

J.F. So can I start by asking you to tell me where you were born and when?

J.S. Well, I was born in Randfontein - that's on the west of Johannesburg plus/minus 30 kilometres away - westwards - that is west of Johannesburg, and that was - I was born in 1938 - I'm a war baby, in other words, ja. Well, most of my life I spent around the areas, where I was just shifting around within the same magisterial district of Randfontein. I was born in a township in Randfontein which is no more - it was removed because of Group Areas Act and relocated further away from the white town of Randfontein - and after some time I was shifted to (.....) but still within the area - we moved on - in - on - onto the mining area actually - it's a little place called Robinson, and from there moved on to further west beyond - about 18 kilometres away from Randfontein - westwards again, a place called Westonaria, so most of my life I spent around that areas until I was well, deported to the homelands after serving on Robben Island.

J.F. What kind of work did your parents do?

J.S. Well, my parents were - my mother was a domestic, and my father used to work in the mine and - but towards their - towards the end they - my father resigned from the mines, after working for over 24 years, and then that's what made us move away from the mining area, because he couldn't stay in that area when you are not employed by the mining area. So we moved westwards to Westonaria, where they started a little business of their own, a general dealer, up to the time they died.

J.F. And were they very political? Did they imbue you with politics? Were they....

J.S. Well, I wouldn't say political in the sense that they had any particular political affiliation, but I would say they were very - they were conscious politically, though like I say, not with any necessary stance of some kind, but just aware of the issues at hand, what affected us as a people - they were that - those type of people, and my mother of course I always see (?) - she was concerned, but always approached her way (?) in - I don't know - I'm (?) one would say in a very humanitarian type of approach, and which after many years, I regarded that she had a vision - in Christian terms I would say she was very spiritual and had, you know, penetrating perception, and she had a marvellous way of handling all these issues.

I'm saying that because when I was still far much younger and very much political, I would say you have (?) maybe be - becoming an activist - then there was - that was in 1956, I think - that was in 1956 or '55, around about there, when there was a major stayaway countrywide - if you remember that period there were quite - several stayaways, campaigns advocating maybe for salaries - equal pay for equal work, that type of thing - so that we lived along (?) - close on to the bus terminus, and that's the hub of activity, so that there's that - that night, or early that morning when they (?) proposed they have the stayaways strike was to happen, she woke me up early in the morning - it was a cold winter - cold - very cold winter morning, and you know, the Transvaal winters are very severe - and she woke me up and called me, says come and see, and we peep through the window, and there was a mass of faces and there were police faces, armed to the teeth.

By then she was quite aware that I was already political conscious and maybe also active, even though I was hiding it from them. That very night I'd just gone to bed about an hour or so ago, and she woke me up, she - she wasn't aware that I'd just come into the house secretly, surreptitiously - I'd gone out on political activist work to go and spread pamphlets, to go and write slogans on the wall in preparation of that morning, or that day's stayaway.

J.S. So that I was almost like very sleepy when she woke me up and she - when I saw the police I immediately got - now made a remark out of - I was very cross, and I said : Well, they're armed to their teeth, these dogs, to come and kill us because it's a stayaway - and then I went back to bed, but then I couldn't fall asleep because she was causing a hell of a noise in the kitchen with utensils, and I was just wondering why these old ladies making such a noise early in the morning.

So after some time the noise subsided and she came back and woke me up, but I said : Oh, Ma, come on - well, she was a hard worker, a very conscientious worker, and I thought it was one of her good moods to do a lot of work, and she got me up, and what she did - then I saw a tray (?) she made me - she said : Help me with these cups and trays. I picked up one of the trays, very big tray full of cups and coffee and tea, jugs of coffee and tea, and well, of course because they had a - a business, I thought oh, this is now coffee (?) because winter - people will - their customers will always be wanting some coffee or tea, because it's early in the morning, they are rushing off to work, they don't have time to make fires in their houses, so I thought oh well, it's (.....) for our customers, so I picked up a tray - I obliged, followed her.

But as we went around the corner - from our premises it's just next to the shops there, the trading centre, and we went then past the police - I thought well, we are (?) going to pass them, and she stopped dead in our tracks, says (?) stop there, and I wanted to go past - she says : No, come back - and I went past and she started serving these people tea, and I was furious and I wanted to say Ma, and she said : You keep quiet - because she knew what I was going to say apparently - she says : You keep quiet, I'm busy with elderly people, can't you see - she was that type of a strict person, and by elderly she meant these policemen - I've got no business to say anything, talk back to adults (?) or cause a row - she's instructed me to help and she's serving the tea - then (when) she served the tea - I was very angry.

And when we went back oh, just as she was serving tea, they were drinking and they said : Thank you mosadi - that means thank you, woman - and she took strong exception to that - she said : Don't call me woman, you are so young as - as young as my children - to me you are my children, and I'm not a woman to you, I'm mother to you - I am woman to your fathers - they can call me woman, and not you, you are children, you are to (?) call me mother. And because she was giving them that needed desired warmth when they needed in coffee, they obliged - they kept on saying : Thank you, moeder, Dankie, moeder, thank you, mother. And then she stopped - called them short also and said : Don't thank me - thank me this way - go tell your mothers in town that on this cold winter morning a mother, black mother came out and gave you tea - because she couldn't put up with the pain that she was feeling right in her home to see her own children - you standing here in the bitter cold, when you ought to be in bed or some such thing - and holding those cold pieces of steel which you call guns, making you further cold, and I'm trying to keep you warm because I feel the pain - you are my children - I don't want to see my children exposed to such severe cold, and you tell your mothers that it is a black mother, and they in turn must also feel the pain right in their homes. She was saying that - I'm quoting her, translating it - she was saying it (?) - that's a Tswana word - when a mother becomes very passionate she said : I feel the pain in my stomach, it's a child of my stomach - meaning the womb - so that they in turn should feel that pain in their homes while you carry guns and move into the township to come and shoot your brother, this boy - pointing towards me - and there was some kind of silence.

J.S. Well, then it didn't matter to me - to me she didn't impress me (?) - anyway they were not my brothers - they were not her (?) sons as far as I was concerned, they are just the enemy. So we went back home after them finishing (?) and put a - but I felt so strong about it I sort of politely took the matter up - I said : But Mama, why can you do that, how can you do that, give our hard earned sweat in the form of coffee and tea, and you got up so early, and you give those people - I actually said those dogs, who are in the township to kill us, to kill our people, who are legitimately saying they are withdrawing their labour because they are underpaid, and if they are paid quite (?) satisfactorily they are willing to work, and that's all that I'm trying to state, and you go and give them tea - don't you think you are betraying people - and then she says : No, I'm not, your aunt is there - I had another aunt in the - a relative of mine - your aunt is there - I know - and I'm with her (?) - they are not going to go work.

My aunt was also involved in the women's group, ja - I think it's the women's league, ja - she's there (?) - and I feel - and they are right - I have been a domestic worker all these years and know what it means - I've worked for nothing, but that does not make me less of a mother - I'm trying to teach those boys something, including their mothers - didn't you hear what I was saying. Then I was dismissed with : Ah, that doesn't help, they'll never learn. And then she says to me : Look, my boy, I want to tell you again, I also yearn for the freedom you want, and if I had it any other way, my way, I would be out there with you when you run around in the night in meetings - and I didn't know where she got that from - but I can tell you that whilst I want that freedom, I want to tell you, my boy, you are not going to get it alone without them working with you to get (?) that freedom....

J.F. The whites?

J.S. Yes - and it didn't mean anything to me, and she says : You see, if you get it alone it will be harder, but it will be easier if we get it jointly (?) for that freedom that you want - I believe it's not yours alone - we share things that are good for us, therefore you going to share it with them, I know - and if they don't know how you got it, they are going to spoil it, so the real freedom is when you two boys, white/black, do it and understand together - have a common understanding - that will be long-lasting freedom. And she gave (?) quite a -well, of course to me then I was angry, maybe I was not listening, or did not understand - it's only after years that I understood what she meant, that the whole question does not really lie in the colour - it was something beyond - and I've come also to reflect on that to mean the rights that I need, the human rights that I need are actually truly indivisible - just as much as I need them for myself, I'm also championing their rights, and if I believe (?) anybody's rights, human rights to be valid, then I'm now (?) protecting my rights - to protect another person's rights, human rights, I'm also protecting my - in short I understood her to mean that.

And also the developments in the country - well, that went just away - never went back to read with my mother discussing that any longer. But later on I was arrested and sent to Robben Island, and I spent six years, and on - when - on my release, it coincided almost with the French Beytagh, the Dean of Johannesburg's incidents, and there was a whole massive protest by the churches every day at midday they were ringing bells, and she was so happy she said : You see, my boy, I told you - now is the beginning of what I told you, their own children will see the need of you having to be free, they - they will get involved now, and look at the dean - he's arrested, he's under surveillance and what have you, and it's not only you now, it's everybody - they'll start hitting at anybody who's freedom loving, and that is how both of you are going to get involved, and if you get it that way, it will be long-lasting.

J.S. I pray that it affects everybody in the country, so that when you are free we know that all of us have won something worthwhile preserving, and nobody should try and undermine it - and that was her understanding, her philosophy, which I may (?) want to believe that - that is why I say to me she had an insight, a deep insight, but put it - she put it as a lay (?) person.

J.F. As a what?

J.S. A lay person, ja, not a specialist in human relations or political affairs, but she had an understanding - one thing sure (?) she was quite aware what was happening, and many other such little incidents. Then I was more ruled at a younger age - I was more ruled by anger, so that then in my involvement at that tender age well (while) I saw the issues, but then I was also ruled by anger that well, now (no) good can come out of these guys.....

J.F. The whites?

J.S. The whites, you see, and it's none of their business what I want, they don't care - neither do I care to preserve what they want, ja, so that - but later on that sort of - that her thinking and perception became reality as one was growing or maturing and going through experiences and seeing that, like I'm saying, it's not a question of colour - there's more to it than colour as such, and events are proving that by the day.

J.F. That's an amazing story. Let me take it back a bit - you say you were ruled by anger. In '55 and in the late '50s you were in your late teens and early 20s?

J.S. Ja, that's right.

J.F. So how did - what did you first get politically involved with?

