

- J.F. I start with everyone to ask where were you born and when and then go into how you got involved politically, so if there's any questions you don't like or anything, just tell me, or if you want to stop, otherwise I'll just start - tell me where were you born and when?
- J.T. I was on the 1st, July, 1942 in Johannesburg.
- J.F. In which part of Jo'burg?
- J.T. I was born at a maternity hospital in the city - it's a suburb called Kensington, I think, but that time my parents lived in Orlando East - it's part of Soweto.
- J.F. So you grew up in Soweto?
- J.T. I grew up in Soweto.
- J.F. And were your parents political?
- J.T. Not directly political, but they had very strong political views.
- J.F. And when you were saying not directly, were they not members of an organisation?
- J.T. No, they were not members of an organisation, primarily because they were teachers, I think, and teachers are not allowed to participate in politics.
- J.F. What did you grow up with - did you grow up with a sense of keep out of politics, it'll get you in trouble, or these laws are oppressing us - how did you grow up - what was in the home?
- J.T. It wasn't discussed directly in the home, but we would discuss what whites were doing, we'd discuss the - the normal problems that we faced as blacks in South Africa, and then we got to understand - I mean I got to understand that it is whites who are oppressing blacks, but I think most of my political awareness came when I went to high school and I started reading widely, I think - I'm not sure whether it's widely or wildly (Laugh)
- J.F. And what did you read that affected you, or what affected you?
- J.T. Nothing specific - it was just a general awareness of things happening around me - reading about what was happening - I think we would look at the French revolution, for instance, we'd look at the - the American revolution, we would look at the American blacks, and every time a pattern emerged in my mind that whites moved from Europe and went round the world - at least let's say Europeans, to be very specific - Europeans moved from Europe and went around the world to colonise the rest of the world in fact - and as I was growing up I would see people being pushed around by the police - it was so painful, you know, our relatives would come from the rural areas to come and live with us, and very early in my life I had to be - to watch out for the police - immediately I saw the police I would have to rush back, warn them that the police were coming, and then I would lock them in the toilet, lock it from the outside to give the impression that there wasn't anybody inside, and you know, as a small boy that affected me, seeing grown up men hiding in fear because of what the police were doing, and I think that's one of the most indelible pictures I have in my mind and....
- J.F. As you were growing....

- J.T. And I was telling myself when I grow up I don't want to live this type of life, where I have to cower just because I see a man in uniform.
- J.F. And as you were growing up and you were vowing that you didn't want to go through that, was it a feeling that it's the whites who were responsible, that the whites were the culprits?
- J.T. You get that feeling very early in life, all the people in authority are whites - you go to the clinic, the doctor is white - the township superintendent is white, and he's ordering his people around - everywhere they were giving the orders - I mean that pattern became very clear very early in my life - you go into town, all the beautiful things belong to the whites - you know, one of my ambitions when I was a youngster I will - I'd tell myself I'll never ever want to run away from another man just because he's in uniform - the second thing I'd tell myself was one day I would have a bathroom, because we'd have to walk some distance to go and get water, come back, boil the water on - on a coal stove, and then after about two or three hours then we can have a bath in the bathroom - I mean in the bedroom - we'd put a bath and pour the water in there, and then we'd have to go carry water again from the tap, and I'd tell myself when I grow up I want a bathroom.

Another thing I told myself was when I grow up I would buy myself so many pairs of shoes (Laugh) - very strange - because after every two, three months I had to walk barefooted because I didn't have shoes - I had the one pair, and when it went for repairs (?) I had to walk barefooted and - and these are some of the impressions I had when I was a kid.

- J.F. And was your impression that if the whites could be eliminated that would solve the problem - I'm just wondering what your kind of perception was of people of other races?
- J.T. No, no, no, it - it's not a question of wanting to eliminate them, it's a question of saying : But why shouldn't I also have my share - I still have that same feeling - you walk in Johannesburg, streets of Johannesburg, suburbs of - white suburbs of Johannesburg, you'll see one very massive house in a garden about so many acres big, and in the meantime there's supposed to be a very serious shortage of land for housing, and you ask yourself but why should people want to hoard these things to themselves when there is so much for everybody - you always get the sense of but why should this happen to us, why should it happen to blacks - there's an area called Mashenguville in Soweto....
- J.F. What's it called?
- J.T. Mashenguville - M s h e n g u v i l l e - now you have never seen such squalor - you know, people go there just to erect just the - the roof and the walls and it's so dirty, but people go there, they pay money to get just the bit of land there - you can't walk between the houses, it's terrible - and you get to other shanties around Soweto - they are mushrooming all over the place - and every two, three days these shanties are being bulldozed, people are thrown out of their little shacks, and as I say, you walk into town and you see this massive waste of land - people with beautiful gardens, swimming pools, tennis courts, Olympic size, for just one family.
- J.F. Tell me just about your development - your parents taught in Soweto at schools?

- J.T. Ja, they taught in Soweto - in fact my mother's still teaching up to now - she's - she's retired but she's gone back to teaching - because of the shortage of teachers she was asked to continue - my father is also retired.
- J.F. How many children were you in your family?
- J.T. There were three of us - I was the eldest and I've got two sisters.
- J.F. So then you were - you said you were born in '4....
- J.T. 1942.
- J.F. So by the '50s you were in your teens - did you start getting involved politically - you said you began reading - did you have organisational contact?
- J.T. Not at that time - when I started reading the newspapers etc., that was early '50s or mid '50s, I think, and then that's the time when the tensions within the ANC emerged, where you had people who supported the Freedom Charter and the people who were opposed to the Freedom Charter, the Africanists within the ANC, and that was the politics in the newspapers, and by some coincidence the first time I - I joined an organisation was in 1958, on the day the Africanists broke away from the ANC.
- J.F. DOCC meeting?
- J.T. No, it was the Orlando Communal Hall - it wasn't the DOC - there are two halls there - it was the communal hall.
- J.F. The first time you walked into a political meeting?
- J.T. No, in - I - I - I joined a political organisation - as I say, my sympathies were with the Africanists within the ANC for the simple reason that they were - they were discussing our problems in very practical terms, terms that I could understand - I could see whites doing things to us, so when they said : We are fighting to get our land back - the colonisers came in 1652 - it was very logical, I just accepted it, so as I say, I sympathised with - with them for some time before I actually joined them - on the 2nd. November I was passing the communal hall and there was this tug-of-war between the ANC people and the Africanists, and I stood there watching and asking what was happening, so they told me what was happening, that they were being stopped from entering the hall, where a Transvaal congress of the ANC was taking place, and they were members of the ANC, so I got to physically meet the Africanists for the first time and I asked to join and I was given a membership card, ANC membership card on that day - so what they would do is it was an ANC membership card, but they would write Africanist in brackets.
- J.F. And how did you - you had never met any Africanists until you walked by the hall?
- J.T. No, not - no, not, except as I say - except what I was reading in the newspapers.
- J.F. So what - you said what drew you to the Africanists was the language seemed straightforward?
- J.T. Ja, the - they discussed our problems in very simple, very direct terms that we could understand.
- J.F. As opposed to how was the ANC....

