

J.F. where you were born and when?

P.T. Ja, in fact I - I was born in Johannesburg in the township called Western Native Township - I was born in 1950 on the 15th. October.

J.F. So you were born in Western Native Township and you grew up there?

P.T. Yes, I grew up there, but only for a short while because from there - in fact I was born in 1950 and the people were started to be removed from that area eight years thereafter - that's as from '58, '59, but they were forced actually in the 1961, '62, so I mean I was still very young that time, because I was only 11, 12 years.

J.F. And where did you get removed to?

P.T. Well, you see, my family - my, you know - we usually grow with our grandfather - I mean grandparents, so my mother got a house in Rockville, which is Soweto, and where they were actually forcing the people from Western Native Township to move to - well, some people went to Meadowlands, but my grandparents they left earlier in the '50s - I think '56 they went to Orlando West - that's where I grew - I grew up more or less in Orlando West.

J.F. And what were your - did your grandparents or your parents have any politics?

P.T. No, not really, but my mother, yes - from my mother's side, yes, they were political, especially my own mother in fact even up to now where she's staying - she moved from Rockville to stay in - actually she bought a farm in - in Everton, which is called Small Farm - it's in Vereeniging, and there I think people were still owning the land, you know, the - the title deed that she - you know, the - the land - the - the plot she bought she bought together with the land - in other words, she's owning the land and (?) in a white area, so now people were also forced there at a certain time.

J.F. Forced off the land?

P.T. Yes, to remove them away from the land when they were building the new township in Vereeniging called Sebokeng, so that's why my mother I mean with the experience she had from Sophiatown, the experience she had from Western Native Township, and I mean as a young woman they actually stayed in - in - in Sophia before going to Rockville - that's why now the younger people were leaving first, but apparently she got a, you know - a way out to get a plot in - in - in a small town - at Small Farm in Vereeniging, so when she was there obviously she - she - she had seen before that if people don't resist, then they will be uprooted of - out of their land - she was -

They formed committees together with the other people there, and she became the secretary of that committee of, you know, the - what do you call them - residents - you know, those people who are holding title deeds, residential committee - she has been secretary for a long time, and she has always been communicating with the lawyers on behalf of the people, together with the other members of the committee, and so up to now, you know, they have been resisting, and fortunately for them, they did not get, you know, high-handedness like the other areas, but some people had been tricked out of the land - some people have lost and have seen that actually the threats were deceiving them because the - up to now they have lost, and those who remained they realise that (... ..) paid some (?) you know, dividend because they are still holding their land, very big land, you know, very big plots.

P.T. You can even have, you know - some people are even building more houses in their own plots to, you know - as landowners, you know, to hire to other people.

J.F. So she still has her land now?

P.T. She still has the - the land there.

J.F. So do you think that helped to politicise you, seeing her struggles?

P.T. Partly, you know, I mean because my mother she has always been talking to us as children, you know, because I - on the other hand I lost my father whilst we were very - very young, very tender, so she struggled with us, so whatever problem she had, you know, she will tell us so that we should understand - if there's nothing, then we know there's nothing because, you know, there's no money, so you know, it's not like somebody who have been hiding a problem - then when we don't understand what is happening - so she has been telling us that time (?) well, normally it means there won't be any food - I don't have this, it means there won't be any books - I don't have this, that means there won't be anything, you see, so that we should be able, so partly that played a role too to politicise us, and they used - she used to talk about things they were doing in Western - you know, the Freedom Square - how Mandelas and the other people used to give them speeches there.

So I - I would say that I was lucky that from my own upbringing there was some politicisation that was done direct from home, and that's why even my political understanding started at a very, you know, younger age at that time, because many people I mean in the '60s - '63, '64, '65 many people were not actually knowing, especially our generation - there was that gap where they were saying it - it's a lull - but with me that thing has always been building up because even when my grandmother - my grandparents were staying there - there are people around there who were involved in politics.

For instance, we had Elias Motsoaledi, who stays in that area - we've got another Elias Mathe, who - who is there - he - he's also outside here, who also stayed - he was sharing the double - you know, my grandparents' double - in Orlando West they were sharing with these people, so sometimes when we were there, because we were growing with my grandparents - I was growing under my grandparents - when you got problems you go to our mother to ask for money or something, but we were actually virtually staying with my grandparents, you see.

So we were seeing how the police were raiding the people in - in our neighbour, because we were sharing a double, so if they raid a double they can't avoid us because we are one double - you know the doubles in Soweto where you are having one house, but it's divided into two, so if they raid the other side, automatically they had to raid the other side, so they used to raid the whole block, so in that way now we were seeing, you know, what was said this side and what I was hearing that side, it was making sense, you see, so that's why now we were - from my, you know, growing we - you know, we - we had that thing - that's why, amongst other things, even at school, you know, when we - I was doing my high school at 60 - at 1966 I was doing my Form One - I was schooling with Mandela's kids - I was schooling with Mothopeng's kids, and I was school with - and that's - that school, Orlando West - I mean Orlando High is an area where some of these leaders were coming from, you see, so in - in actual fact even the area itself, you see, is - slightly it had that, and there was also - whilst we were doing J_C now in 1968, there were people from our school who were having some political discussions with Ma Winnie and so forth, and they were trying to drag us into those politics, and they were arrested in 1968, you know, in - at our school.

P.T. Though I was not involved in those arrest - discussions, but it made us aware as students and especially that we were from time to time seeing certain things - you know, that's how - and the other thing too which contributed, where I was also staying, Lillian Ngoyi, who was a leader of the women's league, was staying next to my area there, so even things that were happening to her, you know, we were seeing them and we were - would be the people who have to help or, you know - in trying to piece up whatever things are - are going wrong, so that's, you know - the area itself it - you know, it was a political area.

We had even many, many other people who were staying around that area, so in that way I would say that I was just lucky to come from an area where there have been these people, you see, so - and amongst other things, the discussions about the PAC, ANC it - it started at where I was - we were at high school, that whether we should support the ANC or the PAC, asking what is the difference between the ANC and the PAC, and in our school we used to talk about the (.....) of - of - of - of - of Sobukwe and, you know, because the - most of the teachers there they were PAC people and now they were saying that, you know, they used to - to talk about Sobukwe, to talk about the PAC and so forth, so as the youth we wanted to know what's the difference between the PAC and the ANC, and they were sort of pushing more of the PAC than of the ANC.

But when we realised many people in the location they were talking more about Mandela than about - about Sobukwe, so when Sobukwe was released - so when Sobukwe was released we were very eager to see whether, you know, are things going to change, and we found that Sobukwe unfortunately was taken to Kimberley and he did nothing, and at that time already we were already having that political, you know, understanding, so on my side what I will say - and for instance, at that time now we were already doing matric, so some students were telling us that you must leave the country, go and train with the ANC and so forth and, you know, even that BC thing was already in at that time, so whilst there was in truth that lull, but not to everybody, especially to those who were staying next to the people that were former members of the - either the ANC or the PAC, so it was a lull in terms of saying to those people who were remote from those political discussions, so with me I - I would say that I was highly influenced - that's why I never made a mistake - my first involvement was with the ANC, and it was even early, before even the June 16th. uprising and so forth, when many people were confused about what was happening, so hence, you know, with the fighting in Angola, the fighting in Mozambique, when it was happening we were already getting the real information, because we had people who were couriers from the ANC coming inside the country talking about this thing, telling us that now there must be some building up of the ANC structures and so forth, and that's how I made contact with the ANC people.