J.S. Well, I would say what - what - I always say - I don't know whether it's easy to determine exactly when one was politicised or politically conscious - talking as one of the oppressed people and living in a conservative area like the West Rand, I mean I can almost say every person with average intelligence - every black person with average intelligence would sooner or later very soon discover that things are not normal - he or she is oppressed - may not use the terms, but will see that he or she is an underdog, so that I would say awareness, consciousness started with me at a tender age, even before I became ten years I was already aware that there is a disparity - there is a difference between myself and a white child - white parents, white/black parents - so that that is the awareness - an (and) every day experience was reinforcing - you move into a shop, somebody very huge, very big kicks you off for no reason, says to you : Wat kyk jy mee - what are you looking at - and already things are formulating in your head.

You always find hostility, aggression from the white community an (?) unjustifiable - which you cannot justify, you've done no wrong, you're a child, but you're brutalised, and that raises your consciousness, political consciousness, and you immediately engage and as playmates, you talk about it, and then you engage in activity. Sometimes you say : We are moving into town to challenge them, those bullies - we will (?) put up a fight - we know they are going to assault us, but if they come of our age, they're in for serious trouble, we're going to put up a fight - and we'd move into town to go and assert ourself, refuse to be dominated, to be bullied by them, and we had several fights, and in the process too, out of those fights sometimes emanated friendships - we'd fight these whites, later on become their friends - there was some kind of different ball game going on all the time.

J.F. But you didn't grow up in a Sophiatown kind of place. Did you grow up in Sophiatown (?) - you did?

J.S. Yes, it - Randfontein is the Sophiatown kind - it was just a street (?) - that was why I say it was relocated, the township I was - I was born in - it had to be removed because of Group Areas Act - it was too close onto town - it was about two, three streets away from town, from their residential area, and we were there - so in our section they had (?) there was a mixture - we'd have all sorts of black people - I mean Africans or col - so-called Coloureds, Indians there living together - there was no problem with that, so that it was the (?) Sophiatown - it's one of the old townships, which were called locations, so that is the type of place I grew up in.

And then well, maybe a more pronounced involvement came in when I was about 14 in 1952 - then it was the defiance campaign - the campaign was successful, it was spreading all over, and at that age we could - I was amongst the people who were (?) regarded mostly our (?) we're very - we are (who are) bright little boys at school, little girls - we could read on our own, especially me - my task was to buy my father a newspaper - I had to go something like three miles every morning to go and buy the newspaper, and he leaves the house at about quarter to eight, so that it meant me waking up at five thirty to go and get his morning newspaper, to give him enough time to read it before he leaves.

So I'd rush and go fetch it, and when I come back they are still asleep, and I read it, so I was quite abreast - kept abreast, well informed about events. And that will be the discussion point, whatever the news item is there, because some of my neighbours, or most of my neighbours could not afford buying a newspaper. My father was some - well, in a position to - he was a clerk - so I have - anything I read I go and share - in fact other boys come to me and say what was in the newspaper, then we discuss then - that's how we picked up the defiance campaign - there is a campaign going and of course well, the papers were there, the magazines were there, highlighting and publicising that fact.

Then in our area there wasn't any campaign - that was now the area when (?) I lived in a mining area, Robinson, there wasn't a campaign as such relating to the defiance campaign - nobody - they were feeling more vulnerable (valuable) if they organised themselves into such - they were working in the mines, so they could be fired any....

J.F. So you lived in a family hostel?

J.S. Ja, I was (.....)

J.F. At a compound?

J.S. At a compound there's - there are the single male what they call compounds and every mining area has a little residential area for married quarters, of the clerks or the - it still existed, that place, up to now, so that I live in such type of village or township, mining little town.

J.F. So there was no ANC in the premises then?

J.S. Well, there was, but it campaigns - it depends on what nature of campaign, such as the stayaway, they couldn't do it easily - it's a small place and they had to work and to occupy the house you have to work, and if they go on strike they're likely to be kicked out and lose their houses, so that that thing militates against them participating - but other nature of campaigns that they could cope up with they could - for instance, there was a time when there was a potato boycott - they participated in that - people were not buying potatoes in the area - even the free ration that they were getting, they were chucking away the potatoes, you see.

J.F. So when did you actually get involved? Did you join ANC or did you get in a campaign, did you....

J.S. Ja, I'm coming to that - at that age with the campaign then we, because we are informed, decided to identify with the campaign by actually now going also into a vicinity where there was a post office, segregated entrances, to go and identify and take a stand too on the basis of the defiance campaign. We're just about four, five friends, and we went into the Robinson post office and went on the wrong side, which is said white side, and we got in, and the postmaster didn't take us seriously, just said get out you - and we said : No, we are not getting out, this is our country, Mayibuyel - Why should we get into the door that you say it's meant for blacks - it's one and the same post office.

And we were (?) cornered and the police came, and they came hurriedly, because it was - the campaign was on all over - they came hurriedly, and I think they were a little disappointed when they arrived at the post office - they were told that here are fellows here in the defiance campaign, so they came quickly, prepared to meet and confront the demonstrators, and there they found small boys, black boys, and they - what they did was to grab a cane and cane us and tell us go home - they actually chased us away, but we ran away - as soon as we're out of sight we said : We are not going home, we're going to continue with the campaign.

Then what we did - next to the post office there is a station, railway station - we went to the station, because we knew there were segregation, separate entrances - through one subway they put up a wall, and we went in and we felt (?) well, the tunnel there, the wall's so dark there's no point in standing there, nobody sees us, but we decided no, to ride (?) and - it's a mining area, you get things, chinks, pieces of chalk that they use then chuck away, and we quickly went for these thick chinks that they use in a mining school, and we wrote on the walls of the subway No Segregation, Down with colour bar, that type of thing on both sides, black and white, and we stood now at the exit and waited and had fun - we saw the whites - they were angry - those who said anything, we replied them - even black people - I remember one adult, black adult who was coming out of the tunnel, he said : What's all this - they were reading all those slogans on the wall and said : But there is no segregation here, segregation is in America - and we got that and we took him up on that and we said : No, segregation means dividing, putting these races so-called black white apart, and it's existing here too.

And we had a lengthy argument with the - the old man, and he ended up by saying : But you are bright boys, keep it up, you must be tomorrow's leaders, don't stop (Laugh) that type of thing, so that was my first rub, but well, then I think the government was still very lenient, the police were lenient - they saw boys today, younger children are getting a far worse treatment - they are serving in prison, they are in - languishing in detention, so that I would say those years they were still a little liberal.

So that was my thing, and later on of course well, most of my young - my childhood friends got involved in the ANC youth league, and I was very sympathetic, but did not want to engage in - the one sense (?) I said you - it's wasting time - yes, every day, Sunday rallies, rallies, rallies, I hear that, but what is needed is fight - I want to fight - we got to fight these guys - with what you are doing, my friends, there, having rallies, doesn't matter, we have a good rally, Sunday - Monday we go back to work and they toss us around - we need to fight them - so in that way I was not directly involved, but always when there were things to be done I was willing to do - actually at some stage I was paying subscription fees....

J.F. To ANC youth league?

J.S. Ja, that's right, subscription fees in the area, but I'm trying to point out the anger that I felt, that that's not the right way - we got to fight

J.S. Well, it's good - when we had our seniors, our elders talk and espouse the aspirations of it (?) we said : That is wonderful, and it's good for them - we want to fight - ja, those (?) our leaders, they must talk - we want them in parliament, fine - we are not interested in talking, we want to hit at these guys.

J.F. How fight? Did you envision how?

J.S. Well, we thought fighting, gum or (?) whatever, bow and arrow, anything, as a weapon - we mean physical clashes - that's what we meant so - but after some time there was maybe a lull in that thing, but always not forgetting the consciousness that Europeans - you are the downtrodden and standing in on - up for your rights wherever they were challenged I mean in terms of your civic rights - if you are abused (?) you talk back - we'd refuse to call them baas and get a beating - sometimes we are in a position of hitting back, just every day life, so that that kept consciousness alive - you know, not out of our own making but out of what was being dished out to us, so forever you were made conscious of the fact that you're oppressed, that you're different - you go to (?) school, you see that you're different - we go some - I was travelling most of the time by train to school for my high school education, it was quite clear - we'd be separated by a coach (?) white students and black students, and students being what they are, children being what they are, black or white would break those barriers when the ticket examiners are not there and go into the coaches - some come into our coaches, we discuss, and we start realising that we are not getting the same type of education - we'd identify them or us as belonging to one standard of level of education, but when we discuss we discover that they are doing far much more than we're doing in terms of their syllabus, so we realised that there was an inequality in the quality of education - I mean that kept consciousness alive - so that later on I moved to an area for my education in what is known - known as the Vaal complex in Everton - Everton residential - it's around Sebokeng area - long before Sebokeng - that was in the '60s - I went in '59, '60, and then there was that whole thing - the temperature or tensions were rising during that time - it was towards - it was working towards the banning of the political organisation, and there was already another organisation, the Pan-Africanist Congress....

J.F. And were you involved with the breakaway and with the PAC?

J.S. No, no, no, no, I was just a - a child growing then - it's in '59 - entering my 20s.

J.F. You didn't know much about the breakaway?

J.S. Ja well, the story was there - it was there - like I say, we kept reading, but it was there - we knew that there was a new party and well, that was nothing to be there (?) - it's just one and the same things, like a football club breaking from another football club (?) - football club - but as months went on, days went on, then mobilising, then being debating, we got to understand now this is a fully fledged organisation, and in the area the PAC - well, originally the ANC was very strong in the area - then because the ANC is - I mean PAC was instituted or incepted by young people from the congress as such, therefore it was still - it was an area where it was prominent - many (?) young people who (?) were living in the area, in the Vaal complex too, who were in the ANC, who were in the wing that went out of ANC to form PAC, so the thoughts and ideas were there, the debates were always on - that's how I got to know about it, but still not very much - my attitude was always no, I'm always waiting, I'm waiting for the fight, but took in ideas from both sides that impressed me and sounded good, so that was now maybe a defiant type of awareness began then the late....

J.F. Defiant?

J.S. Ja, type of awareness - the other one is general - it goes your experience But now you're making a decision that is I say (?) defiant, where you consciously say.....

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J.F. awareness.

J.S. Ja, that's right - that is where you are consciously now making decisions, political decisions, whether you are getting involved or not getting involved.

