

J.F. O.K. - let me ask you if you can tell me your background and then maybe if we have time what we can do is take up a bit more on a theoretical level - just - I think what you've just opened up is really interesting but we can come back to that - so can you jst tell me your name and where you're from and when you were born? (Tape off - microphone change)

SACKY Ja - my name is Sacky - Sacky Madi.

J.F. Sacky -

SACKY Sacky Madi.

J.F. Madi - M-a-d-i?

SACKY Yes.

J.F. And how are you spelling Sacky.

SACKY S-a-c-k-y.

J.F. O.K.

SACKY Well, I was born in Pimville in Johannesburg (140) that is about 29 years ago, and well, my father was a priest, while my mother was just a housewife, but she used to assist my father in his work sometimes. (There's a hell of a lot of background noise, so not sure if I'll get it exactly word for word)

J.F. Was he an Anglican priest (Repeat)

SACKY Yes - and (Sounds like something Louis 147) staying in P - ville - that's a - one of the oldest townships in Johannesburg, but it's no longer there - they demolished it. *That's why

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- SACKY *That's where the (.....) Club spread (?) today, ja. Well, one thing I remember about the place I used to stay is that not far from Pimville, the old location, there were some few - two or three houses - I don't remember - owned by whites, and next to those houses there was a rivulet where we used to go and play, and I think my first contact with whites - it was when I was still (.***.....157) because we used to go to play next to that river, and really my first experience was a bitter one because every time you go there the white kids little bit older than us they used to come and chase us with, you know, pellet guns - **very young
- They call it pellet gun - pellet gun for birds, so that's - that was my first contact with the whites, and then when we(163) are hoping that (?) - I attended school in Kliptown (?) (164)...
- J.F. I'm just wondering if this is going to get more and more noisy - (I hope not - it's bad enough now!) (Tape Off) - try to talk a little bit louder (166)
- SACKY Ja, I'll try and talk a little bit louder.
- J.F. O.K., you're talking about the pellet guns - you had finished with the pellet guns - the guns of those boys you were talking about.
- SACKY Ja -*so there are a Coloured school (169) the nearby Coloured townships - it was a missionary school and of course there were no - there were no primary schools in Penville by then, so we used to attend school in a nearby Coloured township, Kliptown. *So there I attended school (I think)
- J.F. Kliptown?
- SACKY Ja - it was run by some Anglicans - it was a missionary school, and on, I think it was in 1960 or '61 - I was still very young - I think I was maybe about four years old, but I remember it was during the state of emergency, because, you know, by then Penville was among the most crowded African areas, so during the state of emergency there were tanks - I only came to know about them when I'm old that they were tanks and what, but we are ordered (by) our parents to help them to hide axes, knives in the yards -
- You know, they used to dig some holes and put the - all weapons - even table knives and so on, and that was the first time I saw I mean the armed might of the regime, because by then, you know, Penville it's a very dusty and muddy place and the tanks, you know, were just moving around the streets of Penville with armed white soldiers and black soldiers marching -
- And a few years later - that was in 19 - around 1965/'64 we were moved from Penville to the new Soweto - that's where we stayed, and I continued at my school in Johannesburg (196)
- J.F. What were you saying about hiding knives - I'm.....
- SACKY That was - I only came to know later that - that was during the state of emergency when, you know, every weapon was being hidden, so we're still kids but we're*aksed to carry knives and axes to go and hide them because there was some house to house search by the army, so we were hiding everything - *asked!

- SACKY we are helping our parents to hide anything which looked like a weapon.
- J.F. So this would have been just stuff they had in the house - it wasn't part of a politically directed weaponry - it was just that if you had knives in your house you'd better get them out?
- SACKY Ja, I think - I think our parents were just scared, you know, because they were told that there was going to be a house to house search, so they were hiding everything which might look like a weapon to the police and the army.
- So I said we moved from Penville, but one other thing with Penville is that it was not a tribal - tribal location, you know, but we were moved to Soweto and Soweto's divided into tribal sections, so we moved to go and stay in Soweto and I continued at my school high (215) up to....
- J.F. Which section were you moved to?
- SACKY To Meadowlands.
- J.F. With people who spoke Zulu....
- SACKY No, with people who spoke Tsonga.
- J.F. Tsonga?
- SACKY Yes - that was/part of Zulu Six (219) in Meadowlands. So - well, I - Correction : So, while I attended my secondary and high school in Skanantown (222) - it's a little bit far from Meadowlands - it's now one (222) /in
- But during the course of my studies around the - when I was doing Form Three I left school - well, I was no longer interested in schooling. I left school while I was still young, and then I - I thought I would find a work - work, and I had some friends who were working with the Express Lift - it's a lift company like Shindler - but I worked there for,*what, four months, you know, but what was interesting there I - I'm -
*about
- Among the people I was working with there was one/white*girl called - well, his name was Freedman - Freedman - we became very close friends, to an extent that he used to take me home in his car, you know, and after my experience with young white boys, you know, I found that I've met a different person, you know.
/young *guy!
- I mean I was not interested in politics by then - he was not also a politician - it's just, you know, we're relating as human beings, but he used to discuss with me about racial discrimination in South Africa because he used to tell us, you know, that he likes, you know, (to) stay with blacks. (246)
- That's why at week-ends he used to come to my home and he knew that it was a risk, but he always took that risk coming to visit us there, because he said he wish, if we stay in Soweto - the blacks - he likes the way blacks live and so on.
- But that guy, really I can say, at the same time introduced me to some political ideas of - I started by then thinking about the - I mean the racial discrimination, not necessarily from a

SACKY

.... serious political point of view, you know, but because of his influence that why can't we live together, because by living with that man for some times, you know - because after three months I stopped working there because my father forced me to go back to school, but I maintained my friendship with Freedman until even 1976 -

But I'm saying he introduced me into some form of politics, because every time he was with me, you know, he discussed about this racial discrimination he's told me (266) - how can we bring it to an end so that we can live as human beings, because he as a white man didn't see any difference between himself and - I mean other people.

So I went back to school, and in 1974 - no, not '74 - during the pro Frelimo rally - during the pro Frelimo rally - that was in 1974 - I was at high school, and my brother was by then studying Terfloeb, and I think he was involved in the organisations of the rally to commemorate Frelimo's victory..