And on the other side, to show that I had a direct political understanding from the tender age, my wife, you know, her father was one of the ANC leaders and, you know, up to now she still (?) - we are still staying together, so that also brought, you know, the choice of my thinking and so forth, you see, you know, because I was already choosing a career that in my life I need to take a career, political career, you see, and hence I've heard (?) a lot about, you know, history and so forth and so on, and it's also my political understanding - it started from those areas, you know, from the - at right in - at - at home, and fortunately when I was going out at school and so forth, it was building up, so hence I say that I was involved, for instance, within the ANC as early as 1974, and '75 I was active within the ANC structures, moving from South Africa into Botswana and so forth, but I was arrested just at the end of '75 and, you know, for furthering the aims of the ANC, and I served five years at Robben Island from 1976 to 1981.

P.T. So obviously you can see that, you know, I paved my - my thinking just moved a particular line, you see - I mean even, you know, being - becoming too attached to my mother, you know - the things that she has been saying, you know, the suffering she was being talking about, it made me have that resentment, and one thing which is very surprising is that whilst I was hating the situation, but I never hate - hated a white man - that's why, you know, to me it never appealed even in the BC thing, even, you know, the PAC thing never appealed - as I say that direct right from school, where I was schooling we had PAC people, but they never attracted me.

But one other thing which I - I - I would say that nearly disturbed me, it was understanding communism and so forth, because they were saying that, you know, the people that I was admiring was more Sisulu and - and Motsoaledi, who were from my area, but now people are just saying that now those were communists, and then that's why now I didn't want to - I - I - I had a problem that time that what's wrong with them being communist and so forth, but I knew one thing which was very good in them was that as communist the government was hating them, so if ever the government was hating them, to me was that then there's something not bad about them at least because the government that brings problems to us at least is afraid of them, so if one at least can follow them, but this thing of theirs of being communist, maybe we can see it after, you see, so hence now, you know -

But now with the fighting in Angola and so forth and the difference, then that time I was already - I mean I was already twenty-something - I was an adult already - I was already having my own family, so I was already clear about politics, but I - what I'm trying to say is that, you know, I was lucky that I never had a problem of BC, I was lucky I did not have - I was never attracted by the PAC thing, you see, and I just admired, you know, Sisulu and the other people and - but I - also I never hated whites, you see, and - but I had a problem with this question of communism, but it - as I was growing it - I had to understand it much better, you see, so that's how I can say that my political consciousness came - I mean today (Laugh) I know more I mean - I've been on Robben Island, I have been studying politics and I was -

In fact even now when I was studying I was trying to - I was attempting (?) my Biko, and I wanted to do it in, you know, political economy, so - because I'm more interested in understanding Marxism, Leninism so - and when I went out of jail I joined trade unions, and actually I started to build up the trade unions and put a political direction towards, you know, working towards ideology, and even the youth themselves - when I came out of jail, I was one of the people that formed the - the youth congresses - our first youth congresses formed in the - in - in South Africa was the Soweto Youth Congress, after a lot of discussions, and then we built (?) it to understand, you know, you know, Marxist, Leninist principles, and even when we were forming it we had cells to politicise the youth about this - that's why the youth was starting as from 1970 - I mean in the '80s they were already, you know, talking more about socialism, more - in - in a more concrete and in a - in a more, you know, understanding way, more than just being a slogan - it became reality, it became something, you know, achievable, something which has to be achieved by people - hence our youth from school, or those who were even at school and some were not yet workers, but they more or less had grasped, or they're more interested in the, you know, Marxist politics, and we were more or less helping them to understand that, so even today in the trade unions that's what we are doing.

For instance, I'm also in the education structure of my union and I - well, my first union, which I built (?) myself, I built it within CUSA, and where I was trying to push for, you know, a direction that will be, you know, the, you know, pro, you know, the national liberation movement, especially the ANC.

P.T. And whilst I was known by many people there that, you know, I was, you know, an ANC person and so forth, but I was lucky that I've been always able to, you know, pull a lot of support, a lot of influence, you see, but when COSATU was formed and COSA did not agree to be part of that, then I - I - I had no choice but to move towards COSATU, so I'm now in COSATU - my union is Food and Allied Workers' Union, but the first one which we built was Food and Beverage, which was actually a - a break-away from Sweet Food, so now FAWU is built by Food and Canning and Sweet Food and the other unions, together with us who came from Food and Beverage, so I mean you can see the - the career that I followed.

The UDF, for instance, its formation, its discussion, even some of the people who were inside the country, they had an idea that they have to form a - this organisation, but we were - some of the people actually in our own areas, especially the Transvaal and so forth, who were actually making them understand that it is important to build a very strong, you know, a coordinating structure in the form of the UDF, and some people were believing that we must form a political organisation, then we said no - a political organisation in a sense that it has to have membership direct from, you know - organising its own members - then we said no, you - you cannot have it on a national basis because we cannot have a - another organisation because the ANC is still there and we need to build the ANC, and I mean some of us were from the ANC structures, for instance - we were from building the internal structures of the ANC, and I mean I served for that, so I don't have a problem with that.

But when we were coming back, we realised that it won't be correct to build any organisation, because it will mean it will be a third force, you know - we didn't want to see a situation like in Zimbabwe, where they have a Muzorewa, who's playing a, you know - some kind of a - a - a - an in-between, so we don't want to - to - to - to have problems that we are foreseeing, and it may not be correct - I mean it not - we may not have the power in the future to be able to - to turn, you know, the wheels - that's why we - we believe that people wherever they are, like the ANC slogan in the - in the, you know - from the Radio Freedom is that wherever you are, organise yourselves.

So we're telling the people about what the ANC actually says, that organise yourself wherever you are, into units in your own area, like the civic organisations, like the youth organisations, like the women's organisation, like the trade unions, but no way is the ANC really meaning that form a national organisation, because that will be the - actually a third force, and it won't be correct to build a third force when the ANC's there - we should fight to make the ANC a - be unbanned, and our demands when you - when we are a very strong force, we must force for the unbanning of the ANC - that's why the UDF was built on that context.

There has been an idea of forming an organisation, which we opposed when we came out of jail - we found that people were discussing forming an organisation which is going to play the role of a political organisation - we refused - we told them that no way, but we understand that there must be a coordinating body, we understand there - there must be some kind of uniformity in our action that what is happening in the Cape must also happen in the Transvaal and so forth and so on, but we believe that's a coordination body - hence the discussion around the UDF was whether UDF should be a confederation or should it be a coordinating body or should it be - you know, there - there've been those ideas, but finally we believed that it must be an organisation that coordinates the activities where other organisations will join it, so it's sort of an umbrella body - it's not an organisation, a political organisation like the ANC - that is a national organisation that operates with its own structures, its own branches, its own leadership from region and region (?) but it's a coordinating committee.

