



ROBERT MANGALISO SOBUKWE ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interviewee : Mzwandile Archiebald Ntswayi (AN)
Interviewer : Ezzard Hufkie (EH)
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Ezzard Hufkie (EH): Today is the November 2015, I am interviewing Archie Ntswayi a comrade who left the country to be trained as MK soldier. **EH:** Gentleman, thank you for allowing me to interview you today.

EH: Good morning Archie, Archie Ntswayi, tell us something about this man, Archie Ntswayi, who is he?

AN: Ehhh my nickname is Archie. This is my second name actually my first name is Mzandile and my second name is Nzwai. I was born in Graaff-Reinet, Number 611 Top Street, on the second of August 1964. Ehhh I started schooling at AME Church, Ehhh... Sub A, in 1971. Because of the AME church was very small, so we did our Sub A at Church of Christ. And then in 1972, I went to do my Sub B at, at Tobia here in Main Road. Now Grade 1 I went straight to the AME Church and standard 2, I completed in 1974. 1975 I went to St. Phillips, Ehhhh which is now Thembalesizwe Primary School, and I completed my standard 5 in 1977. Then in 1978 I went to Bantu Secondary School where I did my form 1. And ehh in 1980 there were school boycotts when we decided as students not to write exams. At that time, I was doing my form 3 which was standard 8 then and today I think it grade 10. Then I had to repeat because I didn't write, that is in 1981. I repeated my standard 8. And then in 1982 they opened up the new Nqweba High School. As you know, because (pauses) the secondary school ended in standard 8, J.C. (Junior Certificate). Then we open in 1982 the high school and we were only one class that was doing standard 9. And our class teacher was Matthew Goniwe. And because my uncles' son in Port Elizabeth died, I was transferred to Lohiso High School in Port Elizabeth to complete my matric in 1983. So my uncle negotiated with Lohiso

High School for me to be admitted to complete my matric because normally if you do your matric at the same school where you started your standard 9. You do it at the same school and you complete your matric but I had to go to Lohiso because of my uncles' circumstances to stay with him, because he had one son who died the previous year. So I completed my matric in Port Elizabeth in 1993. So that is the long and the short of my school year, my school years actually.

EH: Ja.. Archie I think we can pause here Ehhhh You had a younger or older brother, Layton.

AN: Yes I had an older brother, Layton. Ehhh

EH: Tell us about what happened to him?

AN: Well, firstly you know, he was three years older than me and ehhhh obviously, he was you know, three standards ahead of me but due to you know riots and boycotts in the seventies he was also involved in school riots and then because of the tensions, he actually I could have managed to... to you know to be in the same class as him in 1981. He was In 1981 he was ehhh the deputy head boy and the head boy was Eric Saul. The same one that we know Eric Saul who stays in 7de Laan (Ulula). He was the head boy and my brother was the deputy head boy. So every day we were going together to school and I can quite remember one time at school when the bell rings at 8 o'clock for the assembly, they closed the gates so that if you are late, you stay outside or you must go to the office after the assembly for you know to be chastised so or repute. So one day we went to school and we were late and then he said to me we are going to open this gate and go straight to the class room, we are not going to the offices. Then he pushed the gate in 1981 then we went to class the two of us we are inside the class and the students were in the assembly. And then ehh.... when the students ehhh went to their classes, then we were called, the two of us to go to the office, we refused. And our class was full of rebellious students and then ehhh nothing happened to us because the entire class said no we are not going there, we must remain in the class. The teachers, they were very much afraid of us. So in 1982 when we opened up the new secondary high school, the school staff and principle decided not to admit Layton in the class, because they said he was very rebellious, but I had to study but he remained at home and he was working at one of the constructions ehh and that were around this area. And echo then in 1984 they admitted him to Nqweba now to do his form 4 which is standard 9. That was the time when the uprising against the system was high. So the police went to school, you know, because the students were outside classes and were singing freedom songs. So they decided to shoot using tear gas and then he, my brother when they were shooting teargas at us and then the students started to run around and jump over the fences and so forth. He decided to go straight to the police with his books and decided to go straight to the police with his books. He took his books and went straight to the gate. And they just watched him like that. And then they opened up for him then he went out of the school and then in that same year I was the secretary of the Graaff-Reinet youth congress because I already passed my matric. I was no longer a member of COSAS. So when I was in court eh here in Graaff-Reinet to.... There was a case on of Speri Pase. And Then so I went to court and when I was in court I just saw the police coming to me. And they arrested me and I was trying to resist. They put me behind the van and they took me to the police station and one of theeeee one of the

policemen said that, I was leading against the counter, and he said: "Staan terug", then I then I did what he said. And they said: "Take him up" and they took me up to the first floor and they asked me: "Who are you?" I told them who I am. They were actually looking for my brother, and they said "Ja, we are looking for your brother." Then I asked them Who is that? Then they said The name was written down. The name they said. His name is Sandile, his Xhosa name. But they wrote SANDIE (Spell name) They forgot the put the LE. Sandile. Then they showed me the name and I said: "No, I don't have a brother like this". The spelling is wrong. I did not want to say to them their spelling is wrong. That is selling out my brother. So I said: "No, I don't have a brother like that, not at all." "Jaa, jy praat kak" and that was the language to us. And then they asked me: "Where do you come from?" I said: "No, are you not a student at Nqweba I said I passed my matric already in PE." then they phoned the school where I did my matric, and the principal told them: "No no no, I am an ex-student and that I passed my matric already." So and they asked me in the interrogation do I prefer to be interviewed in English of Afrikaans. I said English. So they called Tank. Tank eh Coetsee. Ehh the one that was playing rugby for Union High School. Then he came, then some of the police, one of them Visagie had what you called, "batton, nou gaan hy die waarheid praat k...kaffer. Waar is die man?" And I said: "no, I don't have a brother like this." There is nothing that they could get from me, and I was wearing a cap that was a green cap which is like a soldiers cap. wich I bought it in PE. They asked me: "where did you get this cap?" I told them I bought it in PE. what do you call this place in PE but I bought it from one of the shops in PE? "No, dit is n terrorist cap wat wat wat." That's what they told me. I said:" no no no I bought it from PE". But they released me.