J.F.

In Durban?

SACKY

No - in - he was studying in the local Transvaal - in Terfloeb, yes - but during that time he was at home in Johannesburg, so the police were looking for him for his participation in the pro Frelimo rally, but they didn't find him, so as a result they took me - well, it was a - well, they had nothing against me, but it was a means - they were trying some means to get him, you see.

They told my parents that if he doesn't come back then they were going to lock me up indefinitely, but after some times I was - I was released, but funny enough when I went back to school, you know - at school they told me that they - I didn't continue schooling because I was involved in a political - political case, but that thing was like we'd (301) - and then they terminated my attendance at school until the following year when I went back.

Well, during that period it happens that our English lecturer at high school was Curtis Mkongla (305) - Curtis Nkondo - and he had arranged in such a way that...

J.F.

He was teaching at a Soweto school then?

SACKY

Ja, in Meadowlands - he had arranged that during history lessons - history, English and biology he was joining - he was studying in *Lilasia in an Indian school because they had better facilities..... *Lilasia (312)

J.F.

So you went out there?

SACKY

Yes - so every once a week - once or twice a week we used to travel by the school bus from that Indian high school. We used to travel from Soweto to Lenasia. That process took about six months - six months we were studying there - every week we used to visit the Indian school there, share ideas -

And Now it happened that the type of history they were teaching - I mean they were - their approach to history was not the same approach that was used in our school, you know. Those Indian teachers their approach to history was more or less the same approach which we find in A.N.C./B.C.

J.F. In what?

SACKY In - when they teach history in the A.N.C. you find that it's similar to that history which was taught in that school, you know.

J.F. Which school.....

SACKY The Indian school in Lilesia - I don't remember the name, but they were teaching us - they were interpreting history not according to the syllabus in our school, you know - I mean when it comes to the arrival of Jan van Rebeck they'd say then - what they used to say the seven kaffir wars, we were given a different interpretation from what our teachers used to tell us, but after six months we were stopped -

I think the government want Curtis Nkondo to stop taking us to that school, and during that period I think it's where most of us developed an interest in nationalist politics, you know, because we were even told about Mandela - even Braam Fisher* and Adam (350) thoroughly doing South African nationalists including whites, and we were being encouraged in that school that during week-ends we should visit our Indian friends whom we are studying with in that school, so we used to have friends/Lilesia. /in

During week-ends they used to come and collect us and we used to go and visit them, and most of them, I can say, were from families with a good political background, because every time, you know, even their parents used to tell us about the - I mean the need for humaninity, you know.

Well, not as a nation, but then they were telling us - us (as 365) students the need for humanity so that you can achieve I mean more of less the same type of education, you see, so they were encouraging us to have this contact with their Indian children.

J.F. Who were encouraging - the teachers?

SACKY The parents.

*And other - other leading South African nationalists including whites,..... - not and Adam thoroughly doing South African nationalists including whites (That's what it sounded like first time!)

J.F. The parents of....

SACKY The parents.

J.F. the Indian ones - and even - this whole set-up was - did you keep quiet about it, or did you kind of know that you shouldn't let it get too public or the bantu education authorities would put an end to it, or did you - did you speak freely about it to people?

SACKY No, you know, when we first started going to that school we were not told whether to keep it as a secret or what. We were just told that now we'll be taken to an Indian school -

SACKY they've got better facilities for biology and.....

END OF SIDE ONE.

SACKY were just taken there like that.

J.F. Was Curtis the principal of the school or was he just a teacher?

SACKY Who?

J.F. Curtis Nkondo.

SACKY No, he was not the principal.

J.F. Just a teacher?

SACKY Ja.

J.F. And he could do that whole thing?

SACKY You know, one other thing at that school we - there was.....

J.F. Let me just stop you - changing chairs etc.

SACKY You know we had you know this religious - religious education was compulsory in our high school, but the man who was teaching us that subject was a white man - the younger brother to Alan Paton (428) - I forgot his first name....

J.F. To Alan Paton?

SACKY Yes - the brother - it's also a reverend - so in his teachings - in his teachings I mean even the principal, everybody was aware that I mean in his teachings he was somehow - I can say he was somehow not in favour of apartheid, because I mean he was also (433) a white man by then, when he was preaching to us I mean that - I mean all people are equal in the eyes of God.

And he was even telling us that I mean the apartheid system is evil. For example, he was telling us that the bible says I mean those who are suffering on earth will enjoy the everlasting life in Heaven, but he was telling us to struggle in this earth because there's no other Heaven.

We must struggle for our equality in this earth, you see. So in our school we had not only boers (440) - we had even other lecturers, you know. They were somehow politically good, you know, and it was - I mean they were not suppressed, you know, and it happened that Tom Mantata (443) - Tom Mantata was our mathematics teacher and was also the chairman of the SCM - Student Christian Movement, and was also a leading figure in the B.C. movement, but really I was not participating in the B.C. politics, you know, but now it happened that he himself and

SACKY other teachers were also involved in B.C. - B.C. movement, and we used to know that he was, at some stage, detained, and when he was released he came back to school, and we were aware that he's - by then we thought he was really serious fighting/ the government, so that thing used to encourage us, you know, but the only forum - the only forum where politics was discussed was during the SCM meetings, whereby we had people like Ishmail Mukaveli - he's in AZAPO now - we had Lybona Mabaso, we had George ~~Wankhane~~ and several others, you know - they were our seniors. /against.

But during the - these Christian Movement meetings, you know, a lot of B.C politics was discussed. So I was saying, in our school at least - at least politics was somehow discussed but in different angles.

J.F. What year was this that you went to the Indian school?

SACKY That was '75 - '75, ja, if I'm not mistaken.

J.F. And this was a government school, right - it wasn't a private school?

SACKY No, it's - I think it's a private school - it's a.....

J.F. Oh, the one you went to - but your Meadowlands school was a government school?

SACKY Yes, it's a government school.

J.F. And when they first suggested it did you - had you had any contact with Indian people before?

SACKY Nnnno - no, no.

J.F. Did you have any views of prejudices about Indians or did you know anything about them?