- P.T. You coordinate organisations from your own area, you coordinate organisation on a regional, you coordinate organisation on a national, so UDF, that's how we agreed it must be a coordinating organisation, so with that now it will be able to close the gap that has been opened by - because of the absence of the ANC, you see, so in that way now it will also be able to use it as a structure of trying to popularise the ANC, to popularise our national democratic struggle, so I mean we are already I mean professional, you know, politicians that had been grouped (?) built to understand that situation, so that's why when we came out we were actually much more better and more understanding - that's why, you know, going into jail in another way (?) I thought it was a blessing in disguise, because I had all these other problems of understanding these things, and even when I was involved within the ANC structure I - I was - I wouldn't say I was clear, you see, but I had some little understanding, but it became more concrete and more, you know, clearer when I was in jail, where I met people like Govan Mbeki, people like Sisulu, Mandela and so forth, and even in our discussions we used to have a lot of discussions, especially with Govan Mbeki, a lot of discussions there, and I believe my understanding grew from there, so I think that's how far I can go.
- J.F. Let me ask you questions - did you know Temba (.....) when you were on Robben Island?
- P.T. Yes, Temba (.....) yes, they came - Temba (.....) came in the process whilst we were there, I think somewhere in the - towards the '80s, ja (.....) yes, yes, he was there - otherwise many of other people I mean there because I was involved in the ANC structures and so forth, and in the, you know - as courier and in the moving of the people for polit - I mean for those things, so some people in those grouping - some were actually people whom I recruited myself, you see.
- J.F. Just that I interviewed him and it's a similar situation, where you've served your time so you can talk openly about it, so I wanted to just take you back and ask you a lot of the things - follow up on what you said - first of all, to take you way, way back, why is it, do you think, that you said you never hated whites - your exposure initially really was - it sounds like it was from blacks, from Africans, and yet why do you think you were open to whites, or did you have any experience in your early years where you had some positive experience or you saw other - Lillian Ngoyi with a white person organising politically - I'm just wondering what is the motivation for you not being anti-white....
- P.T. Or having not had a, you know - ja, maybe, you know, my - my family's from the Roman Catholic Church, and the church that I attended actually our father there was a white father, so even that part I mean I could say that I mean really if one has to be racist, one has to have, you know, hating whites, you know, where he has never seen them being humane (?) you know - I understand, you know, the question of what the system is doing to us, apartheid structures and so forth - you know, the pass system, the raiding of the homes and so forth and so on, you see, but I - maybe I'm different, you know, in a sense that I - I believe that I'm a human being, and I believe that they are human beings, so if there's anything wrong with them, it means I also have to have something where I can be wrong, but I believed that there is something not in them as human beings that makes them behave the way they are doing, because I mean I had to make sure that why should be - why should we have a - a white minister who be - believes, or behaves in this way, and then you have a white policeman who's brutal and so forth - now you bring those people together, then if one is going to say white man is bad, then I mean you have a problem there that how do you justify that, you see, so that's one other thing.

P.T. But besides that thing, where I was staying actually in Western Native Township we were growing with whites, we were growing with, you know - our environment, we were brought up together with them - maybe that's another thing too, you see, where we - we saw I mean how we were growing, how we used to fight, you know, with them - whenever we are playing football or playing our certain things sometimes - we used to go and hunt, you know, birds and so forth, so they were human beings like me, and the weaknesses that I had they had the weaknesses, you see.

So that's why I didn't understand that really I can have a - a hatred to, you know, another person - I took we were all human beings, and even amongst other things, as I was growing my political career - I mean my academic career, we were growing - there was that thing that now all men are equal before, you know - are the same before God, so if people were saying that whites are more superior than us, I - I was trying to get that question that why should they be superior, what is there in them that makes them superior, so hence I didn't want to have to be a victim where I'm going to say that blacks are more superior than whites, but I thought that we are all equal because it also says it in the Bible that all men are equal before the eyes of God, you see.

So now in that way I - I had a problem really - it's not more of a political understanding, but it was more of - you know, of looking at things objectively, to say that now really there must be some answer where one would be able to say that there is something different, you see, but I mean my bringing - I mean, as I say, in Western we used to grow with white kids, we used to grow up - and on the other hand, I could say that where I was staying I had a friend whose mother was working in the - in the kitchens I mean in the white suburbs, you know, we - we call it kitchens, you see.

We used to go there, and they were very good people there - they used to bring us - you know, they used to give us toys, they used to give us, you know, during Christmas time, and when they were having a party there they - they were not discriminating us, so I mean the - I mean maybe I was moving in a different world of South Africa, but I believe I was in South Africa where all these things are, and then that's why it was surprising that now there should be some people who will be hating, and hatred anyway - somebody encourages you to it - it's not something that just comes out of you and say you hate - you may not understand - you may have a problem - then if somebody uses that part of you that you should hate, then obviously you - you'll grow from there, you see - you'll grow from there.

Hence amongst other things, even when I was talking about Motsoaledi and a lot of (?) people, we knew that time that you - they were not the only people arrested for political activities - there were the Goldbergs and so forth, you see, so I mean that too also played a role, because hatred will come at a particular stage of my, you know, understanding, and at that time it's when I was asking these questions that why, you know, the difference between the ANC, the PAC, the difference between this and that, and I think amongst others, it was that question of white - that the ANC wants to take whites, and whites will sell us.

But you were saying that but many people were giving evidence against the ANC people were black, you see, so now in that way now I mean it - it - it didn't hold water that, you know, ja - and you must know that on our side we were actually discussing with teachers, who were of a better understanding than some of us, but I never joined their groups, I never joined their, you know, line, but sharing ideas - I used to share ideas with them.

- J.F. So you kind of summed it up - I was going to ask you how did you see the difference between the ANC and the PAC - back in '67, '68, '69, those early days before Biko, just in the days after the lull, during the lull, you'd heard - up to '64 you'd known about the ANC people who'd gone in Rivonia, but in '68 when you were a young student not even out of high school, what was the difference between the PAC and the ANC to you then?
- P.T. That time they were saying that the ANC works with the whites and the PAC it's a pure white - black organisation, and the whites can't group with you to fight whites, you see - and then - but now we were talking about more of informers that no, but who are giving evidence against the ANC, see, then it's other black people, you see - and the other thing was the very trial itself, you know, maybe it helped a lot, because the trial - Goldberg and the other people were part of the trial, you see, so now we were saying that now why are they, you know, also getting the same sentence I mean, ja, and then besides that time the - I think the other thing which played a role was this question of Trevor Huddleston - ja, Trevor Huddleston - I mean my mother used to talk about Trevor Huddleston, you know, as one of the people who were helping them during those times, so I - I mean those are some of the other things that I mean if one will see some - such people, then it was very surprising, and for your information, I think around '68 at that time of Biko (?) and so forth, there were arms found in a - in Johannesburg, you know, and the person who was hiding those arms was a white reverend.
- I don't know you still remember that - that incident - it should be somewhere '68, '69, where there's a reverend, a white reverend who was found with arms in - in - in Johannesburg.
- J.F. What was his name?
- P.T. I - I'm not quite sure about his name, but I - I remember that incident, you - you used to talk about it to - I'm not sure, and I - I never followed it even when I was involved in politics to find out from comrades that actually what was happening there, where there were arms found and there was a white reverend who was taken up for, you know - for that, but you know, those are some of the - the real reason which they were putting from our side, they were saying the whites will sell us, but when you are asking but there are black people who are selling you, then they will say no, some of them they are communist - that's why I had that problem and I could not get out of that problem that now ANC also worked with the communist, so hence it - it took me long, because that was the only way that they nearly got - I mean that they confused me, you see.
- J.F. Why did that bother you so much - what did communist mean to you then - why did you think oh no, this is....
- P.T. I mean it was being said that I mean communist are, you know, people who - who don't agree that the other people should have, you know, their - you know, we believed in the question of sharing, but they even went to an extent of saying that, you know, in communism nobody has any- his things, you know - even your own trouser - if you leave your trouser here, you wake up now - the one who has woken up very early, he will take your trouser, and then you must take what remains, you know, and we were looking at communism as a - a - you know, a - a society of poor people, because we were looking at it from our own area that I mean you are still having grappling with things, so if I have one trouser - one good trouser, you know, and then if I - I wake up late because we - we are staying together, then somebody takes it, I won't like that, you know, and that's how I understood communism, and amongst other things, this question of saying that nobody has his own wife, and that now they were playing on our minds that now if women are going to be shared by men, I mean that thing was really not, you know -

P.T. So that's another thing, you see, so that's why we wanted to know more than that, you know, ja, especially that's the one.....