J.F. And so what....

J.S. So it was - it was at that time now I was observing - then came the Sharpeville, the pass things - Sharpeville, and that sharpened now my awareness when people were shot, not only in Sharpeville, in Cape Town, and there was great tension all over - then there were raids into most of the townships after that, immediately after that, like they are doing now, house to house raids. Actually they were - in our area they were removing even irons - opening kitchen dressers and removing knives and calling them dangerous weapons, and taking our old ladies' irons - that made me very cross and made them (?) very cross, and we felt that we have now to get engaged, and at the time then here were - was a - an organisation that was prepared to fight, that was openly talking of armed struggle.

J.F. Whereas the ANC wasn't openly....

J.S. At the time it wasn't - well, it had a history all along - maybe at that time (?) they were saying, but in the area that sound was not heard - it was this other group, the PAC, and that was how I got involved and openly identified now, made a decision - I became a member of the PAC.

J.F. Although you had been an ANC youth league?

J.S. Ja well, that is why I use the term defiant - maybe then it was not defiant - it was just you feel agrieved (?) and there's no other platform, vehicle of expressing, or body articulating your frustrations, except the body, which we regarded - respectfully regarded as our mouthpiece - and with all the history we have listened to our parents talking - their uncles were in it, so-and-so, so that....

J.F. ANC?

J.S. Ja - it had that aura, that respectability - up to now it has - it is the people's organisation. But now here was a group now that seemed to be addressing what the young people, angry young people wanted to do or seen done, the fight part of it. We don't want our daddies to fight, our mothers to fight - we want to do the fighting, you know, that type of rationale. So the answer was this new one, which consists of - of younger people, who have been in the ANC, you see - that is how it captured the fancy of many young people.

J.F. And what captured your fancy? Was it hearing a particular leader speak or reading the pamphlets, just hearing the buzz or what? Do you remember....

J.S. I had (heard) - there were many people - they were campaigning - unlike today, where mobilisation is not done so openly.

J.S. In those years, that time it was open - in the buses people will talk - I've heard many talk and say : This is what we stand for - I heard lots of it in the buses between Johannesburg and Everton - weekends we travel to go to the cinema in Johannesburg, and we'd get it - in the township they would be there - wherever there was a crowd, they would be there, espousing their beliefs and showing why they had to leave, to address - well, they were appealing to the anger that was existing in the young people, so that is how one got involved.

And there was the immediate banning of the organisations, both of them, and well, of course whatever happened that times you hardly were sure that it emanated from the organisation, which one of the two, but it was all (?) the question that both of them were addressing the problems, the issues that affected the people, and people would get involved, little caring whether it's from this source or that source - if it's a campaign addressing their problem, it is a campaign addressing their problem, that's their common problem. If it's a bus (?) boycott, it doesn't matter who has called the bus boycott, there is a reason - it's a valid call, and people address it, so that is that - and in that process then one got arrested.

J.F. So when did you get arrested?

J.S. I got arrested in 1963....

J.F. But just....

J.S. That is after - after the banning ja, because the whole thing was now going - in spite of the fact that there was banning, there was activity going on, and it became even more dangerous now because now it was - they were banned organisation - nobody prior to 1960 was convicted and arrested for belonging to a political organisation. Now that was another phase in our history, where you could get arrested for being a member of a political organisation by the fact that - fact that it was banned.

J.F. So it was just membership that you were....

J.S. Ja, mem - just being a member....

J.F. You didn't have any other?

J.S. No, they had nothing - they just said I'm a member and furthering its aims

J.F. And who - how many people were on trial? Were there any other well known people?

J.S. Ja, I think we were quite many - there was a general sloop throughout the country, general sloop like they always do. In our area I think we were about 14 the West Rand - Randfontein area there were about 40.

J.F. And what evidence did they have on you?

J.S. Well, the evidence is the meetings that we're conducting secretly.

J.F. Did they have a spy in and told them about the meetings or....

J.S. Ja well, sometimes it's not through spies that they get - just people talking openly, and here sits a policeman, and with young enthusiasm and sometimes you speak, you don't care - you feel you have to address yourself to him too in good faith, he's one of you - and then he makes it an issue, put your - they put tabs on you, and when the sloop came they could pick up people and that, and when they applied pressure on people, people broke down and said : Yes, we had secret meetings, and this one was always on the forefront addressing meetings, doing this and that.

J.S. It's on the basis of that evidence that many people were convicted.

J.F. So '63 you were tried and convicted?

J.S. And convicted, and sentenced to six years.

J.F. In the time between the PAC's founding and your arrest - you got excited right from '59, from the actual founding of the PAC?

J.S. I got?

J.F. You were interested, you joined the PAC from....

J.S. No, I didn't join it then - I didn't join - that was shortly before - I could say shortly after - oh no, shortly before the Sharpeville thing - loose sympathetic affiliation, but when (?) after the event determination, but then it was banned - the infrastructure or the structures had to change the dynamics - no more offices because they'll hit - no more specified places where meetings were - were carried or conducted, like before the ban - there were special places, the square, even the football ground - people would know on such a day it's occupied by this group on such a day, or on Sundays both sharing the platforms, thrashing out differences or points, selling their stands (stance) to people to make their own decisions - the climate was politically very healthy in our communities - people had an opportunity of making choices, unlike now that has been removed, and leadership is being removed, either forced into exile or arrested or detained.

J.F. So you joined post-Sharpeville, post the banning, but then went right into underground structures?

J.S. Ja, that's right.

J.F. And they didn't get you on anything to do with armed struggle? You weren't pushing people out of the country or....

J.S. No, no, no.

J.F. But you said that the reason you liked PAC was that they were going to fight, but you weren't involved in an armed structure?

J.S. Yes well, I would say perhaps it was not formulated yet, depending on the region - somewhere else somebody could have now directly taken far advanced steps - in our area it hadn't gone to that - people were regrouping because of the ban, but the ideas were being espoused, people were talking, and it was now quite clear (.....) I mean all sides were talking of that the only solution is armed struggle.

J.F. And you remember December, 1961 when the ANC launched its sabotage campaign, when there were the sabotages....

J.S. That's right, that was happening - like I said - now it was quite clear that this whole question of armed struggle was common to anybody political

J.F. I'm so interested because the kind of historians have written about the kind of - who joined the ANC and who joined the PAC and who broke away to join the PAC, what the motivations were, so if I could just ask you a bit about that....

J.S. Ja well, from my understanding I wouldn't say I know our - I was part of it - the understanding is not actually a breakaway as though people were at loggerheads - I perceive it as a development, which could not be catered for within the organisation, and it happened, or perhaps the young Africanists who were impatient maybe, even the whole - before the thing was resolved within the mother body, they had decided to step out to establish an organisation.

J.F. But for you was the motivation to do with race? Did you feel that the PAC had a better programme because it was not involved with whites?

J.S. No, no.

J.F. It wasn't a factor?

J.S. No, it wasn't a factor as such or (?) the whites in the sense as it is understood in racist terms. It was a question of well, one - if I were to use an economic term, people who hold capital, who are business-owners - how do you boycott their businesses, how do you arrive at that decision, when they are in your midst and they have controlling power - won't they always stand against campaigns aimed at the businesses they own and give you a less effective campaign, or agitate for a less effective campaign - that was more or less that, and it could have affected any other person if there was a black sector at the time that had capital, that had business - I think it would have still created the same tension (attention)

And to elaborate on that whole thing, my understanding, or most of us, our understanding of Africanism did not mean anti-whitism - for in our (?) training in my understanding, colour had nothing to do with that, with Africanism - neither the shape of your eyes, the shape of your nose and ears had nothing to do with you - it has all to do with the fact that you're African, African in the sense that you owe your loyalty to the continent - you have your destiny intertwined with the people whether your origin is a different one - that is the understanding, nothing to do with colour.

Of course as young people, we would bring it in, but knowing full well that we are not reflecting the true concept for it is the whites, these whites - like they say kaffir (.....) we retaliate....

J.F. Say what?

J.S. They say kaffir, you retaliate, the boers - these boers - but you knew that it was not a question of them being boers - it is a question that they are oppressors.

J.F. But yet you express it in Africanist terms? You didn't accept the way the ANC formulated it? You didn't accept the way the ANC formulated the dynamics? You preferred the PAC formulation of Africanism, of the oppressed united, however you put....

J.S. No well, the ANC wasn't saying anything different maybe - it was talking of African people all the time - it was a nationalist - African nationalist organisation just inasmuch as that, but the difference PAC stretch it further - it became Pan-Africanist in outlook - it did not only concern itself with South Africa, our understanding - that it concerned itself with the entire continent - it was a burning issue that who is oppressed, it is the African first and foremost, and it is the Africans' problems - problem, and they themselves alone will have to solve that problem.

The ANC regarded nationalist organisation as it is, according to our understanding - they took that into consideration, but they said but, like my mother : We are aware that we can also allow those in our midst who are not African, if they feel strong about the point, to do it with us - now our understanding that no, they can't do it with us - if they want to help us, they can help mobilise, correct the attitudes of their people there, we'll sort it out - we have a converging point when we have tackled the business of an oppressive government - remove that one - we have a common point - we are common if we owe the same loyalty - we are common citizens, a common people - the colour is irrelevant.

- J.F. But do you - was that a motivating factor for you to be in the PAC, this understanding that the whites could....
- J.S. Well, not - not solely - you cannot look at things like that in isolation - they are complementary - component parts of the one - of the whole - so that, as I say, at the - at the beginning below you, from gut feeling, it is the need and the realisation that the talking won't (?) help you - you are being brutalised and you've got to defend yourself now, physically, because you are being assaulted physically - you got to fight - call it armed struggle or what - that was the main motivating factor or reason that one had to do something - that somebody has to make up his mind, whether you are sit - you got to sit down and do nothing about your circumstances or you are going to do something, and your doing something is that I want to fight, for I'm being fought.

Even before I start fighting they are already fighting me - they carry guns into my township - they shoot at me - well, I say Mayibuye, then they are at war - then I've got to fight now in self-defence.