SACKY No - oh, well, you know, generally, you know - generally I myself and some other, we used to hate them, you know - we used to hate Indians I mean because we thought not that they were exploiters, but we thought they're - you know, they are trying to put themselves in the same position as the whites, you know, and as a result we'd see that, in the trains, you know, saw (472) to and from Soweto - sometimes we find Indians, you know, we are sharing the same coaches, and found that I mean*their attitudes of the people - *the attitude of the people

I can say that my experience was - was influenced by the attitude of the people when I grew up, you know. I mean they (we 476) would chase some Indians out from the train, you know....

J.F. The blacks that....

SACKY Ja, the blacks, you know, because I mean there are very few Indians who are using public transport, you see, but I had a very negative attitude, you know.

J.F. So when Curtis came up with this idea for you to go there how did you feel - did you think it was a good idea?

SACKY Well, it didn't come to my mind whether it was good or not, you know, because the first time we thought we were just going

SACKY to be given the facilities, you know. We didn't know that we were going to share same class with Indians, but after the first day, you know, I mean it was for the first time we made friends - Indians, you know - person to person, you know - because we were - when we arrived there we were told that now before we start our classes this black classroom (486) these are your classmates so better start making friends and you - you grabbed one and you start making friends, you know.

And after our first encounter with them really my view didn't change so much, you know. I still looked at them, you know, as Indians, you know, bad people, but after I'd paid a visit to one of them in his home, you know, I'd found out (I had to find out 493) even the parents, you know - the parents were - they were too, you know - they accepted us like their children, you know - they treated us like their children - ja, child, and everything was nice, and from that time I developed that - you know, I started understanding and that, you know, and Indians are not bad people as Indians, you know, and it's where I started seeing that I mean it's just because of maybe our not having opportunities to meet, you know, or to stay together, you see, but I felt that after meeting them and discussing with them I felt that they were I mean as human as I am.

J.F. And so what had happened at the end of it - then it ended after six months - this going to the Indian school?

SACKY Ja, it - it ended after six months from government directive. I think the government was aware about maybe the activities in that school - I am not sure because we were not told, but it was announced that we are no longer going to join our Indian friends in their school because the government has stopped us.

J.F. And were you cross about it - were you angry that it had been stopped - how did people feel when it ended?

SACKY Well, from their account - their nett (511) point of view - were really very bitter about it because, first, academically we were really.....

J.F.worried about this noise...

SACKY Academically we were developing very fast, you know, because you know, we were taught from I mean they had audio-visual equipment, you know, in our studying, whether it's biology or what, you know, unlike in our schools whereby the teacher left you struggling, drawing and what (519) you see.

So we were very bitter about the whole thing, and at the same time we started realising that maybe it's not a question of academic but the government is not interested in seeing two people - people of two racial groups, you know, I mean coming together, you know, in a educational institution, see, so really we tried to ask the - Curtis more especially as to whether can't he make other arrangements, but he told us that it might be dangerous because they warned himself and the principal of the school that we must stop going to that school, but we - well, with our - we continued visiting our friends, you see (531)

J.F. So by then you had made friends and you continued that.

SACKY Ja - many friends.

J.F. And had you gotten any more politically active by then - did meeting Indian people do anything to you politically - did it make you to be more politically clear or more politically active at all?

SACKY Nnnnot exactly - not exactly, but you know, in 1976 - in 1976 I mean I was very much involved in the period just before the June 16 uprisings when it was planned - when the march was planned, and how was it to take shape and so on.

Well, I - by then I was somehow active - not really, but I was active during that period, for the demonstrations, you know, and well, - after June 16, you know we had a problem - a problem as to now we were moving to John Vorster Square, and you know, when - before we reached New Canada - New Canada, there is a Coloured township, you know, and we passed there, you know, but there were no Coloured students - (..... inaudible, but she says something 549) and on - after we were frustrated by the police, who stopped us at New Canada, well, people, you know, they had to go back and start attacking the Coloured residential area, you know, that -

I mean the point was that they are not participating, you know, and we are just next to - next to - next to their location, but they are not participating, and they are not helping a student who have been teargassed and so on, you know.

And during that time now when we had the problem with the Coloured students, it came to my mind that they - I've got some Indian friends, you know - what about visiting them, trying (to) talk (to) them about this ongoing uprising, you know, because it was planned that in the next march if they don't participate, you know, students from Soweto should move and attack the Indian township there because we were doing - they dying - they were continue with their normal business, you see.

J.F. What month was this - still June?

SACKY Nnnno - no, no, around August - that was after August the 4th - the march to John Vorster Square was August 4, you know.

J.F. Which year?

SACKY '76 - which was broken at New Canada - this address by Winnie Mandela - when Winnie Mandela came to plead it was to go back with Dr. Motlana - ja, that was August 4 - so that was during that period. I - well, I informed some of my colleagues, you know, in the student movement - the SSRC, and it happened that the - we went, some of them, to visit my friends just to get their opinion, you know - we went visiting them from house to house doors, you know, to get their opinion about the - this struggle against Afrikaans because I mean our demands were just ending the struggle against Afrikaans, and really most of those we met really were sympathetic, you know.

And as a result, after some times they did mobilise Indian students to take part in the - I mean a sign of solidarity with *them, you know, African students, but really there was very (585) positive in their response. *the

J.F. And the way you were describing the gulf between yourself and Indian people, and the prejudices that existed before your experience - did you also have negative views about Coloured people - the stuff you said about (.....588) feeling they should have gotten involved - did you have no contact with those people (.....590) - the Coloureds in general?

SACKY Ja, you know - well, with Indians - you know, with Indians - our contacts with Indians were very limited - I mean until I was introduced to that school, but with Coloureds - we had day to day contact with Coloureds - I mean in Soweto, for example, there were a lot of Coloureds, you know, and even some Coloured locations, well, ja, a little bit outside Soweto.

Nordgesig But the Coloured people are more close up to the Africans than the Indians, and as a result find out the - as I was telling you when I was still young I was studying in the Coloured - Coloured township and now, you know, what made people angry about the Coloureds was that I mean we are sharing almost everything, you know, and for example, I was telling you that Nort Reserve (605) - it's Nort Reserve and then it's Orlando (605) they are just - it's just like one location.

But things started happening in Orlando. They were just there but they were not participating, you know.

J.F. But when you told me about that you said that they made plans to go attack the Indian areas, but didn't you - after you were so angry that they hadn't responded you didn't make a plan to attack Coloured areas?