END OF SIDE ONE.

J.F. questions - so what made you to finally not have a problem with communism - how did you conquer this problem of the communist thing that you thought oh no, this is the problem with the ANC - what was it that made you be satisfied?

P.T. Ja, you know, because as I was going, you know - becoming more involved, it became a secondary problem, but it was still a problem, and I think until when I was involved in the - in the organisation structures and where we - there were fightings in Angola and Mozambique, and that's how it was slightly becoming clearer and clearer that the difference in the government of Angola and Mozambique, why the whole world will want it not to succeed is because it's different from the old type of governments in Africa, you see, and I - I think at that time too there were already that difference now that the PAC actually only wants to go into the boots of whites and to continue with the system of oppression, and then - then that's how now slightly it was coming, but finally, you know, the actual understanding it's when I met, you know, you know - when I went to the Island I met people like Oom Gov and so forth, now they were explaining and so forth, then it was clear.

That's why I say for - it was a blessing in disguise that, you know, many other questions that were not clear to us it - they become, you know more clearer....

J.F. What did you call him, Oom Gov?

P.T. Oom Gov, ja, it's Govan Mbeki.

J.F. You called him this?

P.T. Yes, Oom Gov, ja.

J.F. That explains it to me, but in '68, '69, then when Biko and BPC and all that came up, you never joined any BC structures?

P.T. Never, never - I was only a member of the SCM, the Student Christian Movement, and even there, you know, it was just for question of being BC, because as youth that time we were - you know, we were idling, so I joined the - and that's why I mean these politics were more discussed too, and I think that's where the BC got their - most of their membership, you know, through in them (?) from the black - from the young - I mean from the young Christian movement or from the, you know.

J.F. And what did you think when Biko led the walkout out of the white student movement - do you remember in '69?

P.T. Ja, we heard about that but we were - it was not clear to us, and I remember we were at high school - I think it was '68 we were at high school - we were not clear - we didn't even understand what was happening, but we - it was when they were saying actually whites are selling, you know, but now that's where now, you know, it didn't make any, you know, big ground (?) because it was at the very height of the time when they were saying that the ANC's selling, it's working with whites and so forth.

P.T. And now when Biko was moving away from there, white students, that they are not having the sufferings that we're having, we were having sympathy to - to them, you see, that maybe they are correct, but that never moved me, you know, anywhere (?) - and at that time SASO was a high school organisation anyway - I mean a university organisation, you see, so - and when we were starting to - to - to - to - to be - you know, to have - I mean when we were already matric, you know - in matric preparing ourselves to go to universities, that time already Winnie was already involved in our own areas, like - that's why I said there were people already arrested in our own area involved in those structures, so already you can see that there were moves from the other side of the ANC trying to - also to put some influence, you see, so hence it was not really a problem.

J.F. You were never attracted to BC, you just never got involved?

P.T. Ja, you know, I just saw it that no, this is - it was even lesser than PAC, the way I looked at it, you know, because PAC was more, you know - I mean in terms of - because they were talking about actually more of colour than any other thing, you know, and black - well, the PAC was speaking of African, which I believe it was a little bit broader, you see, so that's why to them it was even something less than what the PAC was offering, you see, and I was never attracted to the PAC anyway.

J.F. How did you get involved with the ANC structures that led to your sentence on the Island - can you just tell me?

P.T. Ja, as I say, that, you know, there were (?) a lot of people discussing and so forth, and some were somehow - we found people who were involved in the cells of the ANC, and those people were people who were able to get in touch with the people - people of the ANC moving out of jail, and who were having (.....) trying to form cells of the ANC, so we were involved there and there, there and there, but it became more after '73, '74, and then '74 we were now active there '74 - now with the Angola thing, with the - the - the dis - this Frelimo rally, you know, then comrades were - many comrades were coming out from jail.

Many comrades were coming out from jail, like Cde. Matthews was already out - Cde. Jow Gqabi were already out - and the other people too were joining them, and I think those comrades were trying to revive the structures of the ANC, and even those who were left behind - as I say, my area where I was staying there were already these people, some who were remaining - Lillian Ngoyi was still there and, you know - so now when these people were coming they were reviving - then amongst others, they will also be able to recommend the youth around their area that now if you want a youth, you can go to that one - at least that one you can trust I mean - he used to do this and that and that - that's how he got involved, you know, sometimes being sent with a letter that take this letter, send it to so-and-so - take this letter, send it to so-and-so - already they - they - somebody's seeing your honesty and your sincerity, you know, and from there maybe he will need to tell you that, you know, things - why things are like this, why are you always kept at home and you can't go out and so forth - we knew (?) Aunt Lily, you know - she was not supposed to go out at a certain time, and that's why now sometimes we'll all - all - also go there and find out whether she will need something, you know, so that we should be able to run around and do that.

So sometimes he will give you letters - she will give you letters that take this letter, but although she trusted, you see....

J.F. Which Matthews was it?

P.T. Oh, Matthews - Matthews - there's Cde. Matthews - I'm not sure about his first name, but he's from Orlando West - when he came out of jail actually, people like Lillian Ngoyi they were sending us to them, you know, to - information and so forth - to find out what is happening and so forth, and I think amongst other things too, though I (?) - that came only after - you know, the Wankie operations and so forth, when they were happening here, we were not aware of that, but I remember that time there - we - there was a lot of activity amongst these people I'm talking about, of informing, of talking, of fear, you see, so - that now people are coming and so forth.

To us it did not make sense what was happening, but we were sent as children, you see - but as we went on, then I realised why the panic at that time, it means (?) those people were worried because obviously they were more attached to the ANC, they were more, you know, interested to know what was happening, you see, so the panic which they were having it was the panic of the Wankie operations, you see, and I remember even the police themselves they were rounding up our areas because I mean, as I said, my neighbours are the, you know - one person there left to go abroad, so they were troubling them again that time, you see, so to us believing that maybe (?) it means that those people are coming back, so now that's why, amongst other things - you know, those things it was just, you know - you know, islands in my - my, you know, thinking which somebody needed to join it together to have a meaning, but now after some times it did have a meanings - that's why now I understand that the panic which those people were having - why were they sending us so up and down and so forth, you know - it was because of those things.

J.F. And what exactly did you get recruited to do - what were you arrested for - what were you doing for the ANC?

P.T. Now I - I was moving sometimes information from this side to (?) that side, some....

J.F. Across the border?

P.T. Ja, and then some - obviously if I'm that side they will give me something, sending messages to certain people, and hence I realised that there were so many people of the ANC - and the other thing will be people going out, you know, especially those who were involved in the student uprisings and so forth in the high school, in the universities.