- J.F. Let me just understand - I just got confused when we got interrupted - you're saying that it was a convergence of factors. Partly it was the newness and the aggressiveness of the PAC, kind of a new organisation that wanted to be felt, wanted to fight. Partly it was indeed this issue of the whites can be involved at a later juncture. It was a combination?
- J.S. Ja well, when you - when I say partly I mean now that's the philosophy or ideology, but your point of entry is not necessarily the - you don't start off with the ideology - it is your feeling that tells you do something, and you look around, where can I find an expression of what I feel, and here is a body - it has its policies, it has its philosophy - and in the process you get to understand and well say : Well, I can live with that - and you accept, but your entry point was not necessarily the philosophy - it was your frustration, your aspiration, what you were feeling at the time.
- J.F. Did your acceptance of the PAC ideology mean that you rejected the ANC ideology? You thought it was wrong to have whites involved in the way the ANC did?
- J.S. Well, I - I believed that I cannot engage - for me it was strategically a correct position to take - how do I tell that when I sit in a meeting this person is a policeman - how do I ensure that he engages exactly like me - I live in the township alone - we have to decide to go on a campaign - he won't be there, so it's time-wasting - I've got to just to give him (?) feedbacks all the time - I'm not his servant. If we sit here tonight and have to go and write slogans, he's not there to write the slogans with me. Out of the meeting we experience life differently - that's how I saw it.
- J.F. And what about for Coloureds and Indians - they couldn't write slogans with you at night so easily either.
- J.S. Right - with Coloureds my understanding of the philosophy was - was non-recognition of an entity called Coloureds - those people are our (?) flesh and blood and it is for them - they had a right to - to choose - from experience - we grew up with them - some resented us, and regarded themselves as white - some were with us, and that was hard (?) - and we know that they are - are really - they are our cousins - out of white and out of us maybe they came into being, so that they were really not an entity recognisable as such, but they were at a position where they could be with father or mother if they wanted to, so that that is - that's when the term started so-called Coloured, because you don't recognise, and we regarded that as an insult of the oppressive regime to regard our colour - our brothers as Coloureds - why can't they accept them as their kith and kin like we accept them as their kith and kin, for it is because of mixed marriages.

J.F. And what about Indians?

J.S. The Indians then - the answer was this, that the Indians it is because of this whole question that maybe we have been apart (a part) all along, and of course this whole question of African - at this stage it becomes problematic, but the awareness is there that they are oppressed - look around Natal - some of them are even worse off than the African people - but now as an ally, their task would be to conscientise the Indian community on the same basis, same understanding as ourselves.

J.F. And the whites?

J.S. The whites have to decide either reject their communities and fully engage and continue, but too they had the task that side - one of rejecting, one of working on the attitudes of their people, but then, as I say, as a matter of - for strategic reasons they couldn't just freely be accepted or engaged because they will be suspecting those cases, so that that would take up, or bring about lots of frustrations for them, you see.

J.F. And how did you feel about the ANC views? Did you just think this is totally wrong? Did you....

J.S. No, our feeling at the time it was not so much of resentment - absolutely, it was not so much of resentment - I'm giving perceptions at the time so many years ago, perceptions that were cherished or shared by many young people, who were not directly involved with the Africanist movement within the ANC and the move out of ANC to established, who were joining a - an event, a phase of a development, so the perceptions were not of resentment - the perceptions were understanding that this is how our mother operates - we are the fighting force - it....

J.F. PAC (?) being the mother?

J.S. Ja, that's right - it has to continue existing - it is articulate (?) - it's articulating many of our frustrations - in fact all of our frustrations are well articulated, no question about that - but then in African perceptions there are perceptions - the young people are the warriors - so that the perceptions are that the warriors have gone away from home to wage war, and we join them because we are the warriors of the community - those were the perceptions - not so much that it is useless with what it is saying, no such a thing (?) - maybe - I don't know what the tensions were inside there.

J.F. Do you remember arguing with ANC people at all? What did they....

J.S. Ja well....

J.F. What were the kind of debates about?

J.S. The debate was - for instance, let's pick up one - the debates that I have engaged in on the concept of multiracialism and non-racialism - that is all they (?) - that was an ongoing issue of debate that the mother body was talking about multiracialism, and we understood that well, we don't believe in multiracialism, for multiracialism means a multiplicity of racism - we believe in non-racialism, where we have to forget these pockets called races and regard ourself as belonging to one race, which is the human race, and the differences or lines of distinction are those of nationality, a nationality based on the continent, African because I'm of Africa, European because you are of Europe - not - we are not interested in that you are Saxon or Barvarian, that's not important - it's like tribalism.

J.F. So you think PAC is the non-racial movement?

- J.S. Yes, if you (?) refer to the documents, earlier documents, you'll see the terms non-racialism, multiracialism and compare.
- J.F. Who specifically used non-racialism? Who specifically used the words non-racialism?
- J.S. PAC was using the term non-racialism, and ANC was using multiracialism, and many other people outside even both of organisation (?) the popular term was multiracialism. And since then there's been a development - that is why non-racialism took root. Today very few people use multiracialism - even try it (?) - you'll be questioned what's that - it's not the ideal thing - multiracialism - you still take into consideration the interests, racist interests of these entities - it's like peaceful co-existence. The thing is a - a better understanding, which is almost like a common understanding that non (?) don't make that an issue of race, like you don't have to make an issue of ethnicity or tribalism.
- J.F. But I think - to come back with a devil's advocate argument would be to say can you just forget race, is it possible?
- J.S. Well, I'm using forget as - well, for lack of a better term, you work towards the realisation and the materialisation of concepts and ideas - that is what I mean - strive for that. You have to undergo a process - you set a process on (?) you see, so your thinking is designed according to the ideal, so that you almost like live - try to live and practice the ideal that you cherish.
- J.F. The question is how do you reach that ideal? The ANC then had the idea that you reached the ideal through organising where people are? So how did the PAC plan to reach that ideal?
- J.S. Well, it is a question again of priority - on your priority list what is it that you think has to be tackled before the other, so that I mean that's debatable - you - somebody can put the programme and say : I'll attend to that non-racialism thing later on, you see - I want to deal with this issue - I mobilise more around this issue than that one.
- J.F. What concretely do you mean, which issue....
- J.S. Pardon?
- J.F. Concretely what do you mean, which issue?
- J.S. I mean on the two concepts - on multiracialism, do you drum it over and over and make it an issue, the distinctions - the finer distinctions of multiracialism, non-racialism, do you do it now or you just ignore it and attend to other things - I mean your question seems to be that. When you mobilise why do you mobilise - you decide to mobilise there the broader population, irrespective of whether they're European or African, and one says : I mobilise within my own people, the Africans - perhaps that is it, and it's a question of priority, you see, so others decide no, we are not going to go out there to go and mobilise out there, we mobilise here, for there are many factors that we have to contend with - mobilising here is to make people realise that to be African is not to be inferior, it's not to - you're not inferior because you are African - you have nothing to be ashamed of - so that's enough work to keep you there, and the issues how they affect you as an African, we mobilise around those issues - there they are not affected by what we are being affected - they're not affected by Group Areas Act - then why do we sit there - there is more energy needed here than there, so we mobilise here - not that we don't care for them, and if they are sympathetic, they work on issues that side - that will lead us to a point of convergence beyond this oppressive system or status quo - then from there we converge - beyond that point we converge.

- J.S. If they are in agreement and concord with non-racialism, they work on that - that's our common point, and that's where we are going to meet, and that's what's going to bind us - so we sort of like divide the tasks and prioritise.
- J.F. So what was a priority then? Maybe let me not ask questions and then I'm beginning to put an emphasis where there wasn't actually an emphasis. I'm trying to understand how you moved into the PAC, what the debates were, what you saw as a priority, and yet I'm coming with this idea of non-racialism. Maybe it wasn't the key thing that you debated. The history books....
- J.S. I mean I've said it - I've said it - you see, perhaps you don't draw a line in - your interview is structured on sort of, you know, you are interviewing a person, one person - you are not interviewing a policy maker, you see - now along the line you pose questions as though you are interviewing a policy maker at the time, and you are merely doing interviewing and, I would say somebody who adhered (?) to what is being formulated or had been formulated in his absence.
- J.F. But I think.....

END OF SIDE TWO.

- J.F. so that I'm interviewing you as one of the people who made up a movement, and in order to really understand a movement I can - one thing I can do is I can read all the documents. I can go to Karris & Carter and see Sobukwe's speeches and compare them, but on the other hand I read a lot of nonsense in that (.....) book about the tsotsi element in the PAC and that kind of stuff. I'd like to know you're there - that kind of a view gives a very cursory crude analysis, and I'm trying to get a bit of a sense of what it was like on the ground, so can I just ask you on the ground, but again I won't talk too much further on this, but just briefly....
- J.S. No, no, I'm not stopping you.
- J.F. I think you're right to bring that out - in fact that (?) I think my questions were structured to maybe make it seem that way, but I guess kind of the summing up question would be what was the priority? Was this issue of whites and non-racialism versus multiracialism the key thing?
- J.S. It wasn't the key thing - the key thing, I would believe, is your dignity as a person, as an African - that was the key issue. One key issue, your country - in other words, your land that has been taken away from your people, was an issue that immediately registers on your mind that it is essential (?) - it is a real issue that issue or problem has to be addressed, for we are descendants - I mean the very parents who have given birth to you would sit and cry and say : By the way, I'm sweating and slaving like this because if I was on my father's farm, which has been taken away, I wouldn't be struggling like that - it becomes your pain and it becomes your concern.
- J.F. So then you got picked up and then you went to Robben Island, and what about the ideological debates there?
- J.S. Ja, the debates went on - now there comes concepts now - multiracialism, non-racialism, pan-Africanism, African national - all those things are debated - the economic system that you envisage, African socialism - all those things came into be and became issues - not so much the strategy how do you obtain your liberation - that was not an issue.

J.S. Non-violence or non-violence, that was no issue....

J.F. Why not?

J.S. Armed struggle or not armed struggle, that was not an issue.

J.F. Why not?

J.S. Well, maybe it - it was - it involved young people - their organisations had been banned and they have gone underground, and in going underground they've even been exposed to more severe repression, and they know now they have got to defend themselves, so there - it was a non-issue in the sense it was not a debatable issue - everybody was quite aware that one needed to defend himself. Armed struggle is not aggress - aggression as such - it is self-defence - maybe that side they perceive it as aggression, but it isn't aggression - it is self-defence, so that that made it a non-issue.