SACKY No, I was - before I told you that the Coloured area - you know Coloureds were attacked August...

J.F. Oh, they were attacked - you did - I see.

SACKY Because that march ended up just next to Coloured township - march to John Vorster Square, which was stopped by the police, and the - they called even community leaders like Winnie Mandela to talk to students to go back home, but when going back home the students decided to attack the nearest Coloured township because they were not participating in the demonstrations.

J.F. And did you do that also - were you participating in that?

SACKY Ja, well, I was part of the whole crowd.

J.F. And so after the Coloured township was attacked, so then the next plan was to attack the Indians if they don't do it - is that how it - if they don't join in and support?

SACKY Ja, you know, it was decided that since I mean the - we were - I mean*I was struggling - basically*I was struggling was against the whites, you know. Now we thought after our June 16 experience we thought if the Indians - if the Indians I mean don't show any act of solidarity it means they are our enemy, and what prompted the people to decide on attacking maybe Indian or Coloured it's not - they are not far from us, so that's the only place where, you know, take our anger to the nearest place, you see, because I mean all our attempts to reach the city were just suppressed. *our struggle

J.F. So then after you did the house to house visits in the Indian - in Linasia, did they in fact join you or what happened - did

J.F. they not get attacked?

SACKY No, they didn't join us in the march, but after some months, you know, they were - you know, those we met, you know, were not really prominent students I mean politically, but they told us that they can influence the people like the prefect or what, or people whom they think are politically O.K. - they can influence them so that they organise a march of solidarity, and ultimately they did that.

In fact, they started boycott of classes which took months and months, you know. They had now even their own demands, the students (647)

J.F. And - I'm getting awfully confused with your chronology (649) - you were - when you were detained that second time and they threatened to keep you and they threatened your parents - that was what year - that was '75 still?

SACKY '74 - just after the Frelimo.

J.F. But you kind of say you're not political - did those two detentions - did they politicise you at all?

SACKY Nnnno, no - you know, the first one was - was not - you know when I was arrested for maybe petty criminal offences, you know, and the second one really it - it did not, you know - it was a political arrest, but it didn't influence me I mean so much, but it just enlightened me that - about this Frelimo event that I mean my brother used to tell me, you know, that I mean the people of Mozambique are fighting for independence - you know, they've taken up arms and so on, you know.

But it - that thing only showed me that I mean the events in Mozambique, you know, were not in the interest of the South African regime, but it - it didn't politicise me because I mean I was not even interrogated - they just asked me to tell them the truth if - to give them possible places where my brother can be found.

J.F. And did you answer them - did you answer them about your brother?

SACKY Yes - I told them if he's not in this place you can find him at - I mean I was afraid, you know.

J.F. And then they released you and that was it?

SACKY They released me before then - even arrest him (They released me before they even arrest him 677)

J.F. And was he then arrested?

SACKY Ja, he was arrested.

J.F. And what happened to him?

SACKY He was detained for some few months and released.

J.F. And then all of your '76 experience were you - you weren't a member of the SRC or the - any of the student groups?

SACKY Ja, I was a member of the SSRC.

J.F. So in fact by then you had become politicised by '76, would you say?

SACKY I, you know - I can't say really politicised, you know, I was just react(ing) - you know, by then most of us were just reacting, you know, to events, you know. I mean the Afrikaans issue, you know, I mean was - we took it very serious, you know, although by then, you know - by then it was not affecting us by then - it was affecting a student from Form One up to Form Three.

It was not affecting us, you know, but since these kids, you know, from Form One to Form Three are affected, and they had initially they had, you know - they staged a protest - not a march as such (698) - a class boycott before June '76.

And then I mean the -they were ignored, you know. The parents were involved for some time - that's before the whole thing happened - the parent(s) tried to discuss the matter with the then department of bantu education - the representative of the department of bantu education, but it was fruitless until - well, I can say there were some influence from, you know, all the political activists, you know, as to how the struggle should be waged against Afrikaans, you see -

Because I remember we once met one guy (who) was old - I think (he) was participating in politics in the late '50's/early '60's you know, and just before the June 16 uprisings, you know, he was discussed with us about this Afrikaans issue, you know -

Well, he was just telling us that I mean this thing - as students, you know, we should mobilise the student community (721) you know, to fight against this thing, so - so that when it was planned, you know, we had even some advices from experienced people, you know, in the - these protest marches.

J.F. So did you seek out people like that - did you specifically seek out people like that - did you try to find those old A.N.C. people or did they find you?

SACKY No, no, we didn't, you know - we didn't. I think they found us, because the one I'm referring to, you know, I mean we didn't go to him for advice, you know, but we were just talking, you know, in his presence about this Afrikaans issue, and he came up with, you know, very constructive suggestions, you know, and I'm sure even during the whole affair, you know, older people were there to advise us.

They might not have been A.N.C. people but people who had an experience, you know - people who have, at one stage or the other, confronted the regime, you know, in such protests.

J.F. So you didn't meet people who you knew to be A.N.C. people who'd been on the Island like Joe Qabi or someone who - people who were actually known A.N.C. people that - at that stage?

SACKY Nnnn, no, no - you know, I for one I met one old woman. you know, when we grew up eh, when we grew up, but by that time I was a little bit old - I was already staying in Soweto you know - there was a house, you know - a house - that woman I only

SACKY came to find out later that she was banned - you know, she was under house arrest, you know, but when we grew up the story was that she's a witch. You know, we grew up, you know, parents to stop their kids from going next to her house, you know.

The story was just that she's a witch, you know, that's why she's staying alone, you know, but later, during the June 16 uprisings, all day there was a march and she - she came out - she came out we're moving towards Alka Stadium (769) and apparently people, you know, had already found out who she was, you know - even those who were afraid to talk they used the events of June 16, you know, to say something about her, you know.

Because by then if maybe you are going to tell someone that, no, she's a congress woman - she's under house arrest - she's banned, you know, that thing might put you in trouble with the police.

So during the uprisings she broke the banning order, you know, and she address one of the meetings, you know - she was just talking about I mean the oppression, you know - about the oppression, and after that we knew that, oh, she's congress, but we didn't know whether pan Africanist congress or African National Congress because they were saying that she's an old congress activist, but all along we grew up knowing that she's a witch - that's why she stays (.....790) you see.