So that same year my brother, eh there was a march. We used to organise marches where we sing songs in the streets of the location to organise people to come to come and then we are going to these councillors houses, one by one to tell them to resign before we take action against them. So we started with Rev. Bonaci that he must resign. Otherwise If you don't resign we are going to take action against all of you. Then we went to Vivi sibam. The same thing. And we went to the mayor himself, Mpepho, of uMasizakhe. When we arrived there, on our way actually to his house, then he started shooting at us. It was about pass six, to seven. Around that time. And then after to gun shot, we all spread and then someone said to me somebody was shot. And we were running, you know, we were dizzy, then I saw it was my brother. He was wearing a red tracksuit and a beige trouser. Then I picked him up. We went to the corner house, in Jooste Street, where there was a car. Then I picked him up and went to that house and asked for help to take him to hospital. But that old man did not have petrol. Then I left him on that yard and went to another house to look for help. Then they gave me a can of petrol and went back to the old man and pour the petrol into his car. Then we put him in the car, he was leaning on me here at the back of the car. Then we went to hospital. When we arrived there, the nurses said: "Is there any family member you". Then I said: eh im the one "No". Then they said we must remain outside. Then they took him in a wheelchair and we waited outside. Then they came and the nurses have said: "no, he has passed away". He was shot here in the shoulder. The bullet went through.... he died actually on the spot. So, then we had to go and report at home that this man is dead. Well some other people also came elderly people also came and then we had Rose Davids and then they

came and Belinda Swartz, and then they came then they had to go to my mother's place. Then eh, to report that he is dead. And then, in that same evening, the police came at home. eh... at my mother's place. They were actually also looking for me, then I had to run away and hide. And eh...but the following morning I went home, I thought let I clean the yard. And I am waiting for them. Then I had eh piksteel that they must come in. I was now very angry, I had a piksteel and my younger brother had also a knife. Then we call them, Fietsie and the police. They were there saying: "Ons gaan jou kry. to me We going to get you." And I said: "Come," but they didn't come in to the yard. But then they were looking for me. Then I had to hide and stay at Sis tshutshiz' place. Every day I sleep there, but during the day, I mean every night I sleep there but during the day I had to you know hide and you know go organise. So when we organised for his funeral. Police came with restrictions eh that eh his body must be taken straight from the mortuary to the church, and it must not be taken home. And normally the body from the mortuary is taken home for the family prayer and then to the church, but they said no, the body must go straight from the mortuary to the church. But they said no, straight from the mortuary to the church. And then they said only family members must be at home and people should be, and then they said the funeral must be during the week and not over the weekend. And the funeral was on Thursday. The they said eh the people should be inside the church and nobody must be outside the church. The schools during that funeral that day, they were closed. Children did not go to school and teachers also didn't go to school they attended the funeral from the location and Kroonvale they attended. And we had to organise zinks, just to put them along the church fence for the people should be, at least you know to be inside. And then eh one of the speakers in that funeral was Mr. Hufkie, the father to Mr. Ezzie Hufkie the interviewer. As well as Mamo General from Cradock, Tata nompondo and others. The other restriction was there shouldn't be flags, like GRYCO flags, Graaff-Reinet Congress flags. UDF flags. And also they said no freedom songs. They said no fists in the air.

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BEGINNING OS SLIDE 2 :MVI 0178

All of those restrictions. But you know eh when they mob, the crowd is you know big, when the spirit is very high, they decided to violate all those kind of rules and you eh know the ANC that time was banned. But we were, we were very clever when it comes to funerals. We will separate the colours, black, green and gold. We will put the green there, the black there, the gold there, but during the funeral, then the ladies, the ladies who are members of GRYCO, they would sew quickly the colours together and put the flag on top of the coffin inside the church and then eh when we were now going to the grave yard, they decided to carry now the coffin. The funeral was in what's this place.... In Asherville at Chris Church. Chris Nissans' church, the former presbyterian church. And when they were moving with the coffin down singing songs and also having flags, I remember there was a flag of Dangerous Darkies, Red and black. And that flag is red and black it corno dates something else to the system, the system because it was the colours of the communists. It was red and black. And the name itself of the club, Dangerous Darkies, which is blacks that are very dangerous. So they shot at

the crowd and then the coffin had to be put back into the hears. Then lots of people were arrested during that time. Then he was lay to rest and ehh after the funeral we went home, there were already police right in front of the yard where you know armed and then I thought I am not going to wash my hands, because if they catch me, they are going the charge me for public violence because they wanted me for public violence. So I thought I not going to wash my hands. I am going to wait till they leave. Then I had to go to another house and wait there because they said only family members must go back home. No public, no other people from the public should go there. Then after they left I went home to wash my hands. And my mom said: "Hey! You must go, these people are looking for you" Then I left so that's what happened to him... Thank you.

EH: Archie, Ja, that was really sad. I can recall those days because I was the one who berried Layton. Never the less those people were ruthless, they were cunning and ehh vicious. And these things made us very angry. And that was you no exception, and because of all these things, you became a very angry man. Then you decided to react, if I can put it that way.

AM: Yes

EH: Elaborate on that, you started to think in terms of, I know that you were quite a few guys who left the country. But I want you to explain to us, your feelings then and your ehhh anticipation in whatever you did to leave the country.

AM: Ja ehhe Especially after that, the death, the deaths then I thought ehh, they are vicious, and as I have said I was an active member of, first I was the education officer of GRYCO, Graaff-Reinet youth congress, and then elected again as organising secretary and then elected as general secretary of the Graaff-Reinet youth congress. And then I was elected as the treasurer of GRAFCOM, Graaff-Reinet community organization myself with Belinda Swartz who were the treasurer. Ehhe we were very active and we were also showing the system we were not scared of them. So in reaction to that you see we had to take action ehhe we for example went to the Alex Laing hall we were three guys in the evening with "Morto cocktails" which is petrol bombs. We moved on the mountains until we reached Kroonvale. We you know, we bombarded the Alex Laing hall, but because of the burglars that are there, we could not manage to you know make a break through to the, right into the hall. And then that was a diversion. We wanted to divert them, the police to go to Kroonvale because they were targeting the location. So when the police went to Kroonvale we came back to the location again. We started with one of the councillors. We bombarded on of the councillors, then we went home. We slept, you know. Then they arrested wrong people. Then we kept quiet. The three of us that we are not going the reveal our names. If we tell every.... if we tell, we did not even tell the executive members because we did not know if you are arrested you, you can reveal our names and will be in trouble. And that councillor died. So the following morning after we bombarded that we came the three of us, we came to town. We met Fietsie and them somewhere here. Then we use to exchange words. "Ja, fuck you, fuch you too, we are not scared of you" then they did not know who did this, they arrested wrong people. Then we thought no, it's ok, its fine. And they not going to reveal our names. And then the other thing they also arrested me here, I went to buy buy a newspaper ehhe City Press, and then when I went up to the location on Saturday, when I was up in Main Road, they came, they

arrested me, put me behind with a lot of drunk people. Telling saying that they are arresting me for drinking and I was sober, because at that time I was not a drinker. No, I did not drink. Then they took me to the police station, lock me up with drunk people and so on. But fortunately, the comrades that were outside, quickly phoned the lawyer from PE. And the lawyer phoned the police station that I must be released and I was released on that same day. Ehhhh and also we thought ehhhh with the guys that something must be done because lots of you know, people were shot at and so forth. We trained in ehh small arms, we trained in small arms, we this mountain Spandau Valley, what you call this place.

