

TSIETSI MASHININI

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.....REPORTS SAID THAT ABOUT 2 OR 300 BLACK PEOPLE WERE KILLED. IS THAT AN ACCURATE FIGURE SINCE THE 16th OF JUNE?

On a national scale, or in Soweto only?

ON A NATIONAL SCALE.

Oh gosh, I would put it at a thousand people who have died from June rightup to this day. I would say their figure is not very accurate; I can say for sure that there are more people who have died. I have seen how people were shot. When the policemen say they opened fire, they mean just that; they open fire. They shoot and they shoot to kill. If you got a bullet wound, you are lucky.... that's all they meant it to be.

Immediately after June 16, they put a ban on every urban gathering, and according to this ban under the Riotous Assemblies Act, it means three people constitute an illegal gathering. These police just needed an excuse, to see three people together, and they would open fire on those three people. So according to that ban, people are supposed to be moving in twos and ones only. If you are more than two or one...they will open fire.

WHAT KINDS OF WEAPONS DID THE POLICE USE?

Rifles, sten guns- rapid fire (rat-a-tat-tat), revolvers, batons. Some of the people died from teargas. There was this thing after August the 4th. During June 16th and the days that followed, they were using small canisters but later on they were using very big canisters, and they used to shoot then from big guns. They have big guns where they shoot these things from. And those, if it fell somewhere near you, like maybe we were running away, and you fell down and

people trampled on you and that teargas exploded near you, it could literally kill you with the fumes.

THE REPORTS THAT WE RECEIVED WERE THAT MAYBE 200 WERE KILLED IN SOWETO.

More than 600. After June the 16th, 17th, 18th, it was the Saturday, and we went to the government, the local government, where families were going to identify their bodies, to try and get them buried and that type of thing. Nobody had died in my family, but I went there to try to help some of the families that I knew and to try and see how many of the people were there that I knew at the mortuary.

I got in there, there were shelves, people packed in shelves, small kids, adults, fathers, sisters, brothers, old men, old women, packed all over the shelves, even lying on the floor, just a big heap on the floor. And they had holes in them; some of them they were riddled with bullets beyond recognition, we couldn't see whether this was a man or a woman if I looked in his face; it was just smeared with bullets. And the bullets there in fact they would bore a small hole where they go in, where they come out they would have blasted the whole face; it was the ugliest thing.

And these people were supposed to be having names here, because they carried these dom passes, the passes we have to carry all the time; then if you're dead, they just take it out of you and they put on your wrist your name. But these names had been removed and they had put numbers on the foreheads here.

And when the official figure was said to be 176 people dead, the biggest figure that I saw there was 353, and I had not yet seen all the numbers on the foreheads heads. I had seen some of them, and the biggest number I had seen was 353. That was one local mortuary.

Most of the people who died were removed from that place. If they died in Soweto, they were taken to mortuaries and hospitals in neighboring townships, like Krugersdorp, Alexandra, Tembisa. Just around Soweto there in some other black townships. We knew of cases where people disappeared from June the 16th and nobody

knows where they are. If you would go to the police department and look into their file of recent persons since June 16, they could account for so many people who nobody knows where they are. They're not in detention, they're not in jail. They're not in exile; so they must be dead and buried somewhere and nobody knows where.

I don't know if families were given money by the police— They were given 200 rand to bury their people and they were told not to invite anybody to the funeral, and to not tell anybody about the funeral, only a few people must know. So that it's very difficult to get a total number of people who died actually. You could only get the total number from what their friends were telling you and from the number of people who know that in this particular township so-and-so's brother has died, ..students they knew in their classes have died. But all the other people, especially little kids, and old people, no one could account exactly where they have gone to.

A LOT OF REPORTERS DESCENDED ON SOWETO FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD WHEN IT HAPPENED. DID ANY OF THEM GET INSIDE THE BLACK COMMUNITY OF SOWETO TO TALK WITH THE VICTIMS?

Not whites.

HOW WERE THEY GOING TO GET A BALANCED STORY IF THEY WEREN'T ABLE TO TALK WITH...

I don't know if black reporters — In some cases they are afraid of reporting because they are subject to all the laws governing the press in South Africa. Certain information is just dynamite and does not go into the press. When these reporters come into Soweto, they report incidents of what they see, they don't report what they heard from people but can't substantiate. They're not supposed to go around to people and ask around 'what do you think about this?' They're supposed to just put in the facts, the figures, and nothing else — that they've been given by the police.

Immediately that reporters report about their own initiative, about what happened to their own people, they end up in detention. The same thing happened when

the Zulus were on the rampage, and the reporters testified that 'we heard the police saying the Zulu impis must murder the black people in Soweto'. Most of the reporters who reported that ended up in detention. Willie Bokala is in detention. Nat Serache was in detention. He was released and told that if ever you are seen near a riot scene again you'll be redetained.