J.F. So it was only when she herself decided to address the meeting that you began to hear what she really was about - it was she who said she wanted to or did some people ask her to address the meeting?

SACKY No, I'm not sure, but I think people had asked her, because I think people were starting to talk about her, you know, because they were no longer afraid because the whole thing had already exploded, so really people felt very safe to mention her, no, if you are involved in these politics just go and ask that woman - she knows politics, you see, that - the kind of township politics, you know, old ladies will tell you, or you are involved in this thing which Mandela was doing - just go and ask that woman - she was involved with Mandela.

You see, it's when we started knowing even A.N.C. stalwarts, you know, after - during the events of June 16 we can know people who have partic(ipated).....

END OF TAPE.

J.F. it was only through the events of June 16th. that the whole issue of whose been involved in congress (002) politics actually came out - does that mean that before when you knew this guy Freedman, or before when your brother was arrested you had never heard of the A.N.C.?

SACKY No, I - I heard about the A.N.C.

J.F. Where did you hear - from your parents - were your parents - would they be or was it from friends or...

SACKY Well, my father sometimes did mention - he was not really a politician but he used to talk, you know, relating stories, you know, about Nelson Mandela, Congress movement - you know, he used to tell us - he was not telling us in the form of maybe trying to politicise us, you know.

He used to tell us, for example, when my brother was arrested, you know, my father used to tell us that the - I mean tell us about previous stories - Mandela arrested - the treason trial and so on, you know.

Well, I mean before that I knew of Mandela, you know. I knew about Mandela before knowing about the A.N.C. because, you know, there were even people, you know, some Mozambicans who were owning some shops, you know, and there are some (who) are illiterate, you know -

There are some who are illiterate but they talk about Mandela - they see you coming back from school with big books, you know - they'll tell - they'll ask you : What Form are you doing - you say : O.K. I'm doing Form Four - (they) say : What do you learn - you tell them - they say you don't know anything - do you know Amilkar Cabral (018) you know -

They'll ask you such questions : Do you know Nelson Mandela, you see, because - well, I think during the Frelimo struggle some of them were in Mozambique - they ran away to South Africa as refugees, but now they use, you know, to want to see South African students, you know.

They were aware that the type of education which we are being taught is not the right education, so always they used to tell us that : You think you are educated but you don't know Amilkar Cabral - you don't know Nelson Mandela - what education are you studying, you see, so those are I mean -

Those are some of the people, you know, who made us to be aware, and one doctor who was in the A.N.C. - there's a doctor (who) was in the A.N.C., but I think after the banning of the A.N.C. he just left politics, but he used to tell us - he used to tell us about Nelson Mandela - about his participation (in) A.N.C. politics.

And then - well, we used to ask him : And then why - what happened to the A.N.C.? Well, he used to tell us : No, they ran away - they're in exile - they're no longer here - they ran away - Mandela was arrested, and most of them ran away, you see.

J.F. So you weren't knowing that there was any kind of M.K. or any armed struggle?

SACKY Nnnnnn - I know a little bit, you know (037) because I mean even that propaganda, you know - propaganda of the boers - you know, some of it has got two effects, you know - two side effects. I remember very well we - in 1967 - 1967 - I think it was when the A.N.C. military were - fought in the then Rhodesia - in Zimbabwe - trying to cross into South Africa, and on I mean

SACKY the newspapers they were talking about terrorists, you know - terrorists, and I think one mistake which they were committing was that they were revealing that those people - those terrorists are South Africans who ran away from South Africa, you see.

And during the same period, you know, we visited the National Museum in Pretoria because we were still - we visited the National Museum in Pretoria, you know, and then they were showing us I mean different thing, and lastly they were filling some forms, you know - they were asking us : If you want to be a soldier to defend South Africa against the terrorists, you see (051)

So most of us filled those forms that when we grew up we are going to join the South African Defence Force to fight against the terrorists, you see, so - but now I mean now I realise that it was part of their propaganda campaign, and during that visit they are telling us about terrorists - terrorists -

They even telling us about Mandela - that he organised some terrorists - they are outside the country - they want to come back, and they kill children - something like that, so although I mean those things were not politicising me, but I had general knowledge about what's happening, so well, '76 really when I became a participant.

I had a view - I was even aware that there is the A.N.C, which is launching an armed struggle - how and from where I was not sure. That's why before I left South Africa - I left South Africa late '76. I left South Africa with A.N.C. people I had already had I mean serious contacts with people of the A.N.C. whilst I was still in South Africa.

So when I left South Africa I was travelling with people who introduced me to the A.N.C. at home.

J.F. Once you left?

SACKY Yes.

J.F. So it was really once you left - it was really once you left that you got introduced to the concept of the A.N.C. as you now know it to be?

SACKY No, I'm saying - I mean I was introduced to the A.N.C.*while I was inside the country - before I left the country. So when I came to exile I came as an A.N.C. as I had already stayed with A.N.C. people inside the country who told me about what the A.N.C. stands for in South Africa (and so on 072) *whilst.

J.F. So let me take it back to '76 when you were active with the issue of Afrikaans and stuff - was it, to you, solely the issue of Afrikaans - it had nothing to do with the South African state or ever any kind of idea of an armed struggle against it - at the stage of '76 were you purely just upset about the issue of Afrikaans, that's it?

SACKY You know, maybe first few days, you know - I mean we are addressing ourselves to the issue of Afrikaans, but in the demands of the students the most basic was the abolishing of the whole apartheid education system, you see, and as days went by, you know, and meeting people, you know, with more experience and so

SACKY

.... on - I mean I together with my friends we developed from the issue of Afrikaans, the issue of education, to *some broader issues, because now we are confronted with the first day most of our colleagues were detained so among our demands now was to call for the release of the detainees, you see. *somehow (086)

Another demand now was that the removal of I mean soldiers who are now patrolling in the schools and so on, so as I was saying, veteran politicians were already there even to advise us, so we ended up seeing the whole thing being I mean the struggle for - I mean for - for power, you know (094)

I mean we were - we were introduced to concepts like I mean the end I mean of bantu education can only come about when the whole apartheid system is finished, so we were already by - in few days after the June 16 event we were already aware that now our demands should be I mean the end of the whole system, you see.