J.F. '76?

P.T. No, not '76 - '73, '74, but most of the people '74 because when we were operating it was '74, you know, when we were taking out people they were showing us the, you know - the routes to take people out of the country, and even '75 stu - that was what we were doing, and we were also trying to build, you know, more and more people doing that - sometimes we used to get people recruited, some - but most of those people who were going were those who were already in trouble, you know, where the police were looking after them, so that's why now there were channels coming from different areas, maybe from P.E. or from certain areas - they were brought into Johannesburg and the structures of the movement in Johannesburg, they were using some of us.

And that time, you know, I had already, you know, a strong link with the comrades, those who were from jail, and even those who were inside the country - some of the people I was working with, some are already outside here, you know, like Mrs. (.....) and they were -

P.T. Actually they left when I was arrested actually - they exiled themselves when I was arrested because there were so many things - then they realised that I mean anywhere (?) I might break and then give information to the police, so they actually left when I was arrested, but there were many other people who were left, like Cde. Malele - Malele was - stays in - in - in Mapetla and he's an old, you know, staunch member of the movement, and I learned after that he actually - that was one of the guys which they were trusting very much - unfortunately, when I was in jail he was killed, involved in the - in our structures.

At one time he was detained and 24 hours within that detention he was killed - and one other comrade whom I was involved with was Cde. Phala, John Phala - John Phala was also a comrade that I was working with.

J.F. That's not Mapetla Mohapi?

P.T. No, no, that's John Phala - John Phala is an old man.

J.F. But Mapetla?

P.T. Mapetla it's where Cde. Malele stays - he was killed - and I think other people that I learned after that they were part of our machinery were Cde. Nzanga and so forth, but - Nzanga was also a trade unionist, but he was also - was also killed in detention, but I mean Joe Gqabi was also involved, as I said.

J.F. So you were working as a kind of courier - when were you arrested?

P.T. '76 on the 31st. March.

J.F. Before the uprisings?

P.T. Well, the uprisings happened when I was in jail - I don't even know them - I'm just hearing from them and now I'm seeing them in the TVs and so forth - and even many students who - who got into jail at that time, we were actually helping them because already that time I was more or less clear about politics, you see.

J.F. So were there students involved in the '76 uprisings who were pro-ANC?

P.T. Ja, some were (?) they didn't know what was happening, but when they were coming into jail, we were able to identify them that they should be influenced by ANC structures, because we will want to know whom were they talking to and so forth, and we found that some were - were - were - had met Cde. Joe Gqabi, some had met Mandela, Winnie Mandela and so forth and so on, so and comrades - the other comrades, you know, who were still - sometimes others I may not mention because they - they're still not known, so you know, those names you - you were able to identify them that these are our people, you see, so we started politicising them - that's why some when they went out of detention, they changed even their - their perspective, you see, and some who went into jail and they stayed with us after sentence, we were able to also - to give them a better direction.

J.F. Who were you sentenced with?

P.T. It - it just happened that now the time when I was sentenced I was sentenced with my own sister - my sister in law, Ester Maleka, but - but when we were in jail - at that time when I was sentenced, or when we were sentenced, it was at the same time when the - the - the - the nine BPC, SASO guys were sentenced, you see, those who were arrested in the Frelimo rally - I actually went down with them to the Island....

J.F. Terror and (?)

P.T. With Terror Lakota and so forth, ja, and I was more closer to Terror Lakota and in fact with all of them, until to now I mean I'm still very close to them I mean just as (?) you know, the fellow, you know, citizen, but though politically they're having a different direction.

J.F. At that time?

P.T. Ja, even at that time, but there were some amongst them who were, you know, not very hostile to the movement, especially - I think the greater part of them - some today when they, you know - they - they - the actual hatred and the actual negative attitude they gained it on the Island - Muntu was not very hostile to our movement - to the ANC - and then maybe there could have been one or two people there, and those are the people that made the whole thing, and then when they - we arrived on the Island then they started getting more hostile attitudes towards the - the ANC.

J.F. Why was that, do you think?

P.T. Well, I mean they were deceived some (?) that I mean their leaders are on their own, and ANC has older people that are position-mongers (?) I mean - and then with this thing - and they are still, you know, deceived by this thing of whites being enemy, and you can't form alliances with the whites and so forth, but I - I don't think they are genuine now on that, you see, because they realise that really that's not true, but to keep their - you know, their positions and to keep their - their, you know, wing, they are keeping on that, now they are propagating that, but I think they know more than that, you see, because I mean if you see some of them immediately they leave South Africa, or when they have a - the first opportunity they have, most of those guys they marry white women, so I mean they are not clear - I mean they are not genuine what they are saying.

The same with the PAC - when they are with the masses they bring white hatred, but whilst at the same time they are, you know - so they are doing it secretly - it - that is very dangerous because I mean if you tell somebody that this man is dangerous, he will be dangerous wherever he will be, but now if he's dangerous to the people, why you mix with him - why you go to an extent of marrying or, you know, coming very closer to, you see - you look at the PAC people I mean most of them - the leadership there they've married whites, even Nana Mahoma I mean, you know, the guys who were, you know - even the BC guy - it was even surprising whilst they were anti - anti-white....

? (.....)

P.T. Ja, well, we know I mean that one (?)

? (.....)

P.T. Ja, well, we know I mean Steve Biko was, you know, advised (?) by the - Donald Woods - I mean he's a white man I mean, and he's the one that was pushing more hatred of whites I mean - you see (?) that I mean that American influence there of saying that racial hatred is not a - a - a threat to, you know, class politics - I mean to property, you know - but if people are clear, then it builds your class consciousness, so now they rather end up having a political awareness that has not roots because Woods (?) will be class consciousness, so that's why as long as they believe that now I mean they (?) are politicians who don't have a - an ideology understanding, the proper understanding, the proper (?) grounding of class struggle, class consciousness, I mean they are not - they - even the America can sponser you for that - that's why they're sponsering Savimbi, so that's why they're pushing so many monies in South Africa for - for - for them, you see, and we - we -



P.T. I mean now as we know our history we know that even in - in the '50s, you know, people like the - the - the - the American embassy was involved in encouraging the formation of the PAC - I mean comrades were telling us about that, and we were challenging PAC people - I - I - I mean I had an opportunity where I used to stay with a big, you know, group of PAC people - close to about 300, 400 PAC people when we were on the Island - when I arrived they were still there, and we were discussing this thing and we were confronting with some of these questions, and some they admitted that yes, they know - they are aware that some of the white people were being involved in the - in the organisation, but they believe they are not that much involved in the sense of influencing them, but you know, it has been proved that even the finance of, you know, their organisation started there - even when they were meeting at that Wits University, you know, where they had to go and convince Sobukwe and so forth, you know, the - the - it was clear that, you know, whites were involved there, Americans were involved, encouraging, you know, a political which is unclear and as against, you know, class politics - I mean imperialism obviously when people are - are fighting for their liberation, they won't want to see them, you know, having class consciousness - that's why they will try to assist those that are encouraging politics that are not a danger to them.

J.F. How many years did you get sentenced?

P.T. Five.

J.F. For what was the charge?

P.T. The charge was furthering the aims of the ANC, that is - that is - they put it that encouraging, assisting, supporting, influencing or coercing people to go for military training, with the aim of sort of overthrowing the government - and there were some people anyway who were exhibited as the, you know, people who were supposed to go there - unfortunately they - they were intercepted on their way out of the country.