Now, why aren't these reporters allowed to go into Soweto? Black reporters are told what to report, so one cannot expect very clear views of what is happening down there to come abroad here.

BUT IN SPITE OF ALL THAT HAS HAPPENED, IN SPITE OF ALL THE LIVES THAT WERE LOST, YOU STEPPED UP, THE STUDENTS ESPECIALLY STEPPED UP THEIR ACTIVITIES. STEPPED UP TRYING TO GET ELDERS TO STAY OUT FROM WORK. TO BOYCOTT THEIR JOBS. TO TIE UP THE ROADS. WHERE DID THIS ENERGY COME FROM?

Bitterness. We have seen too much of it. We have gone through too much of it; everybody knew that it's now or never. At one stage or another we have to come out and say 'Mr Vorster and your regime, this is not doing us any good.' We wanted to put it out to the people out here to know what's happening down there. We wanted the regime to know that we are not satisfied with it.

We want political rights, we want economic rights, we want our land back. At some stages myself I could not understand what was really in the minds of the people. I came out a student leader. Everybody knows I organised during this thing, everybody knows I was behind it, and everybody knows that I'm the leader behind it. But there were moments when I felt that I've got to lay off. People have suffered too much. And I don't think people can take it any more. And when I go around and talk with people, people would ask me 'when do we go to the streets again?'

I couldn't understand that; because what they literally implied is 'when are we going on the streets to be shot and to die again?' They knew that. They expected that. But all the time they were prepared to go on the streets. Uncanny. I don't understand it myself. It looks so unnatural... But after being with them for so

long, I think there is a little bit of understanding that I have as to what really drives them.

WHAT ABOUT THE ELDERLY? WE HEARD THAT THERE WERE SOME WHO WOULDN'T GO ALONG WITH WHAT THE STUDENTS WERE SAYING. IS THAT TRUE?

I don't know to what extent that has been portrayed here. If you say there were some who didn't go along, do you mean a few individuals? Good enough. It does not mean literally everybody in that sense, who is involved. But the majority, 95 per cent of the people were there, and were with us. It is their children who died on the streets, it is their own children who are in detention, who died in detention, who are being tortured; it is their children who are in exile. They are affected either way, directly or indirectly.

WE WERE GETTING A LOT OF REPORTS THAT IT WAS NOT BITTERNESS THAT CAUSED WHAT HAPPENED BUT THAT IT WAS THE COMMUNISTS. RUSSIA WAS BEHIND IT. DID YOU MEET ANY RUSSIANS?

I don't know what is communism. I never met it in my life. Only that what I know about communism is that the big power, South Africa, is scared of communism, and it regards communism as its enemy. Now from the mere fact that communism is the enemy of South Africa, the people back at home tended to identify themselves with whatever is an enemy to the racist regime.

I never knew what was happening in Angola, but from the mere thing that South Africa was fighting MPLA in Angola, I blessed solidarity with MPLA and said 'fight on, black brothers.' I didn't know what was the struggle all about, I didn't know what they were fighting for; I didn't understand what was Unita, why was FNLA against MPLA; but all the time I identified any enemy of the racist regime as my friend.

DO YOU HAVE ANY MODELS, OR DID YOU LEARN IN SCHOOL OR ANYWHERE ABOUT OTHER LEADERS OR MOVEMENTS THAT RESISTED OPPRESSION THAT YOU PATTERNED WHAT YOU DID AFTER? OR DID IT JUST COME TO YOU OUT OF YOUR OWN MIND?

I think the students back at home have read a little

bit about revolutions, about oppression and so on—

DID YOU HEAR ABOUT YOUR BROTHERS HERE IN AMERICA AND WHAT SOME OF US DID?

No, I never heard, except that there was a figure that one connects, that was Martin Luther King. We didn't know what their works are — anyway, I didn't know; a lot of students didn't. Only those who had those books, which were smuggled into the country, because most of them are banned anyway. I knew who was Malcolm X and so on, we knew he was some American leader and there was Black power going on in America.

I never knew anything about that. I just knew that we live in a corrupt and sick country, and this country needs some straightening out. And I'm a student leader at my school, I'm in a position to mobilize students and to get them in the streets and to say 'we don't want this.' And I did just that.

. . . [break] . . FORMAL EDUCATION?

No, from individual and personal interests.

BUT TELL ME ABOUT YOUR EDUCATION.

When I was on the way— Since I've been out here I've seen the type of education people are fed out here. The South African regime says black people are not supposed to be taught in order that they cannot identify themselves as human beings, that they are part of the human society, that they are part of this particular nation.