J.F. So how did you - did you change on the Island politically?

J.S. Well, I wouldn't - I don't know....

J.F. Had you evolved - do you think you didn't? Did you confirm your views?

J.S. No, at any st - I don't think for me - there's never been any change - I don't think I've changed - I still feel like I felt even before I was arrested - I mean before the PAC was established or set up - I still feel that way. Maybe the change that one can talk of is as a result of well, I'll say well, the way you look at things now, your perceptions have either been sharpened or the focus widened. As a young person in my teens I don't think I even thought deep as far as my time when I'm 30 - I was thinking of now. Now I stretch, I project my mind - at this age I even go beyond my lifespan - I feel I have a duty even (?) far much beyond, for what I do now is very, very important for the future, and because it is important for the future, I have to be very, very careful of what I do - to leave a good legacy for subsequent generations, I feel it is - I'm duty bound, so that it is not so much for self-interest or my time that I've got to think about, but I've got to think of the coming times.

I have found what I've found because of other people's responsibility and obligations towards my generations, which my generations were subsequent to theirs, and I feel that has to be continued, so that I would say maybe if it's a question of change, it is that type of change....

J.F. But you said to me at the beginning that very interesting and, I think, important story of your mother's, that that - that you changed later in life to....

J.S. Ja, it is not different from that - that encompasses now when that's as a (?) change, the focus - my focus is now sharpened, widened, and now can perceive it reaches the parameters of what I quoted as my mother's perception, that it is not my anger that says that is the thing (?) and it is not sufficient to operate on my anger that it is the boer, it is the whites, you see - my raw gut anger, gut feeling anger, undiluted by philosophies of either the ANC or PAC, it is my natural gut feeling that I was talking about - when I engaged I - even if I was doing it - it was a campaign, ja, it's good that you mention (?) - that campaign was ANC's campaign, which we know is not anti-white, but I felt that - we felt that we - these whites, we've got to kick them right into the sea, but that's not what they are saying - we're giving our own interpretation, our own twist, you see what I mean.

J.F. That's not what the ANC was saying?

J.S. That's not what the ANC's saying, you see, so it is also applicable when you hear descriptions that that's a tsotsi movement of the PAC - most invariably they take it again from gut reaction of a young person like me at the time - knowing or not knowing, or understanding or not understanding the philosophy, but being ruled by my own gut feeling, my own perceptions, you see what I mean - like any rude brute (?) policeman - the government goes that way - he interprets the law the way he sees it, out of his hatred, out of his conditioned mind, that I have no rights, I'm black, and of course it's a misrepresentation of his government, bad as it is, and that's not a monopoly of the ruling people or - or of the whites - it permeates society - it's a human trend.

Biko was killed - I don't think they got the brief (?) to kill him, but they killed him because of their gut feeling - maybe it's common even with their rulers, but their rulers are more polished - they look at things in a more wider perspective than the policeman will - wielding a baton, and so it applies within our organisations - that element is also there - and when I talk of change it is maybe growth, maturity, widening of perceptions, that now I - no (?) even maybe I would be hearing these things - the concept of non-racialism that it does not mean racism, anti-whitism, but I know it I'm deaf (?) - but as I mature, as I think over these things, I get to understand the true meaning of what it is, and I rid myself of that anti-white or anti-yellow (?) feeling, on the understanding that this concept does not cater for the feeling I'm entertaining right now - therefore I either take it or leave it, and hence maturity say (?) no, that is the right way - if you are looking into the future, you are bound together with them - that's where the mother comes in now.

J.F. But I thought she - what she seemed to be saying was that if you want to achieve your freedom, if you do it on your own it's one way, but the best way is to do it together, and yet the PAC said do it on your own.

J.S. Ja well, she was addressing my anger.

J.F. But if you ever changed - have you ever changed to think that it - that whites shouldn't be separated?

J.S. No well, it is a - it's a debatable issue - I mean there are other Africans, blacks that I won't do things with them - absolutely, that's not - it's not a matter of colour - when I make the decision I'm not going to plan anything with this person, it's not on the basis of his colour.

J.F. But the PAC was on the basis....

J.S. Ja well, fine, and it was on the basis of nationalism - it would be better it'd be - it's a true reflection to say it's on the basis of nationalism, that it excluded other people - Africans - they - it's just maybe an accident that they happen to be black - if they were white Africans they would still be saying the same thing they are saying.

J.F. So I don't see how - did you change more towards your mother's - what your mother said? Did you change from feeling whites can't be involved to yes....

J.S. Well, I have changed at - with that gut feeling when I was confronted my mother, there was nothing that - good that can come out of a white person, and that has certainly changed.

J.F. How was that changed?

J.S. Well, it has changed through experience, through understanding, one, the concepts, and through experience seeing things, understanding what life is, what politics is....

J.F. But specifically I'm interested to know what made people change in their point of view. You didn't change in the '61 to '63 period when you were in PAC? You were still pretty anti-white?

J.S. No well, I don't - I wouldn't say so exactly - you know, the anti-white feeling is prior - just shortly - almost coincides with my involvement with PAC, so that if I carried it into it, I was carrying it, you know, knowing full well that it's not catered for - there's no talk about it there - it is totally foreign - it is something that I'm bringing in, or a thing - a distortion that I'm deliberately making in terms of my understanding, you see. All I'm saying if there is nothing common in or between me with that gut feeling of anti-whitism in PAC, there is nothing common I can find in the philosophy - there is nothing that addresses that and says you are - we are anti-white, and therefore I feel oh, that has been addressed, it has been catered for - no way - no way.

All my feelings a contradiction or a distortion of the philosophy of African nationalism or pan-Africanism or Africanism itself - if I make provision and hold the anti-white gut feeling, I bring into the organisation - I don't know whether you understand - you know, it's no problem with us or with me - I often say, you know, people bring in this question of colour because they are steeped in it - it is almost tradition - the attitudes have been formulated over the years - I don't see it as they see it, and when I use the term it is because it is being brought in - it is an irrelevancy insofar as I am concerned and as far as I understand the philosophy - it is an irrelevancy, and it is very true, you cannot make decisions on that.

J.F. Let me just define the terms. When you came off Robben Island did you feel you were still a PAC supporter?

J.S. Ja well, in thinking - my understanding is this - let me explain what (?) I say in thinking - to me up to now, and that is where I stand, a political organisation is a vehicle to a - a political objective, so it is not a matter that I can wear like I wear my heart - without my heart I am not going to be, I'm not going to operate - by that I mean a political organisation serves ideas and carries them, and you may jump out of it, but the ideas you are imbued with them, and if you want to live with them you continue living with them wherever you are, whatever description, label they may put in wherever you are, for man or people don't follow id - I mean people, personalities is I believe the correct thing - people should not follow people - people follow ideas - they cherish and aspire and are motivated by those ideas, so that question of description, of groupings is not that vital to me.

I can go away to America, to England, if I feel that way, and there's nothing that alters the views - I'll remain that whether I'm in England, whether (?) there is no ANC, whether (?) there's no PAC, but this is how I feel - that is my outlook - when I interact with you, when I address myself to political issues, that is my ten - those are my terms of reference - I operate from those views - those are my premises of interacting with political factors.

J.F. But you don't work in a vacuum. When you came off the Island you were PAC. Did you - what year did you get released, in '69?

J.S. Yes, I got released.

J.F. And what did you do when you got released?

J.S. I was deported or banished into a homeland area, where there was no PAC, where there was no ANC.

J.F. Bophuthatswana?

J.S. Ja, that's right, and up to now it's forbidden - even though they don't say it in so many words.

J.F. What's forbidden?

J.S. All these organisations, all anti-apartheid progressive movements are virtually forbidden - if you put up Nelson Mandela's photo you're sure to - to - to - to you know, call attention - you put up whoever, Sobukwe's photograph on your - you're calling the attention of the authorities - you wear a UDF T-shirt you are calling the authorities - therefore it suggests implicitly that they don't need, or they don't want these political movements or groupings or organisations - therefore that is in the - that climate (?) that I go on - and then I have to address myself to local issues prevailing there - that is why I picked up this whole thing - question of human right became very important....

J.F. Question of?

J.S. Human rights became very important, for people's rights were - up to this day human rights are being violated - my people there they suffer in that - along those lines - and I could have gone into exile, and I wanted to go into exile - I knew that they were sending me there - they told me the last few days when I was released I wasn't going to my - my home in the West Rand, and I was just laughing that they don't know tonight, this night when they put me there, I'll be in Botswana, into exile - but when I got there and saw the suffering I stopped dead in my tracks - I felt that it would be irresponsible of me to go into exile, into well, freedom or relative freedom, and leave my people to suffer this way, and I was aware that I'm totally sort of isolated from other people who could feel like I'm feeling, who are politically conscious and could - we could join hands together and do something - I was totally isolated, and for a specific reason, so that I must be under their proper surveillance, or they were trying to neutralise me, I don't know, whatever reasons they or (?) punishing me or I don't know.

But then I said I'm aware of my limitations in terms of addressing this problem of my people suffering here, and I regarded them as my people because of my understanding what African means, what African nationalism means, what pan-Africanism means - it is still my home, though they regard it as a homeland or a bantustan - it is my home.

J.F. Were you banned when you got out?

J.S. Ja well, I don't know what you call it, banishment or depor - deported there....

J.F. You were banished to there? And you had to stay in what area....

J.S. I went to stay in Mafeking, a place called Montshiwa, the township there.

J.F. And Mafeking is it an e or an i?

J.S. It's now with an i - M a f i k e n g.

J.F. I k e n?

J.S. Ja.

J.F. Were you working when you were arrested for PAC....

J.S. Ja, I was teaching - I taught in the West Rand where I lived, in Westonaria.

J.F. Is it Westonaria?

J.S. Ja, Westonaria, that's right.

J.F. And you were teaching, and then when you got to Bophuthatswana what work did you do?