J.F. So who's your wife's father?

P.T. That's Uriah Maleka.

J.F. So you married Ester's sister?

P.T. Ja, younger sister.

J.F. Would you say that you got politically involved through black people only, or was there any time in your underground structures that you dealt with whites in any way, or Coloureds or Indians, or was it really just with African people?

P.T. Ja, with whites I only met them in the form of messages, like you know, when sometimes you were from Botswana, they will give you a message, then you give it to a white comrade - then you don't know what role is he playing - and then sometimes you - you meet some people - say, maybe we are going to have a meeting somewhere, then you just see somebody offering you a car, and maybe he's driving you there, you are not asking him any question - then you see that now this - this is a comrade whether be Indian or white, because I mean in our meetings - even sometimes meeting - where we are holding meetings - sometimes you are holding meetings in houses whether (?) some houses were Indian houses and sometimes, as I say, finance - sometimes you - you'll be told that somebody's going to give you the money for this thing, so like say, for instance, when I was going and then I wanted petrol, then I will be told that go at this particular place and then you ask for so-and-so, then you get your parcel there.

P.T. Then you see somebody giving you the money, then you - you make it on your own that now this means this I mean without - you don't have to be told that this was a - what was happening, and then in fact even when somebody was going in Botswana we used to meet white comrades there, you see, so there were - at that time they were not much involved, but one would see say, maybe in an area where they are going to keep you - you stay here, then you see in this house there are (?) some white people - you are not going to ask questions, but I mean one will - we'll see more or less what's happening, but I mean that was one - when one was already involved.

J.F. When you first took a message and you found that it was a white, when you first realised there were whites in the structures, were you surprised?

P.T. Not really because I mean already comrades have already explained that our struggle how is it broad - I mean already that time when they were accusing the ANC that it works with the whites and so forth, that was already understood, you see.

J.F. When you were on the Island - you came out in '81 and you went right to which union?

P.T. Ja, I worked - actually I got....

J.F. Beverage?

P.T. Ja, Food Beverage, yes.

J.F. And why was it that you decided to go out of the Island and go into the trade unions - you hadn't been in the trade unions before you went to the Island?

P.T. Ja, I had been in the trade union before I went, ja, but that - those trade unions were still coming up - it was, you know, in the municipality - I - I was a driver with a bus - buses, you know - Johannesburg Municipality Transport, yes, I was a driver there, with the hope that, you know, I might get a - a position up, but - and that thing in itself also helped me in the underground structure because we were working shifts there, so that's how - that's why sometimes I will be able to go there during the day - say that I know that they want me to go to - maybe say, Friday - Thursday night, and I must go to Botswana, then I will arrange my shift that I'm going to do somebody's shift in the morning, and then do it also in the after - I will do my shift in the morning and do somebody's shift in the afternoon - then you'll be off for - for the whole of Thursday - then I will leave Thursday night, and then that person is going to do my shift on Friday, then he'll do his shift and my shift - then I know that I will only come back on Saturday.

So that in other words, I'll just go straight to Botswana, and then so that I should be able that when they open up the - the borders on Friday morning I go in, and then the whole day Friday I'm there, then before they close the border then I come back, and then I will have to travel right through the - the night on Friday - then Saturday morning I will be ready to go to work - so that work in itself it just became, you know, a strategic job to do at that time, though I - I only went there myself to get, you know, the licence and to go on a particular line, but when I realised that O.K., I'm already involved here and it was an advantage, then even nobody will know that I had gone anywhere, because my shift was done, I - I'd been working there, you see.

- P.T. That's why they took long even when I was arrested to pin me down and actually when did I go to Botswana, because they had records that I've been working, so - so now that they know when was I actually doing it, whilst in reality I was coordinating with some people, you know, what you call buying somebody's shift and selling your shift, so I would buy his morning shift and do my shift, and then the other day he'll do my shift and do his shift, so in that way I was able to - to move without being detected.
- J.F. And you went to the buses from school?
- P.T. No, from school, no, I went to the insurance companies - I was a clerk with the insurance companies, but there I - I left there to go for municipality - to go to the municipality to get a licence, and when I was involved in - in the municipality that's when I was already involved in the - in the structures, and as you can see (?) there was no gap in the - the polit - you know, the politics that I was having there, but an - another reason why I left there - the insurance company, they were discriminating there - you know, it was a British company - I remember the manager there, you know - one of the directors there telling the black people when they were complaining there - there was no union anyway there - that the jobs are meant for whites, you know, and if they can't get a white man for that job, then they will have to look for - for - for Indians - if they don't find Indians, then they'll put Coloureds, and if there are no Coloureds they will put baboons, so you know, those - they are comments (?) I mean from a British guy, but I was frustrated in that company because there were no positions, so I left and went for a municipality, and in the municipality I was only going for a licence and - but the situation turned to give an advantage to something else, so I stayed longer than what I was thinking.
- J.F. How long did you stay?
- P.T. With the municipality I worked three years.
- J.F. How were you arrested - was there a spy in your cell?
- P.T. No, they were - they intercepted these guys that I was - I transported - you know, there were many other things that were happening, you see, so instead of doing my full job, I did it halfly with the hope that now maybe those guys were going to be - they were clever enough to continue with the other portion - you see, you - you used to take people to a certain point and then you tell them to do one, two, three, then you collect them on the other point - so now what I did I only directed them that now - now here what you need to do is to do this and that and that, and the other side you'll get transport, even if it's a taxi - take a taxi then you move - so I think they got scared, and then they were confused, and in that way they were detected and the police wanted to know what do you want in this area, and then that's how they were picked up.
- J.F. And then you decided to go out and you went into Food Beverage in the unions - you decided on the Island you would go into the unions?
- P.T. No, I - when I went out I was going to say - in fact the idea was that you must go and work - what are we going to work we'll see in the situation, but we knew that areas that were (?) supposed to be mobilised we need to form a strong organisation - trade unions were very weak that time - trade unions was one area, youth organisations, women's organisations, and civic associations, so when we went out actually those were the areas which were supposed -

P.T. So immediately I went out, within three months I was already in a union, which was an opportunity that just presented itself - not necessarily that I planned really that I was going to go into a - a - a particular trade union - and luckily I got employed within the three - you know, within two months when I went out of jail - I got my - I mean people who - whom I've been (?) working with my - you know, my friends around here they were waiting for me eafterly, and then when I came out most of them they were offering me jobs, so I was lucky - then I just chose one and - I mean if there are five jobs, you have to end up with one, so now my friends - a lot of my friends were - were offering me employment in their companies, so....

J.F. What position did you get with the union?

P.T. No, I - I - I joined a company working as a worker - now in the plant, then I became a shop steward, and as a shop steward I was involved in the structures of the - of the union.

J.F. What company was it?

P.T. Well, the company I'm still working for it - I don't know whether - but I don't think you'll mention, it's Coca Cola - I'm still working there even now.

J.F. We'll say it's a beverage company - so you went from the shop floor, became a shop steward, and now you're still working there?