But literally what Bantu education means — that's the kind of education we're given at home — it means that black people must be educated in order to be domesticated. To become better use to the white man when they join the working community. And given that type of education, when you go to seek a job, you get the type of job where at least you have been modified to understand some of the thing's which go on in office routine work and so on.

There is the job reservation act which states that

because black and white people don't get the same type of education, therefore they cannot do the same type of work. I get the same type of qualifications with the white kid and pass matric, but because his matric was white and my matric was black, then we'll get to an office and do the same type of job together, office routine together, he gets about 50 per cent more than what I get, when it comes to money. Some jobs in South Africa are reserved for white people only,

HOW MUCH HISTORY DID YOU LEARN ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA?

I had history, until a few years back. I was doing history.

WHAT KIND OF HISTORY DID YOU LEARN THOUGH?

It's white, it can never be the truth; it's written by the white people for the white community; it's not written by black people for us. It tells us all the nice things the white man did to the black people when he came to South Africa. It doesn't say anything about . . . the black people. The statistics there, if there were wars between the blacks and whites, the ratio is about 1 to 1000 white people died in comparison to black people.

And all the time they're talking of treaties which were signed, this land was given to this particular person, and it belongs to the whites and so on and so on. A lot of That's one reason I quit doing history. It had nothing to do with me, and it wasn't my history. I'm still very much interested in someone who can write this African history as it is.

LET ME ASK YOU SOMETHING. DO YOU HATE WHITE PEOPLE?

I hate white people.

DOES IT MEAN THEN THAT ALL WHITES WHO ARE IN SOUTH AFRICA MUST BE KILLED? IS THERE ANY WAY THAT WHITES, AS YOU SEE IT, THE WHITES THAT YOU'VE KNOWN CAN LIVE IN HARMONY WITH BLACK PEOPLE?

Look, I'm in the leadership! I know what human relationship means. I would love to see a black and

white South Africa where people can live happily ever after. I wouldn't say I see it. I would be very happy if it could be there, but I don't see it. The people at home are so bitter about the white people. Everybody feels like taking a gun and wiping the whole white population off the face of the earth in South Africa.

A lot of people would like to see that happening, that going on. I believe room can be made for white people in South Africa. But immediately after an armed struggle, there are going to be so many things that are going to happen to the white people in South Africa that I literally don't see how they are going to fit in our community.

YOU DON'T THINK THAT IT WILL EVER REALLY BE CHANGED WITHOUT MORE BLOODSHED? IT CAN NEVER BE NEGOTIATED?

All peaceful methods have been exhausted. The peaceful methods which exist now in South Africa are all political frauds, all political swindles. The home ownership scheme, equal rights, whatnot. The homeland issue, they're all swindles, all the way. And the funny thing behind it, black people are aware what they all mean. Even literally everybody - the student body, the urban blacks, they're aware what it all means. But at the same time, the struggle goes on. Because the land is ours, the economy is ours, the country is ours.

THE TRANSKEI - HOW DO YOU VIEW THAT?

It's one of the political swindles. I do not understand how the white man can take the land away from us, and then 4 million people live in 87% of the land, 18 million live in 13% of the land. And this 13% was forced on the black people by the white man.

He uses the security police; he uses the Suppression of Communism Act; he uses the Terrorism Act. He uses BOSS, he works with international bodies to try to make it a showcase that the black man in South Africa accepts so-called independence. It is not independence in any sense. The final word will always come from Pretoria; Kaiser Matanzima knows it, Gatsha Buthelezi knows it, and they're aware that it's a big political fraud.

YOU'RE A YOUNG MAN. ONE WOULD THINK THAT A YOUNG MAN YOUR AGE WOULD BE THINKING ABOUT SPORTS. MAYBE TAKING OUT A FEW GIRLS. GETTING HIS EDUCATION OUT OF THE WAY. BUT YOU'RE INVOLVED IN ARMED STRUGGLE. DON'T YOU EVER THINK ABOUT THESE OTHER THINGS?

There is room for them in my life. It doesn't mean I must struggle all the way and won't find time to— But there are priorities, principles in the way I decide to run my life. It's not only that I'm a young person, it's that too that as a young person, what have I seen? What has gone through my eyes? What has gone through my mind? How much blood have I seen? If I am out there enjoying the girls, as everybody wants every young person to enjoy the girls, how much of the blood that was shed in Soweto is in my mind as I'm in a disco or in a bar or something? How much of the blood is in my mind when I go to school and sit down and try and read and concentrate on the so-called education we're supposed to get. How much of everything that I left back, memories — is still in my mind?

THEN I MUST ASK YOU WHAT YOU THINK ABOUT WHEN YOU'VE COME HERE, SEEING BLACK PEOPLE AND OUR CONDITION HERE AMONG SOME, AND SOME WHO PARTY AND HAVE A GOOD TIME AND SPEND A LOT OF MONEY. WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT THAT?