EH: Mountain Drive

AM: Mountain Drive, ja we were trained there and if we were on an excursion, hmmm we trained there, AK47 Makaro. Preparing for something that we we we knew that at the end, there will be maybe, ehhh you know a confrontation, with arms. Then we train. And when we were on our way, the police were also following us. They were trying to check what we were doing. When we were moving up the tar road to the dam, they were moving next to us with Laurel. Fietsie Fourie and Tank Coetzee asking us, shouting at us: "ja julle, ons gaan julle kry". And I said: "no no no, we only on an excursion." They didn't know we hidden the weapons somewhere there, there in Mountain Drive. But when we were on our way, tar road up to the dam, we did not have weapons. You don't know they may be arrested us and if they may get the weapons, then we in trouble. Then when we got in to the dam they said it's a trespass. And then ehh they called Rory Allidised, I think he is dealing with nature, he was a nature, nature reserve, that he must come and ehhh, you know and arrest us so forth. Then we said to Rory Allidised we are on an excursion, we want to learn about nature, nature in Karoo a so forth. And then we asked him questions about those stones that are there, the vegetation that is there along, I mean, next to the dam and so forth. A so he was lecturing us of the nature of the stones, and so forth and the vegetation so forth. Then the police now were, they were, they were surprised that this man is not now arresting us instead he is.

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BEGINNING OF SLIDE 3: MVI 0179

AM: Instead we are working towards. We are keen to learn about this area and so forth. So when we finished edh when we went out from the dam, I went, I mean they said: "Julle is gelukkig" I said: "No, we are learning. Julle gaan ons nie kry nie. You are not going to get us." Because there were some of them that were very stupid. Then we then we came back. Then ehhhh when our situation was very very very kantakaras ehh here in the location, ehhh comrades were digging trenches now for the hippos', for if the hippos get into the location, the it gets into the trench and then we through that petrol bombs and we confiscate their weapons. Now there at home at my mothers' place at the back yard we dig, we dig a hole there, to put the weapons in there at my mothers' place. And also in the welcome dover stove of my mother, there were weapons, pistols. Then ehh we we had to, hey they were

waiting for us. We run away from the location and we go and stay in Asherville but they were harassing and looking for us. And what they did, they were flying over in ehhhhh plane, pamphlets, pamphlets with coffins with our names on and they through them from the air into the location where they find us. Then we must know that we are dead. That was the time of the state of emergency. Then we went to oom Richard Jacobs' ehhhh house. While we were seated there at night, we were eating mphokoqo there. Then when I looked over the window, like that, outside, and the ehh we were, lots of us. We were about twelve guys, when I looked over the window, here they are. They are talking to oom Richard outside, then I said to them, the comrades, "Shht. Let's keep quiet, they are looking for us". Then we looked, we had to crawl out of the kitchen door, and jump that wall into that ehh the the

EH: River

AM: River...ehhh ja. Then we came up the mountain. Then the three of us went to the congregational church here to Nfundis Madlwabinga. We went to him and said now we want to leave the country hey! these guys are after us. Then he showed us his car that hey the tyres are not ok. Then we had to hide in the hall, in the stage of the hall there is a hole there, then we had to hide there under the stage. And then we went out again into the school, then we had to jump fences, fences, because we couldn't move in the streets because here in the mountain they had, they were, some of them standing up here at the mountain at the pioneer at the Panorama. They were watching with binoculars as well as search light for us. So we had to hide and so forth and at different places. Then I went to my mothers' place and I decided to wear my mother's skirt (laughing) and two tennis balls and a bra. Now normally I had long hair and some of the ladies they decided to braid my hair, then I put in calamine, myself and shorts and Tibo and Re Pantsi. Now we were now organising transport now for us to leave the South African borders. Otherwise when they catch us we are going to be in trouble. So, while we were seated, myself and Shorts, it was in one of the, you know, it was called one of the outside rooms. Buitekamer, we called it that way. Then could hear they were moving. You see, there's, we had two houses, 611 Top Street and 608 Top Street. When they are looking for me, they go to 611. They don't go to 608 Top Street; they don't know that house. So we were at 608, that's where we are hiding our weapons. And that is why we also hold our meetings. And then when we could hear they are passing, it was myself and Shorts, then we took up our weapons and said if they come in, we shoot, we can die here. We can die inside, but if they come we can shoot. But then they passed we said no its ok. Then we were wearing dresses, as I said. We moved to organise some transport with ladies, with three ladies. They are still here; they are still here in Graaff-Reinet. Now as, because as we walk because our our we as men, has got men's' walk and the ladies got the ladies walk. So the ladies, we said let us go with them. But they were laughing at us and say we are moving like men. So they said we must change our step and move like a lady so that the police could not detect us. So when we see that they are coming, the hippos or they are moving in foot, then we had to change our step, as if you are a lady then they pass and we saw that they don't know that it's us. Then we went to Gideon's' place in Queen Street, where we assembled all of us, and then we said guys we must go now. If they catch us, we are in trouble. And then we send Tibo and Gideon to go and organise for transport. Then they went to, Tibo was also wearing and dressed like a lady. Gideon was wearing a jacket with a hat and a stick