J.T. As opposed to the ANC, who would want to talk of the land belongs to all who live in it - there is a place for whites in the struggle, and I couldn't understand in my mind how we could differentiate between people who were fighting - I couldn't understand how we could suddenly give up a struggle that was started by our forefathers and - and concede that the colonisers are part of this land - I mean when I go to England I have to go through certain procedures before I become an Englishman - I have to stay there for whatever number of years, and it is the people in England who have to accept me as an Englishman.

Now what we have in our country is the colonisers came - our forefathers tried to fight, but they were not strong enough, and the colonisers imposed themselves on us, and that struggle isn't resolved yet, so once you start saying the land belongs to all who live in it, once you start saying there are comrades on the other side of the fence, you are negating the entire struggle of your forefathers trying to fight the - the - the colonisers - so I could understand it very simply that we were fighting for our land and only after we have gotten our land back can we then talk of reconciliation, can we then talk of a non-racial society, can we then talk of complete democracy, but before the contradictions are resolved, it's just being (.....) - we are just living in a world of our own just dreaming that we are free already, and we aren't.

J.F. So you're saying while the struggle is being fought it's not possible to have any white allies?

J.T. I'm not saying it's not possible to have white allies, the - the problem is it is the Africans themselves who have to take political decisions about the struggle - any white who comes in can come in only to assist - what we've had up to this point is we've had whites who are sympathetic to the struggle - they're generally academics from universities - they're people who come into the struggle essentially to try and give advice - they in fact take over the struggle - I've never ever met a white who will just accept a place in the liberation struggle and say : O.K., I'm just a member - he will come in at the top to try and give directions, and I believe that we need to work out our own solutions ourselves, and in the process of struggling we will be able to get the confidence we need, get the - what's the word for it - I think perhaps Fanon might - might express it better - he says that after a - I mean after the native has fought, has shed blood, I mean that - that has a cathartic effect on him.

I don't think it's necessarily the killings, the bloodshed etc. that is cathartic - it's the fact that he is doing something about his oppression himself - I think that is what is - is cleansing, and in the end we will be able to sit with whites because we have perhaps managed to fight them, to defeat them if we get to victory, and can be able to sit with them and feel that they are just human like we are human.

J.F. What - which work (.....) do you know?

J.T. Fanon I think should be in the Wretched of the Earth.

J.F. When you said we Africans have to do it ourselves, did you mean not Coloureds and Asians?

J.T. We - we have a very strange structure in South Africa, where whites are at the top, your Asians would fall as the second layer, your Coloureds as the third layer, and the indigenous Africans as the bottom of the - the pile, right.

- J.T. Now I have found that very many Coloureds don't accept themselves as African, but there are Coloureds who accept themselves as African - I have found that there are some Indians who do not identify with the oppressed African, indigenous Africans, but there are some who have thrown in their lot entirely with the indigenous Africans - now fortunately the experiences of your Indian, the experiences of your Coloured, are identical to the experiences of your African, but very few of them do realise this, to be very frank - very few of them do realise this, that they are in fact exactly - in exactly the same position as the indigenous Africans.
- J.F. So you're saying the ones that would see themselves as African you would accept?
- J.T. Accept, ja.
- J.F. And what about African people who ally themselves with the state - how do they fit into an Africanist theory, the Matanzimas, the informers, the policemen?
- J.T. By the way, we - we shouldn't look at this as a - as a racial sort of division, I think - it's essentially those who are oppressing as against those who are oppressed, so that the Africans, the Coloureds, the Indians, who choose to align themselves with the oppressor, have no place in this - in this struggle, so it isn't - it isn't a racial - it isn't a racial division - it's oppressor against the oppressed essentially - those who align themselves with the oppressor and those who align themselves with the oppressed.
- J.F. But is it not - you wouldn't accept that there're whites who would align themselves with the oppressed?
- J.T. The - the - the problem we have found with the whites who - as I said - I mean I mentioned this earlier, that the whites who align themselves with - with - with the Africans, A, they are beneficiaries of this whole system of oppression - when they come in and say we want to be on your side, they come in to try and control our struggle essentially - they try to - to improve our conditions rather than to break down the entire structure - there might be one or two who are committed to a complete breakdown of the structure, but when you - when you organise a political party you don't organise in terms of the exceptions to the rule - it's a much easier solution to say those whites who want - who want to help us can help us, but we want to take the decisions ourselves - it is us who are feeling the whole weight of oppression - so we do have then people who want to contribute - we'll accept whatever help they want to give, but ultimately we have to carry the burden of the oppression and we are the people who have to break it.
- J.F. We means....
- J.T. The indigenous Africans and those Coloureds and Indians who - who call themselves Africans.
- J.F. But couldn't you also see that there're Indians and Coloureds who are beneficiaries of the system of oppression who would be benefiting - if an Indian clearly is far better off than you, he's got African servants, says he's earnestly interested in supporting your cause, how is he different from a white who says he's interested?

- J.T. It would - it would be very easy to see such an Indian - I mean if his lifestyle is that of a person who is - who's oppressing Africans, I mean we - it would be very obvious - if he has servants, if he underpays his servants, it will be so obvious to the Africans that they will reject him essentially - they will reject him without second thought.
- J.F. What I'm saying is if you had two people who both had fairly modest homes and maybe had a servant but if they did they paid them well and wanted to be supportive, and one lived in a kind of low level white neighbourhood and the other that (.....) lived in Lenasia, would you be not accepting of the white who said he wanted to join but accepting of the Indian, or would you also worry that the Indian might take a leadership position - I'm just wondering how that - if there a difference between Indian and the white on that level?
- J.T. The - the difference - I think the essential difference is that the one's historical differences are the same as that of the indigenous African - he was robbed of his land, he was carried by force from his land and brought here, so that even in South Africa he enjoys second class citizenship - he is underpaid, he is - he suffers everything else that the African suffers - he might get a little more pay at work, he might be a little more educated, but he has been through exactly the same experiences as the indigenous African, so that at the emotional level it is much easier for him to identify with the African - that is why it's much easier for us to accept him as an African.
- J.F. But there're very few Indians whose experience would be exactly the same - you take the average Indian living in an urban setting who's really well off who might have a supervisory position - it would be hard to say that there was a direct analogy with maybe a land experience 40 years ago that even already had to do with land that a shop was on - that African you're comparing to him is not upset that the government took his grandfather's shop away, he's afraid that - he's angry because they were just moved from (?) nothing.
- J.T. I think there - there is a lot in common - when you get into a - at least at that time - when you got into your hotel, it didn't matter whether you were Indian or you were African, you would be thrown out - we suffer the same humiliations and we all didn't have the vote - we had so many things in common that brought us together - they couldn't live in certain areas - we were crowded together in places like Sophiatown, like Alexandra - it's only very recently that you've had this very sharp division between the African and the Coloured and the Indian - I mean since 1948 - in fact even later than 1948, but the - as I say, the historical experience is identical - if you look at the Indians who worked at the sugar plantations in Natal, they were suffering exactly the same things that the Africans, indigenous Africans in Natal were suffering.
- J.F. Let me take you on to your experience - November, 1958 you joined Africanists of the ANC, and then you were quite young, a teenager?
- J.T. Ja, I was.
- J.F. What did - what kind of things did you do, what happened next?
- J.T. In fact what we did at that time was we'd - we had various branches, so we had branch meetings in Orlando East - in fact we had about two or three branches in Orlando East, and we would meet at various houses and get political education etc., and then perhaps weekends we'd go out canvassing support, move from house to house, trying to get support etc.