But we were - well, there was still that thing - that I mean Africa for Africans. Well, basically I mean by then B.C. was playing, we can say, a leading role because they were - I mean they were propagating things like I mean, for example, live in (105) Azania - I mean it became so popular - became very much popular during '76 - that Azania - South Africa is Azania - it's the land of the black man, you know -

Slogans like drag the white man into the sea, you know - but they were showing that now it was/question of power, you know - well, I mean the way we want that - to be seize power, driving the white man into the sea or what, but it shows that it was not only a question of Afrikaans and education - it was a question of power. /a

J.F. So when did you actually leave?

SACKY I left South Africa sometimes (115) the beginning of November, '76.

J.F. '76 - so during the course of the year '76 was - you just said you came to grips with the concept of power - did it go - O.K., maybe I should step back and ask some other things - let me just ask the non racialism thing - when you weren't getting exposed to A.N.C. point of view did the issue of non racialism ever get touched on - did your experience with the Coloureds and Indians, did you ever have a person who was giving you an A.N.C. insight - say to you : But we actually work with these people - or did anyone ever - were there ever any debates that came up about it?

SACKY Ja - you know, really with me about this question of non racialism, well, first there's my personal experience - personal experience, you know - as I have told you about my friend Freedman and Father Paton and the Indians, you know - you know, really for me - you know, even before really I was exposed to politics, you know, I had a - I think I had a different view, you know, because I met a white man whom I have shared, you know, experiences with a white, you know.

I stayed with that guy, you know, we were sharing almost everything - he was my friend, and really I felt, you know, while this question, you know, of black/white when the person who introduced me to the A.N.C. was telling me,

SACKY

.... I mean about a policy of the A.N.C. really it - it - it didn't matter - to me it didn't matter or - what origin a person was - what colour - it didn't matter/by then I had thought even the Rev - Father Paton had, as far as I was concerned we were partners - someone not revolutionary but someone, you know, who - maybe a liberal - a liberal, so to say, but someone who accepts that, you know, all people are equal before the eyes of God. /because

So he even shared my I mean outlook - outlook I mean concerning racial groups, and my short experience with my Indian friends also showed me that I mean the question of colour really doesn't count, you see.

So it was easy for me to accept the ideas as contained in the A.N.C. document - I think it was somehow easy.

J.F.

Did you - I can see what you're saying, that it wasn't like a hurdle the way if someone had come through B.C., but at the same time was it just totally natural or was there ever any feeling that your previous non racial feelings fit into - integrated into a theory - a revolutionary theory, or did that not happen while you were still in - in '76?

SACKY

No, I think what I learned from*there A.N.C. I mean was that I mean my experience maybe I mean only made me to grasp easily the revolutionary concept of non racialism, because by then it was a question of meeting some individuals who are not racist, but I think within the A.N.C. I learned one thing - that this should be a concept in the revolution - non racialism, you know, because one other thing was that I mean not only seeing a whi(te) - a good white man or woman, you know, but in the A.N.C. I've discovered that I mean - ~~the~~*the

I learned about Braam Fisher, for example.

J.F.

Braam Fisher?

SACKY

Yes.

J.F.

When did you hear of him first - when you were still in the country or outside.

SACKY

You know, with Braam Fisher, I didn't know much about him, but I heard of him in the Indian school where I was studying, you know, when they were teaching history he once mentioned names like Braam Fisher, Mandela and so on, you know, because I think that school - that school, you know, I think it was - it was the continuation of the school which was, you know, abolished, which was in Vorsbank (177) run by the A.N.C. whereby it was a multiracial - it was supposed to - it was a private - it's a private school.

J.F.

From the '50's?

SACKY

Ja, because there was the school, you know, when the Indians, you know, were staying in Vorsbank, they had a school where - ~~Dumane Okai~~ was once there - many people were there...
Duma Nokwe

J.F.

Who was?

SACKY

~~Dumane Okai~~ - they once taught the, you know.....
Duma Nokwe

J.F. The A.N.C. night schools - was it....

SACKY That one was - it was a - an Indian school, but they were accepting people of all races, you know, and it was demolished and the people were moved to Lanasia, so I suspect it was run by the Transvaal Indian Congress and so on.

But I was saying I heard about Braam Fisher for the first time in that school, but not what he did and so on and so on but I knew the (.....190) - was white patriot I mean who sacrificed his white privileges.

But when I arrived here in exile at the A.N.C., when we were undergoing some political - political training, you know, is where I learned a lot about I mean democratic whites - whites who believed in a non racial society.

J.F. And - I'm saying the time when you were still in the country did it integrate into any political theory or was it only outside that you would have said this supports the Reverend Kinary theory of the A.N.C. - this relates to other concepts like - or when you were in the country was it still just a natural thing - did anyone from the A.N.C. ever say to you : This non racialism of yours isn't simply just a nice idea; it's actually part of our theory at the A.N.C. - or did no-one say that to you back in 1976?

SACKY Nnnnno.

J.F. And once you came out of South Africa was it put to you that way - that non racialism is not just something nice that you do, but relates theoretically?

SACKY No, you - you see, in - really in the A.N.C. what really they will never, you know - if I remember well they have never sat down and say : Now you are discussing non racialism, you know, but while we discuss A.N.C. politics you/are always talking about non racialism, you know - /find that you

Then it's when maybe someone(will) ask a question - you know, in the A.N.C. it has never been, I think, a policy to say : Now sit down - now how do you see non racialism - it's a question of you accepting - if you accept - I mean if you read any A.N.C. public(ation) - or the basic document, the freedom charter, (you) find that it says South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white -

And then if you accept it - really we have never even (deeply 225) discussed non racialism - if you accept it, well maybe if you want some clarification - what do you mean by black and white - which whites, you see, it's where you start now discussing about democratic whites, because O.K., I accept non racialism, but in our situation it's a question of, no, when we say South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, really it does not necessarily mean everybody -

I mean there are fascists, both black and white, and we are not - I mean we are not in a process of building a society of fascists because there are black and white, but we are talking about that's why we have certain (238) democratic - democratic whites, you see. That's why I'm saying really they have never said

SACKY

.... (in) the A.N.C. : Now let's we discuss non racialism, you know - you develop while you learn, according to events. I mean for example, they'll tell you something that, you know, the way the situation is at home at present - at present - you know, our people, if a white person dies, maybe from a explosion or what, but if it's connected with the current situation at home, our people at present they celebrate - they are not going to look whether he was democratic or what, you see -

But at the same time they believe in non racialism - that O.K., those who don't want to perish with the enemy must be seen to be doing some there (252) you see, so that's why it's concept, well, of non racialism it's....