J.S. Well, I lost my - when I was in - still awaiting trial I got a nice long official letter that I'm being dismissed, just like that, so that when I went to Bophuthatswana well, they had to give me work, and I told them well, I'm a teacher (?) and there was an available teaching vacancy or post, and one said: Ja, no, fine, no problem, we've got that - and the official - one of the officials - I think he was head (?) bantu of commissioner - drew the attention of that - his colleague - he said: No, this man doesn't have to teach - and there was a dossier there, I don't know - how it got there - I don't know what it was - and showed him a footnote written in Afrikaans, and at that time I pretended that I don't know Afrikaans, and he read the footnote to his colleague, and the footnote was something like this - well, hearing it, all it meant in English was under no circumstances must this man be given a teaching post because he'll turn the classroom into a political platform - and psst went the post, and they said go - I've been given a two roomed house, very small house - go home, we'll call you - and I sat two weeks there neglected, not knowing whether I'm working or not, and I had no money - only survived on the little rations that I insisted, that I'm from prison, you can't expect me to be here - there was nothing in the house, nothing, and I had to stand for my rights and fight, and they got me little ration.

The food that I went to (?) buy for myself, a pocket of samp, one mug, iron mug, one spoon, one plate, that type of thing, and little primus stove, and I was trying to (?) do that, just starch, coffee, sugar, that's all - for two weeks I had to live and eat that, morning, noon and night - and I took a stand at the second week - I said: Look, I can't sit here - when I was arrested I was working, and if you don't give me work, you know, prepare for one thing, I am going to go back home where I'm from, and you may arrest me and send me back to Robben Island, and I won't even resist - I'm better off in prison than sitting here doing nothing, living on samp three times a day - I'm not going to do it - samp is crushed mealies - I'm not going to do it - and I was quite open - I was threatened later - I mean every time I went to - to the officials there the magistrat would - I mean the Bantu affairs commissioner would phone (?) the security police and they would be there, and I didn't know (?) - I was not intimidated by their presence, and I just told them that (?) and I think they took me seriously.

That very week at the end of it they said: Well, we'll see you on Monday - and Monday they came and gave me a job in the administration - Bophuthatswana - then it was the Tswana Territorial Authority - as a clerk and say: Well, work here - and for that matter I was isolated from the other clerks, but they later on just broke their desks, they pushed in their - one pushed in his desk in my office and kept quiet.

J.F. So how long did you work....

J.S. So I lasted for 11 months - the 11th. month I was summarily dismissed, given 48 hours to quit, for one simple reason - the reason of course they didn't want to disclose it - it's because I was questioning everything they were doing - I was - he (?) was quite aware - we'd stop working - work for just an hour a day at times, and then the whole day up to knock off time we are not working - we are sitting in a big hall - we are being addressed about what Tswana culture is, what homelands are, how good the government is with separate development, and I would challenge those things and say I don't believe, and I was challenging the salary - the disparity of salaries - at that time I was getting 50 - 50 rand, and the guy who's said to be my senior, white - white one in the office was getting 500 rand, ten times more than what I was getting, and I don't know what he was doing that I couldn't do, and I was questioning such things - and I was a bad element then, because most of the people working were young rural people fresh from school, and well, some of them from families that can afford, that's their pocket money, they don't worry.

J.S. I had to set up a living, start - pick up the threads that I'd left - I have got to work, and I couldn't survive on 50 rand. To me it was down-right exploitation and I was questioning those things and they were not questioning, either because they were content, or they were afraid, you see, but I went (?) and therefore they regarded me as a bad element and they summarily dismissed me - 48 hours notice - I was told to go, and I told them well (?) they deliver the notice - no, you're even decent (?) you see 48 - say now (?) - and they were not saying it (?) and I said : Well, I stop working now - these 48 hours I'll just come and sit and clear my desk, that's all, stop working - and in any case it's - for me it's a blessing in disguise - you have freed me from exploitation - every time you gave me - you gave me my salary, it pains you you remind me that I am still a prisoner and I am exploited and oppressed, so you are removing that burden from me, that frustration, when you tell me to go - and it wasn't (?) easy going (easygoing) from then - I tried to get a job - I couldn't get - it was always regret, because I was honest.

Every time I made an application I would state that I had been on Robben Island, and they wouldn't - and it would come up in interviews and they would be excited : Oh, you are just the right type of guy we are looking for - fine, just fill in these forms - and I - I fill in the forms - when it comes to your work - my work record that's when things go wrong, because honestly I would state these six years I was not working - I was not employed because I was in prison - oh, then it fizzles - I cease to be the guy they are looking for.

Then fortunately I found work with - and of course I decided now teaching won't help - I had the note there - so I need to learn to do something else for a living, and I love reading and what you mean (?) printing - I said : Oh well, maybe printing is the next thing that I can do - I can equip myself with printing skills and go on my own - maybe I'll set up a little - I'll strive (?) and have a little printing press - there are so many thing - I'm a - partly I have a flair for business too, so I could see it, and I saw scope in that, and there was a local press there, printing press, which printed the Mafikeng Mail, so I went there and well, I wanted to be an apprentice compositor, and then there was a set-back - they said (?) fine, but in six weeks time there were problems - firstly - the first problem was that apprenticeship in printing was purely reserved for whites and so-called Coloureds, because of job reservation at the time and the second real factor that militated against them keeping me was there were constant visits by the security police, telling the management that I'm not a safe risk - I'm a saboteur and one day I'm going to blow up their plant, and of course they came back to me and said : We don't believe their story, but they are disrupting our operations - they come about three times a week and hold us up, question us, question us stuff about your activities, and we know there's nothing you're doing - in fact we would really want to keep you - you have helped us, you know, soften, improve relations between our groupings here (?) the black staff, the Coloured staff, the white staff - because I was interacting with all of them, I saw the tensions and frictions, and I interacted - I was the common link between these hostile groupings within the factory, and relations improved - they got to regard all of them as - regard me as a friend, and I regarded them as friends, and therefore they felt obliged to interact with one another too, and I can cite several little instances that broke those prejudices - for instance, toilet facilities - there were three - three toilets, not even two - one for Coloureds, one for whites and one for blacks in that factory, and these two, white and black, were well looked after - the black - I mean white and Coloured - the black one was totally neglected, but there was a person responsible for the cleaning and maintenance, but he wouldn't be given enough time - he was told between those time you clean this toilet and that toilet, and without saying it, the time won't allow him to go there to clean the black toilet, so it was so dirty, and they had to use it, and I got there and I couldn't take it.

J.S. And one morning I decided that today I've got to break this - I'm going to get into that white toilet, I'm going to get into that Coloured toilet, but there is a better way of doing it - I'm going to first get into that black toilet - and what I did was when I got into the firm (?) instead of getting to my desk and work, I took off my tie, took off my jacket, rolled my white sleeves, and moved over to the black toilet - in fact I took off my shirt and hung that - was quite conspicuous....

J.F. At the white toilet?

J.S. Ja - no, the black one - I left my shirt and tie and jacket there quite conspicuous, and I went to the black one in (?) my vest, and I took a broom and I cleaned that toilet thoroughly - asked that guy give me your stuff - gave me - I cleaned the whole mess out of it, even the graffiti on the walls - cleaned them with a pan (?) I cleaned - it was sparkling white, and I moved - even cleaned the whole vicinity and burned all that rubbish - the tins I sorted out and chucked bottles and everything - and after that I went straight into the white toilet and attended to my natural needs and I was in full view (?) and I went out - they came - why do you clean that - they were concerned - I said : No, it was dirty - said : No, but you could have done what you did - use the Coloured one, you're all right - I said : No, if I'm right, then they are all right to use the toilets that you say I must use, why have three here - and that broke, you know, those prejudice, because the blacks were very happy, but I didn't let them off the hook themselves - I said : Look, my brothers, we are being despised because we ourselves despise ourselves - we allow our toilet to get into that state when we could do it, and if we don't have the time (?) use it so carefully that it can go on being as I left it like this for months on end, because our brother is denied the time to clean it, but there they see to it that he cleans it, they inspect it, and never care to inspect that, so that that is our fault - and we went (?) to the management because they were offering (.....) toilet Coloured one - when I said : No, why that one - why can't they use it - said : No, even ours you can - because they were sort of blushing, they were some type of liberal people, and I said : No, if I use those toilets, then everybody uses any toilet - and I left them there - so there was great jubilation that side and I told them, those who were asking about : Well Joe (?) Look, you're educated, we don't mind - both Coloureds and whites were saying that - we don't mind, you can use our toilets - and I said : Look, I can't be party to your type of prejudice or racism - if you are not willing that those people should use your toilet, then I can't use it - and that thing and many other things broke down - for instance, I was refusing to call them baas and all the like, and I was openly calling them Mr. So-and-so or with their first names, and when they took exception in my - within my hearing that those who were trying to say no, no, no, Jenny (?) and they'd say : Don't call me Jenny (.....) who are you, then why do you call.....

END OF SIDE ONE.

J.S. six months time I'm going to slaughter you - I've missed it (?) - then at nine o'clock people are going to pick me up, you know.....

J.F. So after that job you - where did you go?

J.S. Ja, after that - that job I lasted for six months - six weeks, and I wouldn't say they fired me - it was just impossible for them - the security police were making it difficult, and we came to a sort of agreement and I accepted it and I said : O.K., let me - give me a job, let me drive - be the driver, and be out of the plant and drive.

- J.S. But then they said : Well, there was no vacancy for driving - and they were kind enough to give me two months salary and with the undertaking that any time I was stranded financially I could come to them, and I appreciated, but I never utilised that because there was also self-pride in me - I don't want to live on a dole - from there I live almost like I - I lived on my wits - I started trading, buying and selling things, without a licence, hawking, and did all sorts of things for a very long time until '75 - all that time - for five years I wasn't working and no money for my - nobody could employ me - even - I sometimes laugh - some organisations that are regarded as very progress - I mean the race relations are actually spelt out - it's impossible for me to work because of these please (?) - when an - a vacancy was advertised and they tell me : Sorry, we can't employ you because of influx control - and I was very disgusted - they are the people who are challenging influx control, but they use it as a reason of not employing me - I mean that type of thing....
- J.F. So what did you do in '75?
- J.S. So that's why I say in '75 then I'd learned quite a lesson that I mustn't be truthful when I apply for a job - then I apply for a job with United Tobacco Co., and like all others, they were very excited at - in - at the interview, and when they gave me the forms to fill in I filled them in, but I falsified the answers when it came to the period of six years - I slit it into three - into two portions - the first year - three years I said I was with my people in the country doing subsistence farming and I - because I was getting medical treatment from a witchdoctor, that's what I said (Laugh) - no, no, subsistence farming - the last three years I was ill and I was getting treatment from a witchdoctor, and it sold, and I worked.
- J.F. For how long?
- J.S. I worked up to - well, almost close onto a year, because in April I was picked up again in detention - I was detained '76, April, and then that was the - a very long detention under so-called terror - Terrorism Act, Section Six - picked up for 28 months - I was....
- J.F. 28 months?
- J.S. 28 months in detention, most of it solitary confinement.
- J.F. In Bophuthatswana?
- J.S. No, here - then Bophuthatswana had not yet opted - when it opted for independence I was right in - in '76 they opted for independence.
- J.F. So where were you held for the 28 months?
- J.S. I was shuttled all around South African prisons and police stations.
- J.F. And why did they pick you up?
- J.S. Well, I was suspect - well, it came out - I started realising when they were interviewing me - first they dwelt on my past, because there was also some kind of mini swoop that was there - they were picking up people simply because maybe they found my address in a friend's pocketbook, or they would have also done (?) that, an address in friend (?) - they go and pick you up - what are you - what business do you have with that guy - that was what they were doing, and I don't think they have stopped doing, but what was - came up very strongly in - I inferred from the questions that they were questioning me (?) at the time as a - a - working for the tobacco company as a - a sales representative - I had time - I was almost like working flexi-time.