J.T. We would go to the headquarters at the time - the headquarters was in Dube - that's at Leballo's house - I still remember the address, 1144 Dube - we'd go there over weekends, help print pamphlets, roneo pamphlets etc., and just generally be helpful in the office etc. - the office was in his house in fact.

J.F. In Leballo's house?

T.J. Mmm.

J.F. And who were the leaders that impressed you most in - then it was still the Africanists?

T.J. The - the man who impressed me most was Peter Molotsi - I don't know whether it's because he was at our branch in Orlando East, but I used to admire him - I tried to speak like him, I tried to act like he was acting - he was my hero at the time - I didn't know Sobukwe - person I got to know fairly well during that period was Leballo himself - he was a very - very colourful man, and I also admired him, but my hero was Peter Molotsi.....

END OF SIDE ONE.

J.F. Just tell me about it - what happened?

J.T. And then - then came the day that PAC - the weekend that PAC was launched - that was in April, '59 - that's when I saw Sobukwe for the first time and I heard him for the first time, and I have never met a greater man than that one in my whole life - A, I was impressed by his speech there - it was tremendous - and I'm sure that you remember that he was elected president unanimously, but as I say, it was the first time that I had met him - I got to know him a little more after that - every time we went to the office then we would find him there and we'd sit chatting to him - now what I admired with him was his brilliance - he was absolutely brilliant, but at that same time he was extremely humble - I've never seen a more humble man, a more sincere man - every time he spoke I would just sit there like I was listening to a God essentially - I don't know what else to say about him.

J.F. Let me just take you just through everything that happened to you - you then joined the PAC at that meeting?

J.T. Ja.

J.F. In April - that was '59.

J.T. That's when it was founded.

J.F. And then that year what kind of things were you engaged in?

J.T. As I say, at that time we were just - we were still - and it was a - an organisation being born, so what we are doing is we are moving around trying to sell the organisation, getting people to understand what it was all about, and fighting the hostile press, because even at that time the press was extremely hostile, but we are very active in trying to organise.

J.T. This went on until heroes' day the same year - at - at the meeting to celebrate Heroes' Day - that is Anton Lembede's birthday, August 31st. - at that meeting it was decided that we should embark on a campaign of positive action against the system, and we were told to start preparing people for action that we will be taking - I was very active at Orlando High - at that time I was a student at Orlando High, and I think three quarters of the school were PAC or PAC supporters at the time - we went on until about December - December, 19th. - that's when a decision was taken to go on this anti-pass campaign, and the message we left with was go out, tell people to prepare themselves for a long struggle against the pass laws - the details of the struggle were not given, but that's the message we take, carry pamphlets, move into houses - as I say, it was much easier - it was easier organising them because you moved from house to house - we'd come in and we'd talk to people - some would receive us very well and listen to us, some would join, some would fight us and throw us out and - but it was exciting days.

This continued until March - the week before March 21st., when we were actually told the date is March 21st. and were given instructions on how we march to the police stations etc., etc., and then we went round then organising, getting people to get ready for March 21st. - and then on the day before March 21st. I have never done so much walking in my life - let's say (?) we were now moving from house to house distributing pamphlets, talking to people etc., I think until very late at night, and as we were doing this we had to dodge saracens and police vans etc. - they were aware that the PAC was launching the campaign the following day and there was a massive show of strength perhaps just to intimidate people to stop them from participating in this campaign.

We went to bed very late, but at three we were up again - at the railway stations, at bus stops etc. - and we were herding people towards the police station - but then everywhere we would go we would get the police dispersing us, driving straight into the crowd, getting people running all over the place, so in the end when day broke, we were at the police station, whole crowd of us, and Sobukwe came with his crowd, marching from Orlando West, all the way, and they joined us at the Orlando police station - the police station is in Orlando East - that's the area where I live and O.K., we waited there - the leadership went into the police station to go and demand that we be arrested, and the police refused to arrest us, so the whole crowd of us camped outside the police station all day - at about I think midday - 11, midday security police came with a list of names and they started asking who is Sobukwe, and he got up - who is Leballo, and he got up - who is Nyawose, and he got up - so they were all called out - that was members of the national executive of the PAC, who were in that crowd, so they were called out into the police station yard, and after a few minutes we saw them being taken into police cars and driven out - apparently they were being taken to the security headquarters - what was the place called now - it wasn't John Vorster Square that time - it was somewhere in von Weillich Street - so they went out there - we remained there until late in the afternoon.

Some - very many people got bored and they started drifting away, although we were singing and chanting etc. all day outside the police station - at about I think five - four or five in the afternoon then they started arresting us - they said people can come in two at a time, and we moved in there and we were locked up, and it was my first experience of jail.

J.F. How long were you jailed for?

J.T. I was in jail for nine months, because I was released on Christmas Eve the same year - what happened is we were charged with - with breaking a law - what was the wording - if you - if you protest against a law, you break it because you are protesting against it - then you are not charged with just breaking the law, it - it's under a much wider law, I think under the criminal procedures act or whatever it was.



- J.T. But all the same, we were charged, we appeared in court, and on April 7 or 8 - I'm not too sure of the date - we were sentenced to three years imprisonment or 300 pounds - about 150 of us were sentenced.
- J.F. In April, '61?
- J.T. April, '60 - on appeal it was reduced, I think, to 300 - to 150 pounds or 18 months and the rest was suspended - that's another 18 months and 150 pounds - so on Christmas Eve my father paid, I think, 75 pounds, which was half the sentence - half the - the sentence, and I was released.
- J.F. So then you were out at the end of 1960, but when you came....
- J.T. 1960, but then at the time then the PAC was banned - in fact we are reading about all the events - the events of Sharpeville we only heard while we were in the cells - I think some reporters came and they told us that so many people had been shot dead in - in Sharpeville, and we're getting reports about people killed in - in Langa, Gugulethu and - and then we got the newspapers the next day and we started reading about the events that were taking place outside.
- J.F. So by the time you got out the PAC had been banned?
- J.T. Had been banned, ja.
- J.F. So what did you do (Tape off)
- J.T. Politically I think what I did is - the PAC was banned, so we went into a whole lull, but some people continued - you had your Poqo, you had the - the PAC people being arrested, and in 1963 there was this massive swoop and almost every PAC activist in the country was arrested - I wasn't arrested, fortunately....
- J.F. That followed Leballo's statement in Lesotho?
- J.T. In Lesotho, ja.
- J.F. Did that make people angry, did that make you angry that - did you see that you jeopardised people?
- J.T. Ja, everybody was angry at that time.
- J.F. With him?
- J.T. With him, ja, because he was talking from the safety of Lesotho and he was oblivious of the - of the - the danger in which other people were being - were - were put - but as I say, thousands of people were arrested, there were so many court cases - some people are still serving life sentences on Robben Island as a result of the 1963 campaign - the ANC also got a lot of hammering in 1963, '64, so that immediately after that period the whole nation withdrew into itself to (.....) I think - that's what happened - so there wasn't much political activity until BC emerged 1968, '69.
- J.F. So you meanwhile - were you in school or were you working or what were you doing when you got out?
- J.T. When I got out I went back to school, completed my matric, and then I started working as a journalist in 1961.
- J.F. As what - for who?