as if it's a husband and wife. They went to Lola to organise, Zola Hanabe, and they told Zola that if this information is knowing that we are organising for transport, we are going to kill you, we are going to kill you. Then he said: "no problem". Then he was given an instruction that he must go to ehhe he must go to the CFO here in Graaff-Reinet ehhe in municipality, what's his name... ehhe Chief /financial officer from Kroonvale. What is his name? He must organise him, Jimmy Joubert, and so we organise Jimmy Joubert also for transport so that we can leave the country. So, in the evening, we now had to go to our homes to tell our parents that we are leaving South Africa. We told our parents and then gathered at one of the lady's house where our parents came. They came then we told them that we are leaving. They were crying, our parents ehhe they were crying and then they prayed for us that our journey should be safe and so forth. But before that, before that we went to a witch doctor, and witch doctor where we wanted him to give us the medicine for safe journey. And then he gave us muti in ehhe in ehhe in ehhe in ehhe plastic can. Muti and he ehhe said to us, he said to us we should get a panty, ladies panty which has been used, which is dirty, you know which is not a clean one ehhe. And then we should pour this muti on this panty. When the car stops, we should wipe the wind screen, the wind screen with that muti, using that panty. Now, the panty was a panty of my girlfriend and ehhe the brother to my girlfriend I left the country with, also so we were now discussing who is going to use this panty now to wipe of ehhe the wind screen. So the guys said it must be you, must be me because my girlfriend as well as the brother, to to the lady. Then we agreed, so we, we had to move on the mountain at night, at about 8 – 9 at night, we moved into the river, then wee until we passed Adendorp, and then there at Rhineath, under the bridge, the train bridge there, pass pass Adendorp. We went under the train bridge and then, into the farm, there was a farm there, where cows were lying there. You know they say normally a cows eats during the day and then at night it, I don't know it its recarditates, recrditates at night. So, there was a farm worker there who had a torch there. As we were moving, he could hear there are people moving here. Then he would have torched and we would lie when he was torches, he couldn't see us. The he moves away and then we moved until we jumped the fence over and then moved until we reached the two transports. The one of Zola Hanabe and Jimmy Joubert. Now we were twelve, all in all guys, and then plus two drivers, we were fourteen. And Jimmy Joubert had a XR 3, which is a very small car. And Zola Hanabe had a Honda Balade which was also a very small car. Then we discussing that ehhe, we are going to be overload and we are going to Lesotho and its very far. At least two must remain, and only ten maybe ten must go. And then, and then we said, we were pointing at each other, and nobody wanted to remain because if they catch you, you going to tell them where the others are. So nobody wanted to remain. And I said I can't remain. My brother was just shortly, he was shot dead, so I must go because if they catch me, then my family will be almost gone. I must go so that I retaliate for his death in term s of fighting, you know, back, for his death. So we decided no, let's all go. Then we passed the mountain, behind the mountain until we reached Middelburg. The whole night actually, we arrived in Middelburg at about 6am then wee poured petrol, then we passed again to Steynsburg. From Steynsburg we passed Lady Grey on the right. We went to Jamestown, we went to Sterkspruit. When we arrived in Sterkspruit, then the guy who shot my brother, Mpepho, was in Sterkspruit. Because what happened, after he shot my brother, the community ehhe chased him out of the location and then his house was burnt and ehhe they took him to Sterkspruit to stay there.

Now when we arrived there, he was there. There was a guy from Graaff-Reinet, he was there also, with the name of Willem, from Kroonvale who was in Sterkspruit, there. So one of us knew Willem, oom Keff, oom Keff Kaboni. The one who was shot in Angola, that left the country. He knew Willem there in Sterkspruit. So he said to us, ehh guys, this guy is here, mabe two houses away. Mpepo is here, if he sees that we are here, his going to call the police and tell then that we are here to get arrested. So rather leave. Then we had we had weapons with us. We had weapons when we left. For anything on the way, if there is a road block or they shooting us, at least, we shoot back. Then we went to, they put us not far from Tela River and had to cross the river. Tela River, into Lesotho. Quothini. Then when we were up there, that is Village, then those people, tey they they apparently a place where while crossing the country, they were passing there and those who are leaving, also passing there. And then when we were there, they already knew those people. We are saying to them we are, we are refusee and then ehh fortunately we had money that was give to us by oom Ricahrd Jacobs for petrol and food on the way. Then we had to get into a bus from Quthin to Mogalieshoek. Then when we were on the bus, the Lesotho police came. Then we had weapons with us, and we had to put them under your foot, because they were searching us, showing where we had weapons or not. But they could not find anything then we moved to Mohalieshoek. The from Mohalieshoek we went to Mafikeng, we got into a E20. Then when we arrived in Maseru, hmmm the driver was asking is where are you going. We said no we are going to join the ANC, and he took us to a house that are bobaded by the South African Defence Force. The, I think it was 1984, I think it was the Maseru Raide. Ja. He took us to that house he said and said this is the house where the ANC use to stay. The walls,they were ehh they were they have fallen because the house was bombarded. He said this is the house of the ANC. He said, "who are you" We said no, we are here to join the ANC we told him but he tought we are maybe , we are maybe people who want to go and maybe attack the ANC. The spyes of the South African Government the driver but we were people to join the ANC but altemately he took us to the refugeue centre where lots of comrades where were. Comrades from PE (Port Elizabet), some from Cradock and so comrades that we knew. When we arrived, we new, we were very happy. That at least we met comrades. And then comrades who were in that centre new us and than it was clear that we are comrades. Slide 3 :MVI 0179 So the driver was happy with us. Then the Chief Rep. the Chief Representitive of the ANC Lesotho, send you know some of the comrades who were there....

END OF SLIDE 3 :MVI 1079

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BEGINNING OF SLIDE 4 :MVI 1080

AN: They came to us and take the weapons. We gave them the weapons then we were taken to the police station there we had to go and sleep there, Maseru. And then we, the following morning, we were given bread. You know, milk and then we were taken to the interrogation centre. We had to declare there as refugee, actually as people seeking for political assialim and then if you are there you have to give a false name. You do not give your real name because you don't know as to whether you give your name, the person you are giving your name to, may be may be a spy also of the South African Government. So we have to give a

false name, false name as we were told we musn't give our real names. So we give our false names, and then there after we were taken out to, the ANC house in ehhhh ehhhh Apartamya. It's a place called Apartamya in Lesotho in Maseru. During the day we will be staying in Apartamya and there were lots of comrades, lots, more than 40 comrades. We stayed there and were given these grey blankets, grey blankets, "vaaltyn". And ehhh it was in winter time, during the day we would stay there and at night when it becomes dark, then we must know every day along the mountain and up the mountain to Kgobetshwana, another place called Kgobetshwana. We sleep in Kgobetshwana but we could not sleep because that room was very small. But we had to be seated like that. (Demonstrate how). And we discussed politics most of the time. And we will be select like that and you will become drowsy and so on. But we, we discussing politics. Then when it dawns we had to move again back to Apartamya if we sleep in Apartamya, that we did for three months, every day. No, not for three months, no no not for three months, may be for a month. And then whilst we were at the place we were sleeping and discussing then the police, the Lesoth police, came at night with Landrovers and these big Bedfords. They thought we were LLA, which is Lesotho Liberation Army, which was fighting against Lobotla Johnatans' Government Army in Lesotho. So they thought we are reactionaries, we are planning to overthrow the Lesoth Government. Then they came to arrest all of us. They took us to the police station and were locked up, but our chief representative came of the ANC. He came and Jacob Zuma, they came to tell the government that no, these are ANC members, and not LLA members. They are coming to join the ANC. And then we were released. And then we were taken to, after a month, we were taken to the refuge centre now.

When now when you are in the refuge centre, you are under the United Nations High Commissioner for refugees. Then at least you are given money per month. You are given, I think it was R20 per month. And then they aslo supplied us with boxer tobacco and we stayed there for in that centre for about two months, but in Lesotho we stayd for three months all in all. And then we were flown to Tanzania. And in Tanzania we stayed for about six months there. We started our training, physical training.

