we haven't seen the level of repression that there was in the early 60s here. I have no experience of that. And the level of repression there was .. there were literally 1000s of people detained at once and all organisations were banned etc. I mean we haven't experienced that. That could happen again..we are not...I think it is more difficult now because of the whole..the importance that S..A. has assumed internationally and the concern of the West about the direction that S.A. is going in etc. that the government is trying to maintain a very, very delicate balance of control on the one hand and trying to placate the West and trying to maintain its relations on the other hand. And it is not managing that quite honestly. It's not handling that situation.

JF And do you see yourselves getting to the point where you will be able to counter act the SABC and growing fears that are being stoked about these white ladies being killed, babies, rocks the whole thing? Do you see that as a challenge, especially in a place like P.E.?

A Ja, it is a challenge but it is a very difficult one in terms of the majority of the white population. For eg. we don't have any access to the Afrikaans papers; the English newspapers there is a very limited extent to which we can get sympathetic coverage.



JF Do you reach Afrikaners at all?

A Ja, interestingly enough from student populations, from UPE we 367



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A have got quite a few Afrikaans students involved. But I think it is because they are at university and they are possibly more liberally minded and they are not defending their own positions.

JF When were you born?

A 1961

JF ...Stone Sizani, Publicity Secretary; Henry Fazzie, Vice President of UDF, right. Eastern Cape and Stone Sizani is Publicity Secretary of E. Cape UDF. Edgar Ngoyi, President Eastern Cape Region UDF. ok. ( ) Ok. That's Mkhuseleli Jack (Ja) and he is President of P.E. Youth Congress. And when was that formed?

A '82 I think.

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