J.T. For the - it was called the Bantu World then (Laugh)

J.F. As a reporter?

J.T. As a reporter, ja.

J.F. And who did you work with - were there any well known people you worked with?

J.T. No, not at that time, but I got to meet very well known journalists like Casey Montsisi, Can Themba, that whole crowd of the 1950s, 1960s - Benson Dyantyi, the Boy Gumede, Ronnie Manyosi - he's dead now.

J.F. Were any of them political, were any of them ANC or PAC supporters or did they talk politics or was?

J.T. The - the scene in the '60s, as I say, was a rather strange one, where it was very fashionable to be in the white suburbs - to go to parties in the white suburbs etc., so I also moved into this - this circuit where we'd be moving from one party to another, where we would be writing very jazzy pieces about life in the townships, with no very serious political analysis - as I say, the journalist of the time, I think, was trying to give - was trying to give whites an idea of what was happening in the townships, so you could feel it in the whole tone of the writing was intended for whites rather than for the blacks who were reading the papers - as I say, there's been a complete revolution in black journalism since then, because what people are doing now is they are writing for blacks and they are in a way ignoring the whites because they're writing for blacks about blacks, and they are reflecting more immediate concerns of the blacks.

J.F. But who did Casey Montsisi and Can Themba write for that whites were reading them?

J.T. They - the stories that Casey would write that your - Casey was a beautiful humorist - he was writing very - protest writing it was, but it was written to amuse your white reader to....

J.F. But in which (.....)

J.T. Oh, he was writing for Drum - that was the main publication at the time - Drum was the main publication....

J.F. Whites didn't read Drum, did they?

J.T. Some did, I think - the liberal whites read Drum - but the whole tone of the writing, you could see that the - the audience was not supposed - was not the - the black readers - it was to impress the white readership - even if they didn't read it but the whole tone was to give whites an idea of what was happening in the townships, and as I say, some of these chaps were lionised (?) - they would get into the white parties and they would be heroes there and they would be telling stories about what was happening in the townships - that was the type of life we were leading at that time.

J.F. How did you feel getting into white parties when you (.....) PAC..

J.T. No, I don't feel uncomfortable with whites - I just take them as humans and....

J.F. No, but I mean as a - what did you feel about it happening?

J.T. I was angry about it, but it was the in thing at the time and I wasn't fighting the tide and so I just went along with it - as I say, this whole tendency it seeped into everything, student politics, into - I mean black students would want to be seen at NUSAS congresses, getting drunk there and just creating mayhem - it was the whole scene at the time, as I say, until 1968 - '67, '68, when people started rethinking their position, and SASO emerged, and then the whole BC thing came up and people started looking very seriously at politics again, and it was like switching the clock back because what the - the - the BC people were saying was what the PAC had been saying in 1958, '59 - the terminology was different but it was essentially the same language, the same message, and this is where I now found myself comfortable.

In 19 - I think it's 1972 we formed the union of black journalists, which was (Tape off) - so in 197 - '73 in fact we formed the union of black journalists, but again if you noticed what happened with the journalists, we also got into the same rut (?) - we formed an organisation called SAJA, South African Journalists Association, which was a multi-racial union - I don't know whether to call it a trade union or what - whatever, but it in fact turned out to be just a social club, because we never looked at any of our problems seriously as - as working journalists - SAJA was formed to counter the - the South African Society of Journalists because the South African Society of Journalists was a white trade union and it didn't allow African members - they allowed Coloureds and Indians to be members, but they didn't allow Africans, so then SAJA was formed in the late '60s, and as I say, it was just another social club where we'd meet with the whites, we'd hold parties, we'd hold dances and the usual thing.

But as I say, then came this whole BC revival and we - journalists also found themselves, and in 1963 they formed the union of black journalists, and the SASO chaps were very instrum - I mean were - were very active in getting the UBJ to - in forming the UBJ - we had people like Bokwe Mafuna, who was in SASO, we had - other people were very active like Nat Serache, who was active in SASO - it was a whole crowd of journalists who were active in SASO who came into the journalist field and got us to form the Union of Black Journalists, and then the first president was Harry Mashabela, the vice-president was Bokwe Mafuna.

Our constitution, incidentally, was a - a copy of the SASO constitution - we just changed the names from South African Students Organisation to the Union of Black Journalists etc., but it was exactly the same document - Mafuna was banned in 1973 - we elected Don Mattera to take his place - Don Mattera was also banned '74, so I was elected vice-president '74 - I was vice-president '75, I became president in '76, and as I say, the whole mood in the townships, in the country, changed - the BC - SASO students were very angry and they injected that mood into the black population - as I say, there was a difference in terminology, but essentially the message was the same - perhaps the - the one area where they perhaps took a step better than the PAC was that they had this generic term of black for all the disenfranchised people in the country and it - it made terminology much easier, but essentially the message was the same.

For a change, politics in the country was united, black politics - talk about the '60s - I mean the late '60s, '70s, people who supported the PAC, people who supported the ANC, people who supported - who didn't support anything - all came together under this umbrella of BC, and we found we could work together very comfortably - I think it was very comfortably because we didn't have any white membership - we had white friends - there were whites who were donating money to SASO, BPC and the other organisations - we had white friends, but when it came to political decision making, that was left entirely to the - to the blacks, and I think that is where we found unity for a brief spell (Laugh) very sadly.

J.T. And that continued until 1976 and 1976, I think, was a watershed year because we could all speak with one voice, we could all act as one - after 1976, '77, the old problems re-emerged - now I believe the problems emerged because BC didn't have any presence outside the country, BC didn't have any armed wing, so when people - when youngsters fled the country '76, '77, the only people to welcome them outside here were ANC and the PAC, and each one of them was grabbing the young - the youngsters from back home, and their struggles to get these youngsters were transferred back to South Africa and the tensions re-emerged - the people who - who were supporting the ANC wanted to be identified as supporting the ANC inside the country - the people who were supporting the PAC wanted to be identified as supporting the PAC - the people who wanted to keep neutral or whatever, or wanted to continue BC as a separate entity wanted to be identified as being separate, and of course '78 tensions - no, '78 the tensions hadn't emerged yet, but they were - we could feel them under - we could feel them under the - the unity that we had at the time, but it was only in '81, '82 that it burst out in the open, where people were now openly fighting - I'm UDF, I am National Forum, I am AZAPO, I am what - what have you - but as I say, the problems there were inherited from outside the country, not from inside the country.

It is very sad that the unity that Steve Biko had welded was so fragile.

END OF SIDE TWO.

J.F. So you were the UBJ president in '76 - just tell me just a bit about your (.....)