J.S. So I took out one day and use it for myself, addressing the problem of the rural deprived students, because I was concerned with this whole rate of school dropouts, and they were dropping out these students because they were not doing well in science subjects, the reason being that the schools were ill-equipped, and it touched me a lot that their whole lives were changed because of that, or future spoiled, and I felt an alternative thing should be given to them or (?) their eyes have to be open to something - then I thought how can I address myself to that problem, and I realised that no, what I could do is to try and tap or raise their awareness of their potential, the potential they have beyond or outside science potentially (?) they don't have it, and I set (?) our people, and because of my own inclinations to - I'm naturally gifted in music (unnaturally) arts and theatre, so what I did I went to the five high schools in the area and said to the headmasters : Please, in your school give me two students who's - who are good in literature, be it English, Afrikaans or Tswana - because those are three languages they do - I will take them to theatre to inspire them and show them that whilst even if they are no good, useless in science subject, there is a whole wide world open for them which they can make it (?) a career, instead of dropping out of school - so that was well taken, and I was taking ten students every week-end at my - I mean every mid-week - it was Thursdays that I took them because my schedule was not tight on Thursdays.

I would take them to Johannesburg to theatre, and along the way discuss and the way back we discuss, and I was not the one making the selections - it is their headmaster - masters - and most of the time I wouldn't even know the students - it's only when we travel that I get to know I'm (... ..) what have you, then I introduce myself I'm also so-and-so, and I tell them the purpose of the trip - of course the principals had - headmasters had already told them that they will select - and that was a motivating factor - immediately in the classrooms there was competition going on - they wanted to do well so that they must be picked - you know, they were picked - two students were selected every week, and it was quite an experience for them - some of them the mere travelling to Jo'burg was an experience that they never had - an opportunity they had....

J.F. Were you allowed to go to Jo'burg under your banning - under your banishment?

J.S. Ja well, I was allowed to - what they forbid me is to reside out of that - I could go - ja, because prior to that I had to ask for permission to go to Jo'burg, to leave Mafikeng, and I did it about three times and I got tired of it - it didn't make sense to me, and I went back to the security police and I told them : Give me - show me tell and - tell me and show me why I should - give me the reasons why I should be asking permission from you, is there any written order - they said yes - I said bring it - and they were refusing - it's classified material, they don't have to show it to the public, and I said : O.K., look here, I am now no longer going to ask for permission - and I set a date with them, on such a day I'm going to Johannesburg without your permission - they said they'll arrest me - I said : Well, fine, you do it.

J.F. So where were you arrested, from your work or from your home?

J.S. Ja, I was from work at a roadblock - apparently it was again specifically set up for me, because when I got to the roadblock they wanted my identity and I show them, then they said - start to talk (?) on their wireless : Yes, he's here - and they immediately dismantled that roadblock and put - put me in the police vehicle and my vehicle was driven by them, company vehicle.

J.F. Do you think you got picked up because - you were picked up before June 16th? April, you said.

J.S. Ja, that's right.

- J.F. So why do you think you were picked up, because they thought you must be doing something with those kids?
- J.S. It came up in interrogation - their contention was that I was picking up those kids, taking them into Soweto to be politicised, and that conception, or that understanding was reinforced, because when Soweto broke out, for the first time in the area there was student action - they burned down the homeland parliament, and that....
- J.F. In?
- J.S. In Bophuthatswana - and that made it - it was reinforced - hence my having had to stay such a long time - it was completely sealed now, reinforced, yet I - they - I don't think they even knew me, the students - if it was done by the students - they hardly knew me - but to them it tallied very well, so that they took me as some kind of activist taking the rural kids into Soweto to be politicised in preparation of the June - they had already had wind (?) - by that time in April there was already tension on the question of medium - Afrikaans as a medium of instruction - it was already there, so they picked up the vibes and there I was in the picture, taking students every week to Jo'burg, half not knowing, and they didn't know that I was doing it at my own expense, my money, and I had to pay the price that way.
- J.F. And when you - you were mainly solitary? You didn't get a chance to talk with other political prisoners and detainees?
- J.S. No, at no stage was I locked up with anybody.
- J.F. And then they let you out in....
- J.S. '78.
- J.F. '78 - and did you get sent back? Were you re-banished?
- J.S. Ja well, I had to go (?) - then I'd set up home and they said go home, so I went to Mafikeng, and when I got there it was a new Mafikeng which had - a new Bophuthatswana - it was now Bophuthatswana opted for independence - I'd hardly spent one day, then the local security police came and picked me up, and they send me to their offices and I was addressed - I was told I must keep away from politics - I mustn't think that because they're independent they are incapable of detaining me, and I said : Fine, you want me to keep out of politics - they said yes - I said : Now what's this - why do you say - what do you mean when you say you are independent - they said : Oh, by the way, we took our independence when you were in detention, we are a sovereign state with all the powers that South Africa has - according to them - they see two entities - and therefore we are telling you to keep out of politics, we are going to arrest you - then I said : O.K., fine, I understand, I'm not really - you know what my beliefs are - I reject separate development, I'm not convinced of it, but maybe I don't know this new phenomena, this new development - maybe there is something in it - but now if I am a citizen, or I have to be here, it means I am independent of South Africa myself - I'm not subject to their laws, and now you are giving me a similar restriction as I have always been given by Pretoria - they said : No, it's not that - and I said : Well, if I am independent is there - is it an offence if I want to become the president of Bophuthatswana - and they jumped at it, they said : By all means, by all means - and I said : Actually what I want to be in Bophuthatswana, I don't want to be the president, I want to be the minister of law and order, is it an offence - they said : No, fine, why do you want to become a minister of law and order - I said : No, I want to take charge of you guys - I think there are other things - the way you operate, it has to be corrected - and I was just coping (?) with them.

J.S. They said : No well, you're free to be a minister of law and order - if you become our minister then we take orders from you - said O.K. - then I said : Then how do I come - become a minister of law and order or a president without public speaking (?) being politically active - and that knocked them cold. And (in) the second question the person was the chief of the security police - police - the one who was telling me was the one who was interrogating me before their so-called independence - when they picked me up in '76 he was the guy - he was a major there - then I said : But what business do you have, you, in my country then, if it's a sovereign state - what do you want here - you interrogate me when I went to detention and I - I am now released - you are still giving me instructions and interrogating me, what do you want here - then he laughed and he said: Well, this is how we do it, and I understood what you mean - I said : Oh, you are right, you see, that is why I reject this - he said : Oh, you - you're argumentative - and they left me - they didn't lock me up - they said go (?) - and this is where I've been and I've had all sorts of hassles even in that place.

In '82 they picked me up, short detention, in '83 short detention.

J.F. And what work did you do from '78 to now briefly?

J.S. Well, then I left - from there I went back to my living on my wits until 1980, where I got the job with the South African Council of Churches, but at regional council level, the Northern Cape and Western Transvaal regional council of churches, which area predominately is Bophuthatswana.

J.F. Is that what you still are doing?

J.S. Ja.

J.F. What's the position called? What's the name of your job title?

J.S. Well, I am in the division or department of justice and reconciliation and I operate as a liaison field worker - field worker officer.

J.F. And what kind of work does that mean you do?

J.S. Well, it's work we focus on well, one, human rights issues, and anything that has to do with justice, and that's a wide thing - ja, it's foundation (?) trying to help the committees to redress any unjust action against them, and we focus on issues such as forced removals and resettlement policy, all that, and we focus on well, doing some kind of studies or observations, collecting information about whatever issue, trade unions and how give the church information - this is what is, this is how you can engage in that, this is what is happening, all that wide range of stuff.

J.F. And what is your religious affiliation?

J.S. I belong to the Anglican Church.

J.F. Anglican?

J.S. Ja, that's right.

J.F. Are you active in your Anglican Church in Botswana?

J.S. Ja well, I've been in the parish council - I served in the parish council for something three, four years, and I just disengaged myself because of my work - I was too occupied, I move around a lot - and of course I've had conflicts in that very church because I all (?) - with the last conflict I had with the parish council, the clergy itself, up to a point where the bishop had to intervene also, was on issues such as prayer days for detainees and exiles and political prisoners, so in a way they still regard me as a trouble-maker, but I do it on the basis of my faith.

J.S. And now in fact that is what I wanted to say when you asked me the question whether I've changed, and I want to say, and I always say to people well, maybe I'm seen as having opted out of it and what have you, but I always say when I look at myself closely I think there is something that has happened or that I have done - it is reversing my loyalties - first my loyalty was to my political convictions, my political organisations first - maybe it's church and God last or not at all - but now I have put my loyalty to God, and maybe the church, as first - the others come after that - maybe that is the change - so when I interact in anything I want to be guided by what I believe are my - are based on my faith or what I think my God would expect me to do - even if I regard you to be on the - a side that in terms of affiliation, political affiliation or loyalties that is hostile towards me, but I don't interact with you on those bases - we are human beings.

J.F. Can I just ask a few final questions that are directly politically (....) organisational. Did you never get involved in the BC organisations?