We were actually introduced to the military life. Then we woke up in the morning 10 to 5, then the bell rings 5 o'clock, then we started running for morning sport. Then afternoon sport at 20 pass 5, we must clean the surrounding then six o'clock its breakfast, and 7 o'clock we must go and work in the fields, chop wood, do those things. It was training and soforth, but it was semi-military because military training was in Angola. Then we stayed there for, for ehhh six months and its very hot, very very hot there. And there was malaria there. Theres no winter it is hot through out the year. Hot in the area where we were. So at night when you ehh in the post garding, the mosquito comes bite you bite you and then you get malaria then you either you get celebral disorder then you out of your mind, or you get malaria, your joints become weak and you sweat at night and jou get cold again and so on. But then, when we were there, we saw people like Chris Hani, who come to address us, then Joe Modise, also came to address us, the leadership of the ANC, Oliver Thambo. And then after six months we went to Angola.

In Angola, there you see proper military life. You arrive at the military airport. Immediately when you arrive there, you don't get into a bus or busses, you get onto the truck and you taken to Viena, from there training starts. Then you are trained for 6 months there. Basic training it is called. Ehh general course Then thereafter I became an instructor of military topography. But there was, a there was, it was during 1998, the 10th of eehhh the 10th of October, one of the guys that I left the country with u Keff Nboni. We were in a battle when we fought against UNITA, we were twelve guys, two in front of the truck and ten at the back of the truck. I was part of the ten at the back of the truck. And himself, Keff Kaboni, his from Graaff-Reinet, we left together. We were at the back seated there, and one guy from Jansenville also, and others from South Africa. Whilst we were on our way to town, to go and fetch food for trainees, then we were ambushed by UNITA bandits of Savimbi. We just heard you know fire, b aba b aba. Then they shot six guys. Three died immediately and then three were hurt, and Keff Kuboni from Graaff-Reinet was shot at here in his spinal cord (demonstrate where). And then they were on us b aba b aba. Then we were dis-organised. We had to jump but you know, we were trained when the truck moves at a 80 km/h per hour, 80 kilometres per hour, you are trained how to jump and roll and you know find your position. Then one of the guys, the guy from Jansenville. He had a big company machine gun, when he was trying to shoot, the stracking pin of the this PKM was broken. Because you see what happen, what the boers did, they used to send spies there to go and and sabotage some of our like weapons. So when we fight against the system, then the the weapon is sabotaged. Then the weapon cannot shoot. So the guy from Jansenville, when he was trying to shoot, the gun couldn't shoot, because the striking pin was sabotaged. Then we had to use handgrenates, just to dis-organised them. And then thereafter the communication man called the camp for re-inforcement. We need re=-inforcemnt because we, I mean we were about six of us, because the other six is heard, there was nothing they could do. Only six of us were at least not injured. So the inforcement came from the camp and then we were hopperdshoot them. Parrish them, persuade them. And then u oom Keff was taken to hospital, in Malanga, but after three days, he died. And then he was barried.

END OF SLIDE 4 :MVI 1080

Contnue.....

Slide 5: MVI 1081

AN: Like there were, like in the camp where we buried our comrades. And aaah also one incident that happen there. You see aaah... what the boors did.... They use to train their spy's to infiltrate our, our, our army and then they train them in the vegetation, Angola vegetation which plant to use to put, to put in our food, poisonous plants, poisonous vegetation. Now in 1987, September can quite remember, I was in Lusaka that time. What happened, there was a shortage of food. So what we will do is to let the trainees eat first, to go to the kitchen and eat first because we were used to the camp already and we knew how to handle things. We would shoot monkeys or pythons. If you see pythons then you shoot it, slaughter it and eat it. We use to survive in that way. Now we let the trainees go and get their food first and then in the shortage we don't worry because we knew how to manage. Then somebody in the kitchen decided to put poison into the food, into the meat that was there. Then the trainees

were eating even myself because that day, after the last trainee I had mine and all the instructors will follow. So it happened that I eat of that food. After say, maybe say an hour, thirty minutes, an hour, then I could feel....heey !! my stomach, then all of us were just lying and then when I was going to my tent I thought something was wrong here, something is wrong here. Then some other were lying and I use to interact with the trainees while eating. Then I picked up one of the trainees and took him to the Medico. The Medico was our hospital in a dwelling I took him. Picked him up and went there but quickly the Russian doctors came and the Cuban doctors came, we were given treatment quickly but one person died. One person died and all of us, the rest managed to be treated and then we recovered. And then the hole kitchen staff was arrested and interrogated until the person who put the poison there, admitted. It was another guy from Uitenhage. And then he was taken to Quarto. Quarto is camp 32. That is where the spy's use to be kept of the system. Then they took him to Quarto and I don't know where he ended up. So that is the life that we lived in Angola and aaaah... before the liberation of Namibia under the resolution 435. The, the, one of the conditions set by the South African Government was that for the liberation of Namibia, Mkontowe Sizwe must move further north, then we had to withdraw from Namibia to Tanzania as Mkontowe Sizwe but first we had to prepare to, at a farm there in Angola in Kela. We had cows, lots of cows there. So we had to go and fetch the cows there. From the farm to the camp. And the farm was about 200klm away. The farm was about 200klm away from the camp. So we had to go to the farm and bring the cattle on foot to the camp. And then the cattle were sold to local people in Angola. And then on the 9th of May 1989 we went to Tanzania and some guys went to Uganda. I was in Tanzania and then I stayed in a Kakan camp in Tanzania foe say, maybe three months, two months, then maybe three months then we were removed to an another camp because at that time there were negotiations that started from the Grootesuur Minds, the Codesa One and Codesa two. Pretoria minutes and so forth. So Chris Hani briefed us that should the negotiations fail, operation Vula should be ready to fight, I mean to take up in arms. Then we stayed while the leaders were talking and we were waiting on the outcome of the negotiations. And then when after the talks when they said, we must come back to South Africa. We had to go to the offices for our names for indemnity to allow us back into South Africa. So the names game from South Africa an appeared on a notice board. Every day we went to the board to check for our names. Then we came to Johannesburg from Lusaka. We were comrades from Jansenville, Cradock that flue via London to South Africa. We were fetched from the Port Elizabeth Airport by Piet Koeberg, Danie Koeberg, Zola Hanabe and other comrades with our parents. We arrived at night at the airport in P.E. So, on our way back to Graaff-Reinet, between Jansenville and Graaff-Reinet the whites were waiting for us. At night. Fortunately, we were traveling in two cars. It was a Laser, a White Ford Laser that was driven by Danie Koeberg and there was a Magnum, I think it was a Mazda, it was a Mazda driven by Zola Hanabe. The one that took us out of the country he went to fetch us at the airport. The Ford Laser was in front and aaaah this The people were in "balaklawas" that night, then the, the car we were traveling in.... they stopped us. They checked our bags, they thought we had weapons with us. They searched us. We said "Nee julle gaan niks kry nie. Ons het niks nie" They did not know, the DMB's was already inside. We knew the DMB'S are already inside the country. We said no!! "ons het niks !!" So they searched us, our parents were also there seated in the same car with us at the back. Then we