J.T. After June 16. we published a very interesting document, the UBJ Bulletin - what we did is we asked all the journalists who were active at the time, who actually saw things happening, to write their first personal accounts of what happened, and we collated these and we published them as the UBJ Bulletin - now some of the stuff had been published before in the various newspapers, but it had so much impact as a collation that I believe the government panicked - A, the publication was banned and all the copies that we hadn't distributed were confiscated, and then I was detained under Section Ten of the Internal Security Act then - that's preventative detention - just lock you up and throw the key away until they remember it some day.

J.F. When was this exactly?

J.T. I was arrested on the - on the 1st. September, 1976, and I was released again on Christmas Eve, 1976 - and then we were charged with producing an undesirable publication - between the time that we published this thing and the time that they charged us they had passed a law where if a publication gets banned, they can charge you with willing - I mean we knowingly producing a publication that would be undesirable - it was - it was sort of back-dating the offence in a way - now they wanted to use this - I mean our case as a test for that law.

Fortunately for us, while we were still awaiting trial - in fact the case lasted until somewhere in '79, I think - no, '78, late '78, when the charges were withdrawn, and they were only withdrawn because they had actually managed to get a person they could convict on that law, so they no longer needed us as the test case, so they withdrew the charges.

J.F. Who did they convict?

- J.T. Somebody else was charged with producing an undesirable publication, knowing that it would be considered as undesirable - we were charged with Beyers Naude, who was representing the - the printers - you know Beyers Naude was - we were charged with....
- J.F. When he was at the Christian Institute?
- J.T. Ja, at the Christian Institute, ja - they were - they had printed the publication for us - Juby Mayet, Mike Norton and myself - perhaps - perhaps this whole publication should give you an indication of what I believe the relationship should be between the oppressed blacks and the whites in the country - we produced the publication, we did everything - all we did, we went to the Christian Institute and said : Could you please print this for us - and they printed it -. I have always had tremendous respect for Beyers Naude as a man, as a person who is sympathetic to our cause, but I don't believe that he should be in the decision making process when we want to decide this is what we want to do - he should be at the sidelines saying : I will give you whatever support you need - I don't know if that explains the type of relationship that I am looking for.
- J.F. Did you accept him as the head of the Christian Institute or is that too much of a decision making?
- J.T. No, the - the Christian Institute was - was essentially a support organisation - it wasn't an activist organisation where decisions could be made etc. - I mean he was - he was assisting so many BC organisations, or when SASO wanted offices he would get them offices, when they wanted printing he would - they would help them with printing etc., but as I say, the relationship here was at the decision making, the political decision making was done by blacks themselves.
- J.F. Whereas as head of SACC you see that as a position that should be in the black - a black should hold?
- J.T. Ja, I believe so, because a person in position of the SACC secretariat should - should be very sensitive to what is happening in the townships - I was then - I was released then on Christmas Eve '76 - I came out of jail and I found I had been fired from my job at Drum - in fact I was fired while I was in jail from Drum Publications - Jim Bailey sent me a very friendly letter saying that for a long time he's been - he'd been warning me to keep out of politics, and I had ignored his warnings and that is why I was now in a police - I mean in the - in jail, and unfortunately he couldn't keep me on his staff, so I came back and I joined The World - the editor then was Percy - in fact he offered me the job while I was in jail when he was told that I had been fired by Jim Bailey.

Now there had been a complete change in The World - from being a crime, sports and sex sheet, it had some political cont - direction - it was speaking out very forcefully - that was just before the '76 - June, '76 events and thereafter, so when he offered me a job I found - I mean I was very happy to go and join them - started work on the 1st. February, 1977, and on the 1st. March I was arrested (Laugh) - Section Six of the Terrorism Act this time - that's the Interrogation Act, or it was the Interrogation Act then - and I was kept in solitary confinement for 18 months, and I was being interrogated about my PAC activities etc. - I was released on - on the 31st. August, 1978, so I spent exactly 18 months to the day in solitary confinement - I came back to the - The World - oh, The World had been banned by then, and in fact I learned these things very painfully.

J.T. I was in a cell and this policeman came and - one of the security policemen - he came in and said : Why don't you go and give evidence for us in - you no longer have an organisation outside - all your friends are dead - so I asked him which friends are dead - Steve Biko's dead, your Sobukwe's dead - and I couldn't believe him - he says : All your organisations are all dead - so I thought he was joking, but in the end he came with a list of banned organisations, and I saw UBJ, SASO, BPC etc., etc., and The World banned, everything, and then when he started telling me that Steve Biko had died and Sobukwe had died, then I started believing him - I didn't know until that time, and it was some time very late in 1978 when I got to know these things.

But then I came back, I found there was post - in fact the same - it was virtually the same organisation, same paper, same everything, same editor, so I joined Post - the Union of Black Journalists had been banned and there was no WASA, the Writers Association of South Africa - we had formed the Writers Association of South Africa just before I was detained in 1976 - when they started detaining people for - under Section Ten, we suspected that they might ban the UBJ, because they'd already banned the - the newsletter - so what we did is we got a group together and we got them to form a committee and write out a constitution and they call it the - they called the organisation the Writers Association of South Africa - they were mainly UBJ members, but it was just in case the UBJ was banned.

So apparently while I was in jail that committee was resuscitated - brushed up, and it became functional, and the Writers Association of South Africa was born, which is now the Media Workers Association of South Africa - so when I came out then I was Transvaal secretary - Southern Transvaal secretary until we were banned - we had the strike at - the newspaper strike in 1980, and after the strike the people who were thought to be the key people in the strike were banned, Zwelakhe Sisulu, Phil Mtimkhulu, Subrey in Natal, Subramoney - what's Subrey's name - Marimuthu Subramoney, Mathatha Tsedu and myself were banned.

J.F. That was in 1980?

J.T. No, January, '81.

J.F. So did that mean you couldn't work at the paper any more?

J.T. We couldn't work at the papers - on any publication in fact - whatever we said or wrote couldn't be published by anybody - we're not allowed to get onto newspaper premises, we're not allowed to get into factories, we were not allowed to enter any township except the specific township that was - for instance, I was confined to Pinville, where we were under partial house arrest, so we had to be in the house by six in the even - by seven in the evening and be indoors until six in the morning, and weekends - from Friday night you had to be indoors until Monday morning - on public holidays you couldn't move out of your yard etc., so - as I say, it - it was very exciting beating that particular banning order at - at every given chance - slipping out, coming in just before the security chaps came in to check if you were in the house (Laugh) or perhaps they come in, they find you are with people in the room, and as they are knocking, you rush to the bedroom and you tell your wife to sit with them, so that when they come in they have visitors, they are not your visitors, because you are not allowed to have visitors - that type of game that we are playing.

J.T. But in - in June, 1982 on I think it was June 24th. they came for me again, and this time I was kept under Section Six Interrogation for a shorter period, and in November we were taken to court and were charged with furthering the aims of the PAC, with recruiting people for the PAC, with so many things - they tried to throw the whole book at us - importing arms into the country etc. - in April, '83 we were convicted - I was - at least (?) specifically I was convicted of being in possession of a PAC publication - that's about all they could prove, and I was sentenced to 30 months imprisonment - again it was because they had used a new law - the law says if you are found in possession of a publication of a banned organisation, then you are charged not with just possessing banned literature but with furthering the aims of that organisation, and it therefore carries a sentence of anything up to ten years imprisonment - I got - two of us got 30 (13) months, the other - the - the - the - another two people got 36 months - some of them were found with lots of PAC pamphlets etc., etc.