P.T. I'm still working there, ja, and as a (.....) I mean I was - I mean even the workers themself I could explain a lot of thing even much better - that's why all the workers - I was a secretary actually of all the Coca Co - of all the beverage plants - that's why it was easy for us to mobilise them all, and then whilst the workers sometimes, especially the - the - the - the - the - you know, the educated workers - those who've got better positions, their - they were hostile to unions, but because I was within their ranks, that's why I was able to - to - to show them that no, actually there's nothing wrong with the unions, and hence we were able to form a very strong union, and which was supported by both the - the so-called, you know - what do you call it - blue collar and the ordinary labourers, and then the - but - and at the same time I built (?) leadership within the, you know - the - the actual ordinary workers, that's....

J.F. You mean white collar and ordinary labourers?

P.T. Ja, I mean I'm talking about, you know, clerks who are doing computers, who are doing, you know - who are doing - who are right up there in the offices, you see, and the ordinary workers in the - in the production line and in outside doing, you know.

J.F. What kind of job is yours?

P.T. Mine, I became a salesman - I mean from the Johannesburg Municipality I acquired a licence there, so and then I joined Coke as a - this beverage as a - a driver salesman - that is a salesman, and immediately when I went in then I was supposed to be a - a - a rep - then I realised that no, I can't be a rep because then it will remove me away from the workers, especially now that I - we have introduced the union, then I must keep within them - up to now I mean the - they're offering a lot of positions for me, but I'm refusing that because I believe that we need to do more work within the - the unions - I mean that's my career, politics - it's my career.

P.T. But though my employers they are doubting it, but they are not clear what is happening because they wanted to know whether I - am I really only interested in causing problems or actually (Laugh) am I there....

J.F. What problem?

P.T. Cau - you know, causing - I mean they - they are saying unions are causing problems, ja, and our workers they are very militant - very, very militant - that's why even the question of - of - of - of - of - the question of shares - I mean (.....) our company's offering shares now in South Africa, and our workers are rejecting them - the question of sanctions are - my colleagues they understood it better, and that's why they were for sanctions, so I mean all those things is because I've been explaining to them what are sanctions, what does - what does it mean, and that's why even Food and Beverage at - when I was within it, they were also pro-sanction and so forth, even CUSA itself, you see, because we were pushing that line within that federation, but I mean because it - it never became part of COSATU, then we moved there.

But as it is at the present moment workers are - are promised shares and so forth, and we are dis - in fact educating the workers that what is the danger of buying shares.

J.F. Which is what?

P.T. The danger I mean....

J.F. What do you say to them - what's the danger?

P.T. The danger is that workers they are supposed to get their, you know - their - their stake from a company through the wages, through collective bargaining, and then if management believes that now they can only - they can also get it through buying shares - we know shares are dampening their fighting spirit - they will tend to believe that this is their company, when there's no way that under a capitalism, workers can ever be co-partners in a company, so that's why now we want that there should always be a clear line in between.....

END OF SIDE TWO.

J.F. question that?

P.T. I'm still as - I'm still as - a salesman - I'm remaining as a salesman right through - I mean I won't change from that - as long as any position that will jeopardise my role within the union, then I can't accept it because my role is not only as a unionist - I'm also involved in the location in - I'm a member of the civic association, and we are the people who build the structures in the location, the civic structures, and we have to, you know, remain there all the time - youth organisations, as I say, immediately we came out of the Island, amongst others, we built youth organisation - I was their first secretary, but for technical reasons (tactical) I had to be the vice-secretary so that, you know, we should bring in the younger people that were not known, and that's why now I mean if - if I can accept any position in management, then it is going to distort the whole thing because I can't at the factory be a, you know, part of management, but in the location then I'm involved in the - in - in mobilising the people, so - and obviously I need to be involved also in the unions, because I mean I understand that, you know, our struggle depends on the workers, so I mean if -

- P.T. I can't lose that opportunity of actually building a strong working class movement - this contingent of the working class movement - that is the trade unions - I can't lose that opportunity just for a position within a company - I mean that is only secondary in - in terms of our - our struggle, you know, even in our - our lives - I mean people have sacrificed their better positions than that - I mean Mandela last - he left, you know, to take a position as a lawyer, you know, sacrificing for - for the struggle - Tambo did the same thing, so I - that's why I - I don't think that, you know, we - we can actually debate that one.
- J.F. You said it's important in terms of the working class position - just to look at that issue of the perspective of the workers, are you concerned about working class leadership, are you concerned about African leadership, are you concerned about black leadership - which of those issues do you think is most important?
- P.T. It's obviously that the working class leadership is important because that is the actual leadership that will be able to, you know, emancipate, you know, the total working class in South Africa from - from oppression and exploitation - whilst we know I mean the black leadership, or African whatever you call it, those are just another form of, you know, a bourgeois, you know, ideology, so we - we believe in the working class leadership, pure working class leadership - it does not have colour - because workers they don't have colour, workers are colourless, so now we - I believe in the working class leadership, not any defined, you know, with certain words.
- J.F. What do you mean workers are colourless?
- P.T. I mean they - they don't have, you know, colour conscious - that is whether, you know, we are white or black or green or yellow - we are the workers, you know, all over the world - our class brothers are all over, and in South Africa workers are both white, black, green, yellow and so forth, so now if we are talking about the total working class leadership we mean that we must lead all the workers - we know we've got a problem there which is a - a problem of apartheid, which has isolated the working class, the other part of the working class, which is the white working class, from the total portion - I mean the - the totality of the working class in South Africa, but that does not justify us to actually, you know, isolate them and to be talking of black working class, but I - we can talk of black leadership, not black working class leadership - black leadership in the sense of, you know, promoting more of black participation, more black understanding of the situation I mean if you're talking about black.
- That's why even the ANC's talking about African, you know, leadership - it's not in a narrow mind, you know, but saying that now we - we need to see our black people, who are the majority, coming up, and only then when they are actually holding the, you know - the - the horse by the horn, then - then - I mean the bull by the horn, then one will know that now some will be going somewhere, so that's how we understand working class leadership, you know, or black leadership - we - we understand it in that context, but not in a narrow context, you know - we mean that they are the - the lower stratum of the - the - the oppressed, so if they shake the whole pyramid is shaking, but in reality when you talk of leadership, working class leadership, we include all the other classes.
- J.F. Do you often use the word non-racialism when you're talking of workers?
- P.T. Yes, we do I mean it - that's the word we are usually using in most cases that we believe in (?) non-racialism.
- J.F. That's kind of a long kind of intellectual word, that non-racialism - does it mean something to workers?

P.T. Yes, we - we make them understand that there are people talking about maybe multiracial - we believe that multiracial it's a - it's a confederation of - of racial groups - you come as a group - you come as a group, then you form some multi, you know, but if you talk of non-racialism it means people come as individuals - you're not representing your - your - your colour - you come as individuals - now in that way you are talking of non-racialism - so even if you are one or two or three or five, as long as you come in your own as committed, then you've got no problem, but in multiracialism then you are expecting people to come as groups - they will still exist and they will still maintain their group positions in that multi-party (?) thing, you see, so in that way non-racialism it means all are in the same par (?) in the same level - workers they understand it and - because we quite oftenly use it, and they more or less grasp it, so it's no more like an intellectual, you know, term, but it - it's something which now they understand it and they - because it's from time to time we are - keep on talking about it.

J.F. But when you were in CUSA, CUSA specifically - Food and Beverage was opposed to it - I'm confused - you were in Food Beverage, and did part of Food Beverage go into FAWU and others stayed in CUSA or what happened?