arrived in Graaff-Reinet. Then there was a welcoming rally here in Graaff-Reinet. Welcoming rally where we addressed the communityaaah and then we organized the ANC now. We started to organize the ANC that people should join the ANC. I did not stay long. We arrived here in August. And then the following year before, during that year August 1991 we arrived, I was elected as the commander of the Umlontowe Sizwe of the Karoo and Midlands region. Karoo which is Graaff-Reinet, Cradock, Hoffmyer, Jansenville and Middelburg. And I was the Commander of the Karoo Midlands, And I was the Deputy Chief of Personal of the Eastern Cape. The Eastern Cape was PE and the surrounding areas, it was not as big as it is today. They were, actually appointed by Chris Hani. Chris Hani went to address in Cradock, I think it was in September 1991 to address us. All of us in the Eastern Cape went there where he addressed us. And then he appointed us, and then he appointed Zobia Mzwandile Payee was my deputy. He was my COMESA actually. The COMESA is actually the deputy of the Commander. Then in amah.... A rally that was in PE on the 16th of December 1991 in Dan Que Que Stadium the entire the Eastern Cape Boarder region, the Transkei Region all of us were there in that rally that was addressed by Chris Hani the three Commands of these three regions. So we were introduced one by one by Chris Hani and aaah I thought I wanted to go on, to further my studies for my degree. Then in 1992 I went to University. I did not tell Chief Josh, that was Chris Hani when he came to the Western Cape he saw me there. They called my name Madiba. That was my student name, Madiba. Peter Madiba.. O at the University "Madiba are you here?" he asked and I said yes. I think it was March. I said "ja" Yes I am studying here, but you did not tell me Know we need someone else to replace you as Commander of the Midland and Karoo region. I said chief I want to study, I want to complete my degree and study. Well there is nothing wrong. There's nothing wrong. Because he uses to tell us in exile. He use to tell us, comrades, do not undermine the training that you are giving you, this, the level of training we are giving you is equivalent to university level, that I can really proof when I was at varsity because students at varsity for example, students that were doing their third year and I was doing my first year they use to come to my room before they write their exams and then I would with a scope of questions you know his line of thinking and the we would be able to answer the questions in line with his thinking. It is an intellectual kind of a lap, UWC. But there are differences you see amongst themselves some are like this and others are like this. But they are all intellectuals.

END OF SLIDE 5: MVI 1081

Continue.....

BEGINNING OF SLIDE 6: MVI 1082

AN: So Chris Hani was happy that I was there and I was not alone, there was lots of students there from Nkontowesizwe. And we were deployed ehheh ehheh for example, in the residence where I was staying at Dellares. I was occupying the right wing, top wing, I think Mr. Mathwani knows my room, Dennis. I used to occupy the top right wing. Dennis and them used to visit me but they never knew I had the weapons there because it was underground. And then JJ would occupied the other wing, Luvuyo would have occupied another wing and Willi would have occupied the other wing and our person in charge was James April. So we were deployed, all of us, in those different residences with weapons for in case of anything should

the negotiations fail and then we know how. That was also happening at Fort Hare as well as other universities as well as Pentec. And then Chris Hani, after addressing us in that meeting ehhhh I got a lift from him because he went to Fawn in Cape Town in Gogulethu. An then he said to the comrades in the car that they must, because Chris Hani knew that I was a communist party member. Then he told the comrades, four comrades, they must use me because he knew I was a SACP member. And when he visits the camp, he would see us sell and outsell and also see articles that he wrote. He is also to edit articles and For publication in the SACP which is a journal of the SACP. He would always say comrades must use me but I could not be fully active because I was a student and I had to engaged in student politics as a SASCO member.

And ehhh, eh I started and pass my degree in 1994 ehhh thereafter I was employed by the, no I integrated in the army. I was integrated in the army, I went to Pretoria and I got the rank of a captain in the military intelligence. But then I wanted to study further, I wanted to do my honours degree. I took a departmental transfer in the military into the army into TT, to be a teacher. I wanted a transfer because I already had a qualification as a teacher. So it was a transfer on the same salary level but I study at the same time which I was, whilst I was doing my honour degree. But before that, before that, I was a researcher at the graduate school at UCT (University of Cape Town) for two months. At the Waterfront I was under professor Norman Fall and Anton Gruther. Ehhh

END OF SLIDE 6 MVI 1082

Continue.....

BEGINNING OF SLIDE 7: MVI 1083

That was a long time ago, he is a person who has been deflect since the time I knew him. He is a person who has always be like that. So we thought there is nothing we can do to him because he is, he is abnormal. Then we thought, no, we cannot take action against him. The system saw he was like that, so they used him, Fietsie and them, that he must go and burn Rev. Hufkies' car. It was a very sad, very very sad, story eh for for Rev. Hufkie. So during the time when the car was burnt, we were still here, all of us, comrades. But I think it was, may be, early in 1985 of late in 1984 when the burning of the car took place. So we were here and it was a very very sad story. But you see what the system use to do. They for an example, what they use to do was for example, one of the comrades I remember what they did with Nezobe.

Once they took him and put him in the Laurel and they stand here where the rank is, they sit with him there and relax with him, ask him questions as if they want us to think he is working with them and they talked to him for about an hour or so. Then people who are passing by would think, no, he is working for the system. Then the texted some of the text they used and they did that to a lot of other comrades. They did that to Zavier, Zavier....

EH: Stuart

AM: Stuart. But we were very clever for them. When they do that we... what we were doing, we call that comrade that they interrogated, and we will ask that comrade tell us what they asked that comrade, and how did you answer the question. And then we advised each other that no, you should have answered it like this. So in any case, there was no leakage information, may be they have given them. So we were very clever. We had confidence in each other. If they asked any questions come and tell us what they did, the questions that the things asked and then how you answered the answer. So we knew the tricks to how they, you know.....

EH: Moved

AM: Ja.

EH: Thank you very much for your interview. We will....