But on appeal again, it was found that they had applied a law that was not in force at the time the offence was committed (Laugh) so we should have been charged with being in possession of banned literature, the normal charge, but instead they had used a law that came into effect four days after we were arrested, so then on appeal we were acquitted, so I was released on the 13th. January, 1984 - happily for me, I haven't had another brush with the law (Laugh) since then.

J.F. So who were you sentenced with?

J.T. The youngsters who belong to an organisation called AZANYU, the Azanian National Youth Unity - in the Transvaal I think they are the most vocal proponents of the Africanist position - in other areas you find other organisations, but in the Transvaal they are the most visible, the most heard (?)

J.F. So you in fact never were in prison other than this one time - you weren't in prison in the '60s....

J.T. You mean convicted....

J.F. Convicted of any?

J.T. I was convicted in 1960, right.

J.F. From March 21st.

J.T. Ja, and then this time.

J.F. Because someone had said that you had been quite close with Sobukwe and I thought that was in prison.

J.T. Ja, it was in prison in 1960....

J.F. During those months?

J.T. Ja, during those months, ja, we - we were together in prison.

J.F. Who else were you in prison with?

J.T. Oh, just about the entire PAC leadership, Potlako Leballo, Zeph Mothopeng - Josias Madzunya was there too - Lennox Molonzi, Ziba - Makoti - what's Makoti - Edwin Makoti - I think he - he - he was until very recently publicity secretary of the PAC.

- J.F. (.....) said he's your uncle - is that true?
- J.T. Ja, he's my uncle - I was at the meeting where we elected him to the regional executive of (Tape off)
- J.F. Let's take it way back - when you were - when the Africanists was first on and then once the PAC was founded, did you actually engage in arguments and discussions with ANC people or non-Africanists?
- J.T. Ja, we - we did - as I say, at the time there was this very good relationship between the - the various political organisations - we could sit down we could argue up to morning - we would go to ANC meetings and we would argue with them, ask questions etc. - they would also come to our meetings and there was that type of exchange - not what we have now, where people fight instead of talking.
- J.F. What kind of arguments did you have - when you were quite young and you first joined the organisation, what was your line and what was their line - you've told me what you believed - I just wonder if you can remember a specific argument.
- J.T. It - it's a very simple - it was - it's the same arguments that are used now, that there are some whites who sympathise with our struggle, and we need to have a place for them in our struggle - what - our major problem then was, as it still is today - was that people try to project - project the PAC BC as being anti-white, and that is not true, so you had to try and explain the difference between being anti-white and between wanting Africans to take their own political decisions - we would in fact be accused of - of being racist, and you try to say to them : Our documents state very clearly that we believe in only one race, the human race - this whole concept of races is meant to divide people into ethnic groups and from there get them to believe one group is superior to another, and thereafter you get your full-blown racism and apartheid in South Africa, or your nazism in Germany etc, but ultimately we believe in one race, the human race.

Now in this human race you've got oppressors, you've got the oppressed, and in any situation you look at the mechanics of the oppression there - that's how you divide the people - those who are oppressed fight for liberation and those who are oppressing fight to maintain the oppression because they are benefiting from it - so in South Africa the whites who have the vote, who have all their privileges, are the oppressors, and historically they are colonisers who came from Europe - the oppressed are the African, indigenous Africans, who were robbed of all that they had, all their heritage - so these are the type of arguments that we used to engage in.

But ultimately when we look at the society we want to create, we would again run into problems - I mean we look at - at the Freedom Charter and the Freedom Charter says - gives the impression that they will still recognise the existence of three or four national groups - that - that - that's - that's how badly worded the Freedom Charter is - I don't know whether it's deliberately or if it was by accident, but we believe that once we liberate Azania, we have a non-racial society because we don't believe in any specific race - believe in the human race - people who come in, wherever they come from, will have to be accepted by the indigenous peoples in - in Azania, and obviously we'll have the same type of controls that Britain has, that Zimbabwe has, that any other country has, but it will be a non-racial society, so you can't be accused of being racist - so these are the type of arguments we used to have.



J.F. But when the ANC or UDF talk about non-racialism now before liberation, a non-racial practice in a non-racial future after liberation - why do you dispute that?

J.T. You - you create little world of make-believe, O.K. - I'm seated with you here - you are white, I am black, and therefore we create our little world, non-racial world, O.K., but the world outside there is divided between the - the whites and the blacks - it is divided, so pretending that you can form little make-believe worlds when the world is not that way is not true - you are anticipating, very prematurely, before the contradictions are resolved.

J.F. Is the world also divided into economic classes out there?

J.T. Ja, it is.

J.F. Those economic classes more or less important than race - racial divisions?

J.T. You mean at the moment in South Africa?

J.F. Ja.

J.T. I think they go hand in hand - they go hand in hand, I should think - you can't say the one is more important than the other - you have a wider alliance if you talk of blacks fighting for their liberation, but in the end you are looking at the most oppressed layer to be the ones who push for their - for their liberation more than anybody else ultimately.

J.F. The argument against that would be that that alliance, that that convenient general alliance of blacks versus whites is a false one, that within the black unity, supposed unity, there are the different class divisions with blacks, which it's false to obscure - how would you respond to that?

J.T. I don't think - as I say, what you have welding this alliance is the history - I mean the historical experience - it's an emotional welding together of this - this alliance, O.K., but ultimately the majority in this alliance are the ones who are going to - to take the front seat in the end, because they will demand that their concerns be the major concerns of this alliance.

J.F. Will that happen so neatly - won't there also be a struggle for that class to assert its influence?

J.T. There will be a struggle for that class to assert itself.

J.F. So does that come later after the black - after blacks take over?

J.T. It's - it's - it's continuing as it is even within, as I say - within - within this alliance it is continuing - who dominates this alliance, is it the - the - the worst oppressed people, the majority of the people, or is it the few middle class people like myself who will dominate this alliance - that struggle is still continuing.....

END OF SIDE ONE.