J.S. No, it is a phenomena that started when I was in prison or when I was - it was formulating, but I have been approached by many people and I've always said there is nothing really new, and I believe I remember when I was released on Robben Island I saw (?) in a few years time young people who were with South African Student Organisation, SASO, came to me and wanted to enlist my involvement and I actually said : No, no, I understand, but there is no point in me joining you because you are going to graduate into my (?) thinking - all I can say we can share ideas....

J.F. You're going to graduate to my thinking?

J.S. Ja, that is pan-Africanism.

J.F. So would you say you continued to be a pan-Africanist?

J.S. I told you that - I don't cease to be an African - I don't cease to regard the continent as my home, any part of it - that is my belief.

J.F. And what about the organisation the PAC?

J.S. Well, I - I'm not with it - it's not there, except maybe like this - I will meet one, two people inside the country, I don't know where it is.

J.F. You're saying it doesn't have any presence in the country?

J.S. No well, maybe it's there - I don't know where it is in - in the form of an organisation - even the ANC, I don't know where it is - when you look at people, I don't care if - I told you how I - my perception of what an organisation is - we may sit like that - that does not mean we are sitting as an organisation - we are people.

J.F. But the only way....

J.S. The operations I don't know.

J.F. But obviously the ANC, one sees it existing because of the flag, because of the trials, because of all that and....

J.S. Well, there have also been trials of PAC.

J.F. Ja sure, but if you take it on a scientific basis the percentage is a tiny, tiny amount.

J.S. Oh well, we are not talking presence - I mean the question - the question of percentage does not rule out presence - it can be two percent and 90 percent, but they are both present.

J.F. But the PAC doesn't have very much strength in the country, would you say that?

- J.S. Well, I wouldn't really say that, but I would say maybe in terms, I don't know, popularity - what people talk of I mean in my work, I meet more young people who, when they talk of political organisation, will talk of ANC, and it doesn't come as a surprise like in our time it's our mother.
- J.F. So would you say that you represent a minority tendency to describe yourself as a pan-Africanist.
- J.S. Maybe, maybe not, ja, and it's all a question of modus operandi - operandi and preparedness to say what you are in this abnormal atmosphere, political atmosphere of South Africa - I just (others) don't say anything, even what - whether they are this or that, so that you get to hear it because I'm expressing it - to somebody else I don't say anything, I keep quiet - and especially in my work I don't say anything.
- J.F. But I think someone like yourself, who's gone to prison for PAC, who's clearly respected in your work in the church and SACC, I'm asking you what is the place of the PAC in South African politics today?
- J.S. Ja well, I'm trying to answer you - coming with definite terms of percentage, you cannot concretise that in that way, except by merely like speculating, like I've told you yes, I've met (?) in my work ANC's very popular, that is what I'm saying - but that does not mean in terms of definite concrete percentages it - I can allocate it this much or that much....
- J.F. No, I'm not asking you to do that (?) but I'm saying what is the place of the PAC today in South African politics?
- J.S. Well, it is - it has a place definitely....
- J.F. What's that place?
- J.S. Well, that place is that it is a different ideology, different outlook and thrust, and it's still there that presence - you cannot move anywhere and everywhere and find a homogenous thing in the country where I move some areas where it is said to be busy, and if you scratch further around you'll see that it is not BC, it is PAC - and in other areas it is convenient to be regarded as BC, and that's how they operate and engage other people.
- J.F. But I'm asking how you see the role of the PAC.
- J.S. The role?
- J.F. The role of PAC, the place it's got, the function it will serve in South African politics now and in the future.
- J.S. Oh, I see - now you see, that's a better way of framing it - it has a role - the role is still as it is - it still addresses vital issues that - issues that are vital to many people - for instance, I just take out this whole question of land issue, which it takes as a priority - they still regard it, and there are feelings - people are still agrieved - we have a spate of removals, and people are still talking of their land that has been taken away - in that way it can - it's still addressing and it still has that role. And the other role that I see (?) is this one of non-racialism - that still is valid - it still has a role to play in clarifying this whole question, in helping South Africa to overcome the people of - to overcome these racist tendencies and prejudices - it has a role, and I don't say it - it is PAC's monopoly - it is not PAC's monopoly - but that in itself makes it a valid actor or participant in working towards that - that is - that validates its presence and role.
- J.F. For the majority of people in South Africa today, if you said non-racialism they'd think you're talking about ANC.
- J.S. Of?

J.F. ANC - if they hear non-racialism, they think you're talking ANC.

J.S. Oh well, maybe - I'm saying it is very - the situation, the atmosphere, the political set-up in South Africa is a normal one, where there is no open debate - sometimes people assume, just assume that ANC's this, PAC's this - some people just, you know, regard certain people as well, that's the popular person - what he stands for, it's not very clear because there is no open debate, and that is why the - the government has realised that - that is why every time they whip up, they snap off and cut off, chop off leadership, to keep that type of climate going on, so that there isn't a thorough understanding of the issues involved, or the organisations and as to where - which side they're going - it serves them very well - it's very suitable for them, for they can do and manipulate as they wish - they can sell their policies and say you are independent - both the ANC and PAC I mean they - if they were to operate openly now in terms of separate development, those structures are going to be thoroughly shaken, for people will hear what it is all about - right now they are hearing just one view.

J.F. Do you think the issue of communism and socialism is a factor that has to do with the PAC's difference from the ANC, or is that a - did that matter to you? There are people who say they join (?) PAC because they're anti-communist.

J.S. Ja, I wouldn't say socialism as such has been a factor, because in my experience in the debates it was not socialism that was more of a debate, but it was the presence of those who openly were saying belong to the Communist Party, and in compar - comparing the objectives - objectives of in terms of aspirations, they felt that they were incompatible - they had different goals.

J.F. But for you - was one of the reasons you supported the PAC because you didn't like the communists in the ANC?

J.S. No, no, no, that was not an issue, not so much - up today I keep on saying to people it's a question of accepting an idea or not accepting it, but I have no hangover on that - I don't spend sleepless nights - I understand communism or socialism and capital - capitalism to be economic systems - in my view now where I stand, if I had the power and had to make a decision in terms or as regarding those, all I'll do I'll look at the - for the best in both and synthesises with what I think I need, and have a system what one would say (Laugh) people talk of mixed economy - that's basically that - it's no - it's not my problem that - it's not my problem.

J.F. But you wouldn't opt for a purely socialist or communist system?

J.S. Well, as I say, I draw a line of distinction between socialism and communism.

J.F. So you wouldn't opt for a communist system and you wouldn't opt for a socialist system?

J.S. Socialist I - I - I would say yes, I would opt for it, but communism is a different thing - it's now a whole ideology.

J.F. Which you wouldn't opt for?

J.S. Ja well, what I could do I could extract anything that I think is good, but if given to me like that, I would certainly find it - it's not what I want - it doesn't displace what I believe in, so there's no point - if I have a car and I drive it, it serves me well, there's no need to - to buy a Mercedes when I've got a car that serves me well, so in those terms doesn't cause me any headaches - I don't split hairs about that - and it is for that reason that I - I won't accept it is because what I have is adequate and enough for me.

J.F. The current system?

J.S. Not - not the current system, my beliefs, ja - what I aspire for addresses my needs, my aspirations.

J.F. One last question - do you work - are you organised - do you believe in working with whites now....

J.S. I work with whites....

J.F. But isn't that against PAC philosophy? PAC....

J.S. I'm not representing PAC - that's where that understanding should come clear - when I interact I'm not representing PAC, I'm interacting as - as Joe, and whatever contribution I'm making, I'm making as - as an individual, because I can either get involved or not get involved.

J.F. But I'm saying do you still subscribe to the PAC view that it's better to deal with whites after liberation and not to have them....

J.S. I think they are ent - I think they are entitled to whatever method they want to use and they see (?) fit, and if it's in term (?) like I understood so many years ago, as a matter of security or strategy, they are entitled....

J.F. Who's entitled - who's they?

J.S. The PAC - I'm addressing your question - the - they are entitled to that, and I don't - I have no problems with that - and when I do it, me as an individual, I'm violating nothing, neither am I contradicting my beliefs - it's not a main thing - that's a method - it's a question of tactic, like to me this whole - this is how I approached it when I was highly involved, the question of violence and non-violence, it - I regarded it as - as a question not of policy but of tactic.

J.F. I'm just saying from your - you saying that you support pan-Africanist ideals - the tactic of not working with whites specifically?

J.S. That - that's not really pan-Africanism.

J.F. What is really pan-Africanism?

J.S. Pan-Africanism is the concept that you believe in an integral continent or country, you see - you don't believe in the fragmented country because of colonialism that chopped up the continent into what they wanted, Bechuanaland or what have you - you believe that those who are African belong, and you don't have to have stringent restrictions against them - for instance, people here in my own personal experience, and in my home, we are divided by that - I have my two brothers who - who were brought up here in Zimbabwe, and are regarded as foreigners in South Africa, and is contrary - it impinges upon my belief of pan-Africanism - they belong, and they are told by Europeans - when I look at it from that angle - told by Europeans in Africa that they are foreigners - that is what pan-African

This other one of say you operate that side has nothing to do as such with this perception.

J.F. What do you mean you operate that side?

J.S. You white - if I may use - I'm using - has nothing to do with that perception absolutely, so that that is how - the problem that I see - like I repeat it to recap all this - the problem that we find ourselves, all of us, we are caught up in the racist terminology, that whilst we think consciously we reject it, but unconsciously we use the same norms in trying to address ourselves to that, and that's where we find difficulties.

J.S. We have to make a conscious and concerted effort of using our non - non-racial standards and norms and - and con (?) you know, terminology to address whatever problem and rid ourselves of racism, which has, over the years, imprinted itself so deeply that it - at times it proves - gives us problems, unawares that it's the imprint of the very thing that we reject - for instance, that's what is causing tension in lower levels, where less mature young people would think in terms of regionalism of one same - one and the same body - I am from Johannesburg - I am a Johannesburg, call me BGD, whatever the movement may be - therefore it is only there that the movement is - that is a problem of regionalism, which has been reinforced over the years by exactly the - the oppressive regime, which is also racist, that you belong to an entity called Bophuthatswana, nowhere else, and it's still proving a problem now, and I always speak strongly on that, that we reject homelands quite.....

END OF SIDE TWO.