J.F.

Did you ever in '76 when you were getting access to A.N.C. views, did any of the other people you were with, or did you ever say, in any way question it or did you see other people having any ideological discussions or arguments about it - were there any people coming out of something like the SSRC which wasn't as politically sophisticated who said : Look, how can you talk about whites working with us, or why do you even bother talking about non racialism, or let's call it Azania, or anything - were there these debates - did you ever see?

SACKY

Ja, we had - we had such debates - we had them. I mean like, say the point was : O.K., if you are saying South Africa belongs to both black and whites, and people used to ask question like : Then who is our enemy - who is our enemy, you see -

But it's when I mean experienced A.N.C. stalwarts would come up and explain exactly what we mean in the A.N.C. by non racialism, you know, we used to have very serious debates - very serious debates about oh, this issue.

For example, I mean we had people from - well, SSRC was not a real political force really - it was just like a catering committee for that particular, you know, Afrikaans issue, but we had people - I mean people who had political experience in the B.C. movement - there are/who believed that I mean the A.N.C. was too liberal - why do we accept whites in our ranks, you*know, but I mean everything was explained - everything was explained that, O.K., we had people like Ruth First - she believed in non racialism - she was our comrade. We had other white comrades who believes in the A.N.C. document, who believes in a non racial South Africa. /those *see

I mean we can't say you are not welcome in the A.N.C. because we are a black organisation, but well, the explanation I mean which we got from the A.N.C. is - I mean the A.N.C. it's a movement of all genuine freedom fighters, black or white - those who are*opposed to racial discrimination and the apartheid system I mean are welcome to participate in the A.N.C. *opposed

J.F.

Did you ever find yourself, since coming out, being on the other side of the argument, having to see someone who's come to the A.N.C. but who might be saying : How can you believe in non racialism - you've talked about how you came to accept it and how people would put the argument to you - have you ever seen younger people or newer people coming out of South Africa who might argue either in the '70's for B.C. approach or now, who would find it difficult to accept non racialism?

SACKY Yes - yes.

J.F. Do you want to just tell me - I'm just interested in the anecdotes, not the specific people, but just the idea - what did you say to them - what was their point of view?

SACKY Ja, I mean - that people I mean who - who came after us who found us here in the A.N.C. at least being politically good (319) or so, you know, who came with same arguments which some of us had when we arrived - that O.K., how can we accept everybody in the A.N.C. - whites and what have you - they are killing our people.

And I mean we'd say : Correction : And I mean let's say an A.N.C. person : Recorrection :

And I mean as an A.N.C. person I had found myself in a position where I had to explain I mean the policies of the A.N.C. - I mean the history of the A.N.C. up to the congress alliance whereby I mean*as new strategy was drawn - you know the congress alliance where the A.N.C. came together with the congress of white democrats, the Indian congress and the Coloured people's organisation adopted a new strategy after I mean finding that I mean we are faced with one enemy for the same objective with maybe only small thing being that I mean the primary - the primary aim of the struggle should be the liberation of the Africans as the most oppressed, but we came together with the (Tape off) *its (332)

END OF SIDE ONE.

SACKY Ja, I was saying in whereby I mean the congress alliance I mean it brought to-gether I mean all four organisations representing - representing four racial groups in South Africa, and they agreed basically that I mean the A.N.C. as*the representative of the majority of the people should lead this alliance, and that in itself I mean showed the majority of all those people who were there, including whites, I mean it shows that they believe in non racialism. *a

And then, as I was saying, when talking to a person who's just from home, you know - from home, who doesn't believe in this thing, first of all I mean you must really point out to that person that they need - I mean the need first and foremost is the need, you know, to isolate the enemy - that's the need - to isolate the enemy.

If we can win more people from other racial groups, including the whites - more of them on our side the better, and it gives us - you know, it lessens our problems in a future South Africa whereby we'll be solving racial problems, but we can solve these racial problems during the course of the struggle and because - because one other thing, O.K. we were - even with ourselves we didn't just really understand it

- SACKY correctly as why should we have whites, so we were told : O.K., what we want to do with the whites - O.K., if you don't believe in non racialism, what do you want to do with the other racial groups, because they are part of South Africa - they're South Africans - I mean logically it means are you going to kill all of them or - I mean they don't belong anywhere - they belong (to) South Africa - O.K., you don't believe in non racialism - what must happen to them?
- J.F. And do you find that when you make those points that they're easily accepted?
- SACKY Not to everybody - you know, not to everybody - some people it's a fact, some don't agree with us, some even decide to leave the A.N.C. because they don't agree.
- J.F. Do you think that there's becoming more acceptance or less acceptance?
- SACKY I think there's becoming more acceptance. For example, at present with the new ~~Sde. *Georgie's~~ coming during this past two to three years I mean really we haven't experienced a lot of such problems, you know, because with them - with the new ones I mean they have been in the heat of the whole thing - they've been in the UDF - they've seen people of all racial groups coming together, so really they leave the country to come here into exile already having the experience of I mean non racialism. *comrades who are just coming
- J.F. And do you think that the - it seems to me that there's two things that would contribute to that growing non racialism - one of them is the blacks who are actually on the other side like community councillors and so-called sellouts, homeland leaders and that, being one factor - it's hard to say black if you've got people like that - and the other factor would be some of the young whites, the military resisters and that kind of thing - do you think those are important factors - do people mention those - do you think that contributes to non racialism, seeing that the enemy is mainly white but there are also black enemies, and seeing that comrades are mainly black but there are whites resisters and that kind of thing.
- SACKY Ja, I think it does contribute - it does contribute a lot - I mean maybe more glaring examples are (of 470) people like Barbara ~~Hagen~~, you know, and others, and recently Eric ~~Pulser~~ - you know, people who have demonstrated, you know, to our people and the world that, you know, not every white it's an - it's an enemy of the struggling people, in this case the blacks, and that thing encourages even our people to seek and find among the whites those who are prepared, you know, to be on our side -
- And that thing I mean eliminate(s) the question of racism, you know - people are beginning to see themselves as comrades, you know. That's why - somebody was telling me that, you know - she's a white journalist - a white journalist - that the way our people are so organised at home, you know, when they see a white it's not like before.
- When they see a white they know exactly if she or he's an enemy or not because they helped that white journalist, you know, in P.E., you know, to escape the police. She was white - they didn't stone her, but after that they went and hacked a black policeman, so it - I mean I think even this war resistance I mean they are contributing a lot I mean in

SACKY

.... this non racialism whereby I mean the whites are refusing to defend their own privilege - they are refusing to defend apartheid. I mean they are even prepared to go to jail, you know. I think it's a contributory factor.