- J.F. .... questions - were they concerned - were you thinking and asking the PAC if they had a line on socialism or if they supported socialism, nationalisation, those kind of things, or did it not come up?
- J.T. It - it came out - if you read Sobukwe's inaugural speech it comes out very clearly, and the PAC put itself squarely in the socialist camp - I don't know if you remember the speech that he gave where he was talking about the planned economy in China and comparing it to what was happening in India - I don't know if you remember that - so that when the constitution was drawn up the Africanists said they believe in an Africanist, socialist democracy - I think that's - that's how they put it in the end, but this question was canvassed at the time, and one of the - the arguments that the PAC was using against the ANC was that it was refusing to take any ideological position.
- J.F. But can you have socialism and Africanism at the same time - either you feel that Africans are dominant or you feel that there's a building of socialism, but how can that be built - how can Africanism and socialism co-exist?
- J.T. Again it's a question of words (?) here - the idea that we had at the time was when you talk about an Africanist, socialist democracy, you are talking about adapting socialism to conditions in Africa - we are not trying to separate socialism and say African socialism is different from, let's say, Russian socialism or Chinese socialism - we are saying we are part of the socialist camp, but we believe it should be adapted to conditions in Africa.
- J.F. And how - one thing I'm confused about is with the PAC's line on whites - how did Patrick Duncan figure - why did he have such an important position?
- J.T. In fact I'm a little vague about Patrick Duncan's position because - because he was - he was a rather controversial personality within the PAC itself, but when we asked the people who were abroad, they told us that the man had clearly identified himself with Africans, and that is one of the reasons that he had withdrawn from the oppressing system in - inside South Africa and had gone out, and the second reason they gave was that they had problems breaking into Europe so they needed a white face to talk to - to the Europeans and put the Africanist case across, but as I say, it was a whole lot of controversy within the PAC itself, some people questioning why he should have been allowed membership and others saying that no, he is - should - he deserves (?) the membership.
- J.F. But he was a representative to Algeria - he wasn't used to get into Europe, as far as the history records.
- J.T. As I say, I'm not too sure about the facts, I'm a little vague about it.
- J.F. Why is it, do you think, that liberals like say, Benjamin Pogrund were so pro-PAC and anti-ANC, white liberals?
- J.T. I don't know if Benjamin Pogrund was anti-ANC....
- J.F. He's very anti-ANC.
- J.T. That's news to me....
- J.F. He's very pro-PAC, very anti-ANC and very, very anti-communist - his view is that the PAC represents an anti-communist - ANC's communist so the PAC's better, but you have that in lots of liberals - many, many liberals would be very much happier with - white liberals are happier with PAC because they think the ANC's communist.

J.T. Let - let me explain Patrick Duncan's position - not Patrick Duncan, Benjamin Pogrund's position - in - as I said, in 1959, '60 we were getting very bad press, like we are still getting a very bad press here - anybody who is not - who - who's either BC or PAC gets a very bad press, but Benjamin Pogrund was one person who published our stuff with no problems, I don't know why - but he covered the inaugural congress and he gave the most - what we believed to be the most objective assessment of the congress, and thereafter every time people had press statements to make etc., then they would get in touch with him, so he - that's how the relationship developed - he was never ever a member of the PAC.

After Sobukwe's release from jail - remember he was confined to - to Kimberley and he was a very sick thing (?) - and Benjamin Pogrund would visit him and he would help him out with doctors and that type of thing - that's about all that I know about it.

J.F. Wouldn't that - would there be a feeling - with such a distrust of white motives it would seem that someone like him or Duncan would get involved and be so helpful, that there'd be some querying of the motives....

J.T. I must ask (?) here there - there is a definite querying of the motives - as I say, Patrick Duncan's case is one that I know very - very clearly, that it caused a lot of controversy, but the decision to allow him into the PAC and to let him do whatever he was doing was taken by the people outside here, and I can't explain it.

J.F. But you knew Pogrund - you worked with him?

J.T. Ja, as I say I - no, not quite worked with him....

J.F. But you saw him around, he was the boss, so you had some sense of what it was about - I'm just wondering did people like you think it was a problem that he was so big on Sobukwe - he presented Sobukwe as his big buddy.

J.T. As I say, I have very serious problems with Benjamin Pogrund, but I don't know if it's for publication whatever - O.K., off the record, for instance, he's tried to interview me a number of times, about our relationship with Sobukwe etc., and I have always refused to talk to him - in fact I believe he's doing exactly the same thing that Woods is doing with Steve Biko - go on a whole ego trip using a very big name in black politics....

J.F. That inaugural....

J.T. .... but we - the accusation that the PAC is anti-communist I mean it - I mean it's so obviously untrue - the - the PAC wouldn't be so close to the Chinese, for instance, if it was anti-communist - it wouldn't be getting whatever aid it is getting from the Yugoslavs if it was anti-communist - so obviously there's a whole lot of manoeuvring of information to give a particular - to project a particular image.

J.F. That inaugural congress, was that held at the USIS in Johannesburg?

J.T. Decidedly not - that's another of the - the stories that are circulating, I think, to discredit the PAC....

J.F. Did you attend it?

J.T. The inaugural congress, ja, I was there - that's where I saw Sobukwe's book - it was also at the communal hall in Orlando.

J.F. But the founding meeting the Makhanda, who's the PAC rep at the UN - I interviewed him and he said it was held at USIS, and he's the PAC's chief representative.

- J.T. No, probably didn't understand your question.
- J.F. No (.....) he said it was because there weren't so many halls available and - because Leballo worked at USIS, right?
- J.T. I'm not sure, but let me tell you where the inaugural congress was - the inaugural congress was at the Orlando Communal Hall, O.K.
- J.F. But the same one where you went into (.....)
- J.T. Exactly the same hall - that's where we had....
- J.F. That's the inaugural congress, but the founding meeting actually made the breakaway was held at USIS.
- J.T. Again it is not true because....
- J.F. That's what he said (?)
- J.T. Makhanda came into the PAC after - long after me, I think - I should know better - what happened there is that the night before the Transvaal congress - remember there was a Transvaal congress at the communal hall, of the ANC - that night Lutuli addressed the meeting, and after addressing the meeting there were questions from the floor etc., and debates about the speech, and the Africanists came out opposing certain things that he had said there, and it was a very heated meeting - the next day when the delegates came back for the meeting, they found that guards had been placed at the gates to the yard, O.K. - there were armed men at the main gate, at the little gates - there were other side gates that we had there, and people were being screened as they were getting into the yard - if you were known to be Africanist you were not allowed to enter, right, so what this group did - that's the time when I say that I found them milling around there telling me that they wanted to get into the hall and they were being stopped from getting into the hall, so we moved away from the hall - we went to a house there - it's No. 142 in Orlando East, in the yard there, that's where we're seated and we're debating what the next step would be, and a note was then drawn up at that specific time, and it was signed by Selby Ngendane, and he was - I mean Rosette Nziba was told to go and deliver the note at the congress.
- J.F. Is that a woman?
- J.T. No, it was a - he was a man - he died in Swaziland - at the time he was the - it was later when he was elected Southern Transvaal regional chairman - but what he did was he jumped over the fence, used the back entrance into the hall, and delivered the note, and as he was coming out he was being chased by some of the guards, and he jumped over the fence and joined us outside, so that the decision to actually send in the note was taken at that house, No. 142 - now there might have been other meetings that might have been held (Tape off)
- J.F. Leballo had worked at USIS?
- J.T. As I say, I'm not - I'm not - I don't know where he was working - but as I say, there might have been other meetings to discuss the breakaway etc., but the actual decision to break away was taken at this house, No. 142 Orlando East.
- J.F. When you were having discussions in those days, did you see the difference between the ANC and the PAC as irreconcilable - did you see a long term split with a - what did you envision back in those early days?