AM: But you know what

EH: Something else

AM: Yes, there was something they also came, they detained.... They came to Zavier Stuarts' house. It was myself, Chris Nissan, Joy Stewart, Sökkie Pantsi. When we were inside the house in Kroonvale, we just saw vans coming inside the yard. Checked, then they come, they came, when they detain you, they call you on your name, they touch you here on your right shoulder, your left shoulder, then they say: "Archie Ntswayi, we are detaining you under section 50, under internal security act of 1950, what what what." So they detained the four of us under section 50. They took us to the police station. It was a Friday. They took us to the police station then the Monday when we were there in the cells, the big guns from Oudtshoorn came, Captain Vosloo. And then they came, then we were detaining with the reverent, Chris Nissan was a reverent.

Now when we hear they are opening up the cells from that side, then Chris Nissan would say: "Lets pray." Then Chris Nissan would pray and then as we pray, they would come and say: "Ja, when you are in trouble, then julle ken die God." Then Chris Nissan would carry on and say: "Laat hulle tonge vrot, Here." Then they would say: "Open your eyes, then I would open my eyes like that. (Demonstrating how). Then they would kick us "ba... ba.... ba...." And then, you know, you must stand up and they wet the floors. Then on the Monday, they took us the the police station, I mean the prison. . Then to say "Amandla" then we would say "Awethu". Then we would sing songs and they would also sing. Then there was a prison warden who would give us information then we would sneak out letters.

EH: Ok

AN: We sneak out lettersand we received information from outside. We gave instructions from inside to outside and we received from Mr. Mahona.

EH: Reggie

AN: No, not the one, not Reggie, the other brother to him, Vivian.

EH: Vivian

AN: Vivian

EH: Mahona

AN: Mahona, yes and then.....

EH: Sorry Archie, can we just take a pause. The battery is running out.

END OF SLIDE 7: MVI 1083

Continue:.....

Slide 8: MVI 1084

EH: Do you think your sacrifices that you made in your life, in the struggle, was worth a while. If you take the set-up here in the country, up till today.

AN: Ehhh. I would say that ehhh the fact that we have today a government ehhh of the people's choice ehhh I think my sacrifices were worth while because previously the majority of people did not have the right to vote, especially the black people. It was only the whites that had voting rights, but after 1994 each and every person ehhh above the age of 18, had the right to vote and the government that is in power today has been elected by the people, so therefore based on those bases I think my sacrifices were worthwhile, because that is what I actually wanted to see that the people choose, I mean their own destiny by voting a party of their choice. And ehhhh lots of parties were formed after 1994 or before 1994 because constitutionally each and every person has the right to form his own party. So that no suppression can be made on individuals. So, on those bases I feel it was worthwhile. But what is actually happening is you know, is that the sealers of you know, that is not happening of is happening very slowly. For example, the unemployment, you know, which is still very high.

EH: That was bringing me to the next question, the unemployment and the large number of poverty remain still a hell of a concern to us after 21 years.

AN: Yes, after 21 years. There is still a backlog you know in in unemployment where there is a lot of unemployment especially the youth that is coming from.... Who are unemployed. Housing is also one of the ehh aa areas where there is a backlog because there is still a lot of people who you know put on that shelters an ah some of the children for example education are un able to proceed due to lack of funding for example lack of the institution and from the government itself. That we have seen in the recent news where students are actually revolving against university authorities for them to be given free education which the government says they would address. I think the president in statement last week said there will be free education but then, only for a few particular number of students who will get free education that we will see if it actually happens next year. So there are lots of areas where eh that still neds to be addressed which actually will satisfy me. what I was fighting for was actually to see actually total total total classless society but given the new liberal you know system that we are under thinking are liberal, you still have the haves and you still have the have nots and actually the bulk of the people who were suffering before 1994 are still suffering so until maybe there is a change ,maybe in the system eh maybe in the party this is

the SACP takes over then we fight for the socialist system where there is total equality and where the gap between the rich and the poor is you know narrowed like for example the socialist system that I have experienced like in Cuba. In Cuba you know if you move around in Cuba for example in the streets in Cuba each you get, each street has got its own doctor family doctor for this family in this street. the state itself is in that it pays the doctor then people are free to go to that doctor, if that kind of system can exist maybe here in our country then there will be less problem, then no one can I mean, no one will need to complain but given the fact that we are still under capitalist system, because we cannot say that South Africa is, yes there is democracy but there is still economic imbalance between blacks and whites and that is a fact. Even if you see here in Graaff-Reinet, look at the people in Umasizakhe, in Kroonvale, and people who stay in town you see the discrepancy those who were suffering are still suffering those who were rich are still rich and another thing also is the corruption that is still taking place especially in government departments it is not what we have been fighting for in particular we are speaking of government positions power in government structures, they should not be involve in those kind of corrupt type of activities that is what is actually causing a delay in the in the goals we are trying to adhere (office phones rings)

EH: Archie thank you very much I am going to allow a few questions from some of the interns if they would like to post any questions to you.

EH: Any of you who would like to ask Mr Archie a question?

FN: Mr Archie you have mentioned something about Matthew Goniwe being your teacher in grade10 is it correct?

AN: grade 11

FN: grade 11 yes! At Nqweba high school. Who was the principal back then?

AN: the principal was Mr Mahali. Mr Mahali arrived in Graaff-Reinet in 1981 in that the old Isibane which was the Secondary school than. He arrives as the principal because the acting principal was Mr Goni. And then apparently Mr Mahalia, when Matthew Genie was released from prison because he was sentence for 6 years in prison and when he was released in 1981 he was from Cradock. He was deployed to Graaff-Reinet by the Department of Education to come and teach in Graaff-Reinet removing him from Cradock. And then ehh they send Mahali to the District education office that was in Graaff-Reinet here in Caledon street, somewhere there, they send Mahali to be the principal so that Goniwe cannot be the principal because Goniwe had a BA degree that time and Mr Mahali had a Master's degree. He studied in think in America there in Miami. So he was send by the Education system as well as the security system here for him to monitor Mr Goniwe. So he came in 1980 and ehh Mr Mahali came in 1981 and Mr Goniwe started in 1982. Mahali was already the principal so he was already my class teacher so I remember when he was teaching us the Croydon system, you know outside the class. I think it was agriculture than there was a Mr Van Rensburg who was an administrator..... Mr van Rensburg was send by the security, by education office to come to Mr Goniwe and then we were outside the class, then there was a Clarke called Mali, Mr Mali than Mr van Rensburg went he came, he sends Mr Mali to come and call Mr Goniwe that he is been called by the principal's office. Than Mr Goniwe said tell that white

man that I am coming and then Mali went back to tell Van Rensburg, then Van Rensburg came on his own to come and call Goniwe and Goniwe said "can't you see I'm busy in class you must wait till this period is over than I will come to you, go and wait for me in the principal's office" than he went there, then the principal came on his own, Mahali. And he said I cannot leave my class alone you must wait for me till the period is over than I will come so that is the type of person he his. I can remember in 1982 there was a unveiling of the tombstone of Robert Sobukwe than Matthew Goniwe went for course for a week and then the unveiling was the Sunday and then from Pretoria he came back to attend the unveiling of the tombstone in the Methodist Church and our class who ehhe was the seniors at that week we decided to wear black in our class and to go to Robert Sobukwes house there in Sobukwe street and cleaning the yard and the surroundings in preparations of the unveiling of the tombstone. Actually we were engaged by Matthew Goniwe to go there in honour of, or in collaboration of Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe that was the type of person he was.