P.T. Ja, you see, I mean you had to understand that in all this organisation - even today in the NACTU organisations, not all of them are believing in what it's been said there - we know we've got our own people there and we from time to time discuss with them, you know - it's like myself when I was there I've been discussing with the other comrades that now, you know, things are moving this way and so forth and so on, so I mean people they are - you can't choose - I mean if, for instance, a - a - a CUSA union is organising in a particular factory, and in that factory there there are workers there, those workers they belong to different schools of thoughts, and then some of their members will be members who believe in what we believe in, but it only depends on their numbers whether are they more in numbers those who believe in this idea or that idea.

J.F. But you were in Food Beverage....

P.T. Yes, I was.

J.F. What happened (?)

P.T. I'm saying that I was in Food and Beverage, and when we - you know, when we were talking the - you know, the formation of COSATU, we were all involved, we were pushing it within CUSA, as an affiliate of CUSA, but at a certain time they then sort of - they grew that position of being opportunistic - they realised that the formation of COSATU it's going to remove in some of them, this leadership within CUSA unions, their own personal interest - some of them their personal interests are that they are gaining certain personal gains from management - for instance, take Food and Beverage, for instance, the leader there is Skakes Sikhakane - now Sikhakane used to come to our factory, speak to our management, without consulting us, without going together with us, and concluding certain things with management, and then thereafter we find that management confronts us with these things that now when we want this they say no, but your union already agreed on this - then who is the union because we are the union - that Mr. Sikhakane was here, then - then we were teaching our management - even our management used to - they learned from our opposition that the union it's the workers here on the floor, and the leadership of the workers are some - are us, the shop stewards - Sikhakane we have employed him - his bread he's getting it from our own subs.

J.F. So what happened then?

- P.T. So that's why now we - we - we're opposing him in many - in many instances, and that's why even the other people who - whom - who - who were think - you know, who were seeing our - you know, our argument, they followed us, you see, so hence now it was easy even for us when they were not forming part of COSATU, we were able to expose them that obviously these guys they can't be part of COSATU because they still want to continue with their own, you know, personal gains, you see, so in that way now we were able to move certain units into CUSA - I mean into COSATU, but it was only when they were forming, you know, one unions one industry, so we went when they were forming FAWU, so that's why we were capable - we were able to go in there, and at the same time I mean workers they understand that the more they are organised nationally, the stronger they are, so they - they are not actually following leadership now.
- J.F. But that means there is Food Beverage, that it still exists that's in CUSA, but you were elements that joined FAWU?
- P.T. That's correct, that's what we are saying.
- J.F. Let me just ask a question - what about if somebody were to say it's such a difficult task to build this COSATU, why are you making an issue of non-racialism, why not just embrace CUSA as well - why was the sticking point - it was a big issue, and COSATU stuck by non-racialism - wouldn't it have been easier to just take on those 100,000 more or whatever and get CUSA with you - why did you not compromise on non-racialism?
- P.T. Ja, I mean I - I'm talking as part of CUSA, you know, at that time - then, you know, we did not understand ourselves that why some of the CUSA people they are making this an issue - hence I say they were opportunistic, the CUSA people - they were holding the flag of unity all along - when unity was achievable, they wanted a pretext of running away, because they realised that its achievement will mean to them losing some of their personal gains, so it's not really a question of, you know, a compromise - it's a question of dedication, commitment and honesty, so those people were not really honest, they were not really sincere with unity, so now they - they looked for a loophole where they had to hold on, because even the - the reason of CUSA moving out it's not justified, because at least maybe the - the NACTU people - I mean the - the AZACTU people, who were also high school politician, you know, discussing the difference between non-racialism and anti-racism - finally it was agreed that O.K., let's embrace them both - we will say one of our other objectives is non-racialism/anti-racism - they were covered, so there was a compromise, but still on top of that they pulled out, so it means they were not sincere.
- So with that now CUSA pulled out, and for - for your information, we took a decision as workers that we are going there (.....)
- J.F. You were going there what?
- P.T. We are going to be part of COSATU dark or blue (?) - we workers we took that decision but....
- J.F. (.....)
- P.T. I mean it means come what may, we are going to be there - it means whether - whether - whatever will happen, we will be there - but our officials, you see, they - they - they - they looked for - for loopholes, you see - that's why we didn't understand that now you can't just move out because of that reason - hence CUSA doesn't have a reason - it says we moved out in solidarity with AZACTU - I mean you can't hold the flag of unity for so long.

P.T. When somebody who comes just yesterday and he's not satisfied because of a certain point, then you just drop the flag, you want to sympathise with that person, you see, so CUSA actually were not genuine, and we know that those people there they were having advices, especially Phiroshaw Camay - Phiroshaw Camay were having advices at a - at a - a - in America, because at that time when we were - we were supposed to - COSATU was formed - he was now and then going to America, so getting advices - he was - amongst other things, you know, they came with something that COSATU actually was an imperialist organisation - that's what they told the workers, that this is an imperialist organisation - but now today they - it's surprising that they are the actual people who are being sponsored by - by - by the imperialist, you see.

And then on top of that, on that very time when COSATU was formed, Phiroshaw Camay demonstrated abroad against the Polish government, you know, against anti-communism, so you can see now that's where they are standing (?) actually - you can't convince them, you can't compromise with them, because they've got a particular role to play - I mean we know even in the international federations we've got ICFTU, we've got a world federation of - of - of (.....) trade union - I mean the World Federation of Trade Union - I mean that's not a question of maybe they are missing a point somewhere - it's a question of one defending socialism, another one defending capitalism, so even there in South Africa people must - must not forget that we are part of the world - what happens in the world it affects us too, you see, so it's a class interest which is involved here.

J.F. Have you been detained since you were on the Island, since you were released?

P.T. No, I have never been detained, but I had had some problems from time to time of police looking for me, but I - I - then I've never been detained.

J.F. In what township do you live now?

P.T. I'm living in Rockville at the present moment, but my addresses are still known to be Orlando West.

J.F. Are you still involved with the church at all?

P.T. With the church, yes, I'm still a member of the Roman Catholic Church.

J.F. Are you active?

P.T. Not really - my wife is active, yes, but sometimes when there are certain functions, they do call me and I - I mean the bishop I mean, you know, the - the - the Archbishop of Johannesburg, from time to time I do visit him, you know, at - in Braamfontein there, and my wife at one time worked there when I was in jail - they gave her a job there, you know, to - at least to do something whilst I was in jail, so I mean the Roman Catholic itself supported even my own family, and consciously knowing that because of my political involvement - and even when I went out of jail I went there to say thank you to them - they actually took my wife into some trainings to teach her how to do some, you know, certain things, you know, so that she will be able to get a job easily, so from there she got another job - she was - she's able to work because she had a lot of technical training from the Roman Catholic Church.

J.F. Is non-racialism an important issue?

P.T. Yes, it's a very important issue - I think it's one of the basic issues that we have to, you know - it's another condition of class consciousness - I mean you can't talk of class consciousness if you won't have a - a base for it, which will be a non-racial society, you know - otherwise we'll find ourself having a problem with that, so it - it goes side by side with the class consciousness, and I think people who've got that class consciousness, that's why they won't make it an - it's a non-issue if you - you already have class consciousness - I mean you know that, as I said, workers are colourless, you see, so I mean it's only those who are trying to mislead the workers, they'll be talking about such things, you know.

END OF INTERVIEW.