- J.T. We believed that we could win the majority of the people - that we would render the ANC completely ineffective - but unfortunately, our lifespan was exactly one year and perhaps a few weeks, but we - we have a much more immediate message for the people, which people accept much more readily than they accept the - the more subtle message of (Laugh) the ANC - as I say, BC too has that same potential of - of being able to talk to the man in the street.
- J.F. And how do you see things now - would you see the PAC as a minority tendency now?
- J.T. As I say, it's very difficult to measure, let's put it that way, simply because A, the media is completely anti-BC, anti-PAC, so you - you are never able to measure the type of support that each organisation actually has - the - the UDF has been able to put up very massive demonstrations, but again we are not too sure whether it is a true measure of their support - I'll give you a very simple example, we have a rent boycott going on in Soweto, and we are all supporting the rent boycott - a UDF affiliate - that's the Soweto Civic Association - first spoke about the rent boycott, but we all came in behind it - now this is not a measure of the support for the UDF, O.K., but then people use this type of support as a measure of who supports who, and I don't think that is accurate.
- J.F. So you wouldn't say that it represents a minority tendency?
- J.T. As I say, I wouldn't say so - I would be very wary of saying so.
- J.F. And were you involved in - did you ever have a position in PAC, an executive position?
- J.T. No, except at branch level, which wasn't serious.
- J.F. Which was what?
- J.T. The whole - I was just an executive member the Orlando branch that time.
- J.F. And how would you look at - if someone would argue that the non-Africanist, non-PAC approach - that its goal of incorporating whites to a small degree would be a tactical way of eroding the base - that if you want to reach liberation to erode the base the system draws upon is useful - how would you respond to that?
- J.T. As I say, the - the problem with that tactic is that you are - you are bringing these people in at leadership level - they take over the - they take over the decision making - you are robbing the Africans of a chance to make decisions for themselves, so you are perpetuating the position of dependence - that's the problem with this - with this - with this system - you are perpetuating dependence, and yet (?) if people struggle and fail, get up continuous struggling and failing, when they ultimately stand up they will feel completely cleansed, they will feel that they have done it - it's a beautiful experience - now if you - it - it's - it's a short cut to get people in at leadership level to give direction, to get things moving faster, but in the end we are merely transferring the apartheid structures where white man is boss into our own structures.

If you look at some of the trade unions in the country, so-called non-racial trade unions, their secretaries are white, their organisers are white, very key people there are white, so they are in fact robbing Africans of their experience of doing things for themselves, trying and failing and ultimately succeeding, and growing in the process.

- J.T. So that apartheid is essentially whites controlling blacks, whites - whites taking decisions for blacks- and we can't be transferring that type of structure into our own structures - ours is a longer, it's a slower process, but what will emerge in the end will be a person who's able to stand on his feet, who'll be able to see his mind, who'll be able to take decisions.
- J.F. How do you respond to people who say : Well, there was that period - there was a stage of BC where that was developed - if you look at the kind of black leadership around the country and you can look at the kind of mass resistance - it doesn't seem like people are cowed like they were in the '60s, but BC performed its function - then it's a stage only.
- J.T. The - the - the other thing that the media seem to be forgetting is if you go into those townships where the resistance is taking place, and listen to the language that is used there, I think that is a very important thing - listen to the language that is used there - it is not the language that you ultimately get in the press, where non-racialism is being espoused - immediate non-racialism, let's put it that way, is being espoused - people talk there in very earthy language - this is a fight against whites - it's very earthy - and they don't understand the subtleties of some whites can be with us in the struggle, they don't - that's done at another level, at the leadership level, but the people understand one very basic language, that let us fight our own fight.
- J.F. Isn't that kind of patronising just (.....) - because there are rallies where you hear people shouting the names of whites and Indians and Coloureds who are in the ANC?
- J.T. Ja, I acc - I accept that - I'm not saying that they don't have a following - remember I did say that ultimately they have a following, but you listen to the people as they are fighting, as they are doing their own thing, and that is why I still believe if BC was to assert itself, if the PAC were to assert themselves much more vigorously, they would - they would be able to win people away from the other tendency - I'm not saying they have done it, not at all, but it's because the language that they use is much more nearer to what the people understand.
- J.F. Is it a question of winning people from tendencies - would you see....
- J.T. Not - not - not a question of winning people from tendencies - it's a question of - I think let's put it this way, it was unconsciously in response to your question who has the more support, who has the minority support....
- J.F. I'm saying you see - you saw in this country that at a certain point it seemed that one party had mass support, there was an election - if that were to happen in South Africa....
- J.T. But - but again it was - O.K., repeat the question?
- J.F. I'm just saying if there were to be a situation in South Africa where there was an election and there was overwhelming sentiment for ANC, would you feel that you could go in in a unity kind of situation or would you just fight that non-racialism to the end?
- J.T. O.K., let's - let me put it this way, I'm not fighting the ANC, I am not fighting the Africanists, I am not fighting BC - I believe they are all in one liberation struggle - they have probably different strategies, different tactics, and each one of them believes that the method he's using is the best method to lead us to liberation, but in the end whoever succeeds in leading us to liberation will have my full support.

- J.F. So I'm just wondering how - to conclude what - how do you see this non-racialism issue ultimately - is it the issue in the struggle or are there more - other issues that are more important, would you say - non-racialism, how does that figure (Tape off) - how important is non-racialism - is it the key question?
- J.T. No, I think it's one of the key questions - I think there's a whole debate about strategies, about where we are getting to, how we are getting there, and as I say, one of the ques - of the key questions is the question of who participates and to what extent at this point in our struggle - some believe that by getting blacks to fight at - carry the burden of the fight they will get there much faster and much more effectively - in the end the society that will emerge will be a better society - some believe it will be much faster and much more effective if they bring in some whites, but as I say, that is only one of the issues at this point, about how we get to liberation - and then the other point that comes is what happens after liberation - what happens when we have done away with apartheid - again there's a whole debate going on - but slowly I think people are getting to some consensus about a post-apartheid society, but about how we get there, there are still a lot of differences.
- J.F. I just want to make sure I understand clearly - is non-racialism an integral central part of the struggle or is it just one aspect, a tactic?
- J.T. It's - it's an integral part of the - of the struggle at this point - integral in the sense that we believe if we let people take their (?) decisions at this point, people do things for themselves, they will be able to create a society of their own liking - they will not be forced to create somebody else's concept of society - so that we believe in this process we are also preparing for the future - in the same way the people who believe in getting whites into the struggle believe they are preparing for the future by having - by anticipating a non-racial society....
- J.F. Or building one in the process, I think that they would say - I don't think it's a question of anticipating it.
- J.T. We believe it's anticipating it, because it's only in these little world that they create that that non-racialism exists, and we believe that the - the power in that structure, that non-racial world they have created - the power there is not in the hands of the oppressed - decisions are not taken entirely by the oppressed - that is our major problem - so that in the end, after liberation people will not be able to assert themselves and say : This is what we want - so that the creation of a new society's also involved in this whole question of do we allow whites to participate, to what extent do we allow them to participate - how much do we allow the people to have their own say - I think that is very vital.
- J.F. Were you a founder member of UBJ or did you come a bit later?
- J.T. No, I joined on the day it was started.
- J.F. And you worked for Bantu World, then Drum, then World, and then Sowetan?
- J.T. I worked for Drum, Post - Drum the - O.K., let me say I worked for the Bantu World, for Post - Golden City Post it was called then, when it was still under Jim Bailey - I worked for Drum, for the Rand Daily Mail - in fact I was the first black to work for the Rand Daily Mail - and the World and Post.....