EH: Any other questions?

RM: Boet Archie you said you said something about a red flag, did it mean danger?

AN: eh ja you see... if you look at eh even if you watch maybe the news sometimes you will see that socialised countries the colour are red and black, if you go to china it is red and black, but if you go to North Korea its red and black. Cuba and so it symbolises <you will deal and it contains workers it is a worker state run by workers. So red, whenever you see red you must know it should be a socialist state or it is a communist party that is charge of that particular country. So with the red flag and the red and black flag that was at my brother's funeral, it was a soccer club, but it was that club that still exists it is called Dangerous Darkies, but what we did we were very clever when it was formed we said Dangerous Darkies, but we said DUC... DUC... KIES, like a duck you see it like a duck, like a duck we do not get arrested, but once you say Dangerous Darkies which is a black person who is dangerous, we were going to be arrested. Anyway we were just confusing the whites that time. But after things have changed now we thought that DUC must change to AR, you understand? Not Duck but Darkies which means black that are dangerous, but it was a struggle through sport. So red means dangerous and black means black people.

EH: Any other questions?

CA: Another question?

EH: For me?

CA: No, not for your sir.

EH: Okay

CA: Okay, I found this quite emotional and hatred from my side towards the white people back then. Interesting as well as the skills that oom Archie used on the Alex Laing Hall to get rid of the police's attention and with the experience that oom Archie has, we can start our own learning centre. That's from my side.

AN: Ohhh okay. Thank you.

EH: Any other...

: I have another question. It goes back to Nqweba High School, I once heard there was a principal at Nqweba High School, Father Dickson, I wanted to know maybe when was the time when Father Dickson was the principal, that boet Archie joined the struggle.

AN: Father Dickson came to Nqweba in 1983, I was in P.E to do my matric and then I think he came in 1984. Father Dickson came, I at that time already passed my matric. He was there I know him. It was him and who else... De Bruin, it was also De Bruin and Father Dickson they were there from 84' , that time I already passed my matric as a student.

RA: Then one last question. It's about the funeral of your brother, your brother's funeral, the fist in the air, the riots that took place, the white people actually found that intimidating or was it an offense that you could not raise your fist or raise the flags or sing riot songs, why could you not do that.

AN: Ehhh, those were restrictions imposed by them because they knew when you rise your fist in the air you are singing freedom songs, you show you are going forward with the struggle so they were intimidating us that we should not raise our fist in the air. There should be no flags, there should be no singing of freedom songs. They wanted the funeral actually to be as calm as possible, because they knew when we sing songs the spirit in ourselves rises, then we can do anything to them, we can burn maybe tires we can go to sell-outs and maybe kill them, and so forth. So they actually wanted to avoid such actions to take place, that's why they came with those restrictions, so ja.

Intern: Thank you very much.

EH: Any other questions... Nothing. Once again Archie... you wanted to pose a question Dennis

DM: Yes, yes, yes please. Thank you Mr Hufkie. Boeta Arch, can you briefly elaborate on the ideology of the ANC and the PAC, I don't want to put it, it was a split but according to understanding ehhh what caused the PAC to break away from the ANC, was it the ideology or ehh what caused it?

AN: Okay uhm, before the formation of the PAC in 1959. Before that the... from the formation of the ANCYL in 40's to the early 50's ,ehhh there were organisations that were there ,South African Communist Party, there were the Congress Of Democrats, who were mainly white, ehh there were the Coloured's People Congress, there was the South African Indian Congress, so before 1955 the Freedom Charter was formed these organisations came together, you know making you know contributions towards the formation of the Freedom Charter, which has the 10 Clauses and there it says, the Freedom Charters says South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and White and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the willing of the people, now to that within the ANC you had Africanists within the ANC you had also white people within the ANC and so forth, now Africans within the ANC thought maybe the congress of democracy as well as maybe the party members are trying to hijack or have an influence into you know the struggle and then Africanists within the ANC they felt that you know south Africa belongs to Africans ja... and then eh that's when eh people like Robert Sobukwe eh AP Mdanthon lembede that group that's why they, they

broke away from the ANC because they felt that the struggle has been hijacked now by whites within you know the ANC and then they believed that Africa is for Africans and eh (pause) whites actually should actually I mean they shouldn't I mean they were taking to the I mean foreigners were coming from Europe that is why for example in the funeral of Robert Sobukwe it was eh eh Africans for Africans and Robert Sobukwe if I can quote him he said "you cannot be a leader and a collaborator you must be the one or the other no matter what you say your actions will betray you" those are the words of Robert Sobukwe which means you, you cannot trained to be leading African people actually according to him but yet maybe you connive with white people who are the same oppressors you know of the black people so hence despite that took place in 1959 when the PAC was formed and Robert Sobukwe actually and the Africanists they felt that eh leaders of the people should lead in front and they should be an example ehh and not let people to lead and then they follow behind eh that's,that's,that's how eh they believed so that's splinters suddenly came on what I just said after they said no Africa is for Africans and not the what is reflected in the freedom charter because you have an African manifesto that was drafted by, by PAC members for the elaboration of Africans they say from Morocco to Madagascar from Cape to Cairo Morocco to, to Madagascar Africa for Africans so that's basically the reasons for, for, for the split in 1959 .

DM: ???????.....my last question uh ta H to Mr Hufkie uh about sabotage from uh from the Umkhonto Wesizwe caves uh to South Africa those years uh who was the target?

AN: the target?

DM: yes, from, from, from the MK uh point of view, who were the MK soldiers targeting in south Africa whilst planning to be destroyed during those apartheid years.

AN: The targets were you know garrisons, garrisons.

DM: sorry.

AN: Garrisons were the target okay Garrisons uhh you know installations military installations of the South African defence force the police stations, the you know this...

EH: Power stations,

AN: power stations the, the what you call that SASOL, ISCOR, SECUNDA the VOORTREKKER HOOGTE which was in the military headquarters of SADF those were the targets of Umkhonto Wesizwe .

EH: Thank you, thank you Archie for your content in this interview, thank you very much.

AN: Thank you.

.....**END OF SLIDE 8: MVI 1084**.....

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