Mostly it's that people don't know what's going on; people have been conditioned by the way they live to think the way they do. It just needs a massive reaction by all militant people to mobilize people, to get people to realise what's going on in this world, and what role they play in every part of the world.

HAVE YOU BEEN DISAPPOINTED BY WHAT YOU SEE HERE AMONG YOUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS?

There is a little bit of disappointment, and I wish a number of things could happen. Anyway, everybody's aware that America is a sick country. America's got all kinds of dirty things, it's got corruption, it's got everything— And the people here are in a position to do something about it. And something can be done about it only when the people are ready to do something about it.

Causes of racism -In America are existent, everybody sees that; everybody knew that C Taylor(?) is going to hang. Little John (?) was in a big mess; everybody knew about that, but the question is, what did everybody do about it?

People know there is a place called South Africa. There are degrees of information about South Africa, but at the same time there is room for action, there is room for organising people, and at the same time there are still some other factors which get into that and which need to be sorted out.

YOU SAID THERE ARE A COUPLE OF THINGS YOU WOULD LIKE TO SEE HAPPEN.

In the interests of the black struggle in South Africa, I would like to see America getting out of our country. It is doing nothing in the interest of the black man. There are suggestions that look, like for instance, the American corporations they're exploiting our black people down there. In fact factories, in firms where they are American corporations, conditions for black workers are the same as in any other firm of the racist regime.

The American firms comply to the racist policies. Now they're coming in with big suggestions of equal pay, better working conditions, and a lot of other things; we don't want that. We don't want better working conditions, we don't want a 15% increase; we want total freedom. That is no longer our interest.

We are aware that if American corporations pull out, a lot of people will be unemployed. People may starve. But we also know that there is no struggle without casualties, we are not going to get everything put on a plate for us, and be told 'there is South Africa back to you.' We must suffer, we must die, we must kill, and we'll get our South Africa back to us.

WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT ALL THESE AFRO-AMERICANS WHO'VE BEEN GOING THERE, SOME TO PLAY TENNIS, SOME TO SING SONGS, SOME TO INVESTIGATE?

They're identified with the racist regime, they support it. But mostly, with some of the people I've met, like Arthur Ashe, it's like Arthur didn't exactly know what does it really mean if he goes there, if he tries to work with the black people there, if he tries to have some black.....in South Africa. What he's doing is promoting the image of the racist regime on an international scale. He was not aware of that.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN HE'S PROMOTING THE IMAGE?

Stories about people who come from abroad, and how these people are mixing out with the black people in South Africa, and it's all beautiful and everybody is all happy. Now we don't want that. We don't want Arthur Ashe coming down there to play tennis and to play tennis in a black tennis court. We want the tennis court to be the people's tennis court and everybody can play in there.. .

When he plays for the whites, then he's regarded as an honorary white, and he feels really good about it. (same with musicians creating publicity for happiness). We want to totally isolate South Africa in all aspects.

HENRY KISSINGER CAME DOWN TO SOUTH AFRICA. DID HE TALK TO ANY OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES DOWN THERE?

He talked to a number of people who were elected by the regime to go and represent the aspirations of the black masses. He met a number of well chosen and well . . . leaders; puppets of course. Uncle Toms I think you call it in America. As a student, I don't see what role Henry Kissinger can play in the South African racial struggle, the struggle for land and for political rights. I don't see exactly what role he can play except if Kissinger comes in terms of America wanting to identify itself with the liberation movements. As long as Kissinger supports the racist regime then he's got no role to play for the black people. And therefore when the students said "Kissinger go home" they knew that Kissinger cannot be the South African black messiah. He's got no role in South Africa, as far as the black masses are concerned.

ONE LAST THING. WE ALWAYS ASK THIS TO PEOPLE ON "LIKE

IT IS". YOU KNOW, HERE IN AMERICA WE HAVE A PROBLEM WITH SOME OF OUR YOUTH: THEY SMOKE REFERS, THEY'RE INVOLVED WITH DRUGS, THEY DON'T WANT TO GO TO SCHOOL. THEY AREGETTING INTO BAD BEHAVIOR. IS THERE ANYTHING YOU WANT TO SAY TO THE YOUNG BROTHERS?

Well, there are a lot of things I want to say to the young people here, but the young people here are living in a sick society. They gotta be helped fast, and they can give us some help, e.g. join the March 25-26 demonstrations organised by the National Students Coalition Against Racism, to commemorate the Sharpeville shootings about 16 years back. Let them participate in that, let them demonstrate.

They can help us to get America out of the country, picket firms that deal with SA. (The trouble with outside support groups is they don't coordinate and concentrate but are too fragmented and trying too many projects at once.)