J.F.

I'd like to just finish up by asking both of you about the non racialism thing - maybe about the media - how it's important to communicate in the media of the A.N.C., but just before we do that, you didn't actually finish your own story - I don't know where you want to leave it - I'm not interested in details for security reasons, but you haven't really kind of gotten yourself out of the country yet in your biography - I think we left it that you were involved in August - I thought if you could just briefly tell what forces led to you joining the A.N.C. in a general way - how and why you left - whatever you want to say for the record.

SACKY

Ja, well, I mean as I told you I mean I participated in the unrest (in) '76, and after - that's sometimes around September - I mean sometimes around September I mean it's when I mean we had failed, you know, as a student body - we had failed that we should - some other means, you know, should be done, you know, to - to carry on the struggle, you know.

I mean we formed ourselves into not really units, you know, but some groups, you know, to protect - to protect and I mean in terms of manufacturing home-made bombs and so on and so on, you know, and then I mean our duties by then I mean were many, you know, groups - many groups, you know -

I mean were - I mean to attack government buildings, and by then I mean almost all of them were almost finished - I mean there was no bar, there was no bottle store, there was no post office - only few were left, you know, but I mean we continued with that campaign - attacking the police and so on, until somewhere around December (and) around September I mean I met a friend.

He was a long time friend of mine but I was not - really I was not aware that he was an A.N.C. activist, you know. We used to share ideas - we were together in the SSRC, but he never mentioned anything about his outside connection, you know, until one day when he decided, you know, I mean to reveal some of his secrets, you know, and then, well, we agreed and he gave me some small duties, you know, to carry on for -

Well, by that time I mean by that time I was no longer very much, you know, active in the uprisings, you know, because after I've discussed with my friend it was becoming - I mean what I was doing by then was somehow delicate, you know, so that if I can involve myself so much in the day to day student struggles, if I'm arrested I might be forced to say some other things which might implicate many people, you know, seriously, so during that period I mean I was active but not like before until, so to say, I was somehow operating (a) little bit underground until - until I left the country.

I was no longer really active in - even in, you know, meetings, because by then the original student representative council was disbanded because (~~Isietis~~ Mashinin, 545) had left the country and the other guys, even the second one was disbanded after ~~that~~ ~~he~~ also left the country, and they were left with ~~then~~ Dan ~~Moatsitsis~~ (547) who had just finish(ed) his eight years.

SACKY He was my classmate, by the way - (we) were in the same school - the same class, but he was also arrested. He was arrested with some of the friends - in fact we were just cornered in our school, but some of us managed to escape and - but then Mantsisi was arrested and*he was just before he would take over as the president of the SSRC. *it

So af(ter) - he was released but he continued, and then some of us were just now operating underground, so to say, until I left the country in November I was no longer really active in the student politics.

J.F. Did you leave because you felt you weren't making a contribution because you had to be de-activised, or did you leave because you had a scare - did you have to rush out because you had a scare or did you leave because you felt you could no longer be active because of having to withdraw?

SACKY Ja, well, I was - I mean I was - you know, by then I was instructed because the person I'm - who I was working with he had external contacts, so I left with him anyway - (we) were instructed to leave the country.

J.F. (Tape off) on the SSRC - were you an office bearer?

SACKY Nnnot exactly.

J.F. O.K. - and you weren't an office bearer of any organisation - you'd just been part of the - you weren't at any stage in 1976 an actual office bearer?

SACKY I was, you know, in, you know, the SSRC was of the whole Soweto, but I was an office bearer in my area.

(Rest of tape is on Masterpiece Gumede's interview.)

Well, I think - '76 - I think really even before 1976 (N.B. this is SACKY) I mean let's say events after shots start (710) I mean the A.N.C. had - had I mean contacts even within the B.C. because really most of the guys who were active in B.C. movement - well, it has been said (the) B.C. movement it's I mean pushing the line of the P.A.C., which it used to -

Well, I'm not sure, you know, but surprisingly those people who were active in the B.C. - most of them, I can say, I would think are with the A.N.C., and some of them - it happened that I knew some of them - I mean Whit Mashu (724) spelled (?) with the A.N.C. inside the country.

I met some of them who had already had contacts with the A.N.C. - we used to meet and give some materials, and really - because - one other thing - when you leave the country - you leave the country, cross to neighbouring countries - it's from 1976 -

I mean there was the presence of the B.C., you know, in some of these front line states, but for example, even with the Tsetsi Mashinini

president of the first

SSRC

He made I mean maybe a mistake, because I personally met him in Botswana, and I - he entertained some ideas that the thousands of people - of students who were leaving the country were coming to exile, you know, to join him as the president, you know, but we only discovered later that during uprisings, or even before, because we were not aware, the A.N.C. was very much alive and active, and this was revealed in that trial of the late comrade Joe Gqabi with the other comrades who are in Robben Island now - Musimas, Qali and the others (in)cluding a woman comrade - Boleyn (?) (758)

I mean it was revealed by the state that they received military training, not only political training - they received military training between 1972 and 1974, and those - some of them were students, you know, so that's why they are still believe the A.N.C. had - the A.N.C.'s presence was always there since its banning - maybe it was at a very low level, but it did exist, and A.N.C. had/influence on the B.C. movement, hence within the leadership of the B.C. movement - /an

After some times when they left the country they joined the A.N.C. - I mean even those who are left inside the country - maybe most or some of them - I mean our - among those forces inside the country which are said to be I mean following the A.N.C. line.

END OF TAPE.

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