

- J.F. Can I start by asking you where you were born and when? 7
- D.T. Yes, I was born on the 17th. February, 1919 in a Free State town of Bloemfontein.
- J.F. And how long did you stay in the Bloemfontein area?
- D.T. Well, my father, you know, being a clergyman, he was the sort of man who goes from place to place - he was always, you know, being transferred from this place to that place and so on, so that subsequently my father was transferred to Johannesburg, and he died in Johannesburg.
- J.F. When was - when did you move to Jo'burg?
- D.T. I think it was in the - in the '20s. 20
- J.F. And did your mother work?
- D.T. My mother - no, my mother has always been just a housewife.
- J.F. So did your father have any politics that he....
- D.T. Religious politics - type of politics that you'll find in Tutu and so on, that type of politics.
- J.F. Which kind of minister was he - which denomination?
- D.T. Oh, he was in the Congregational Church - he was working for the Congregational Church.
- J.F. So he didn't influence you politically, your father?
- D.T. Well, we did discuss politics, you know - at the time of course when I was younger I didn't even know what it was all about, but he used to tell us, you know, about the ICU - he used to tell us, you know, about how people suffered in the farms and things like that, and of course being a - a clergyman he thought that all these things should be solved, you know, by God.
- J.F. And did you have a different view - did you ever argue with him....
- D.T. Well, initially, yes - as a young man I didn't - I only listened to him all the time - it was not until I became a bit mature, then I started questioning certain things, you know, but questioning them with a certain amount of caution, you know, because I was speaking to my father (Laugh) and you know, how we were brought up, you're not supposed to criticise your father too much - you - you are not supposed to know more than he does.
- J.F. And when you were growing up did you have a lot of contact with other races or were you mainly in contact with other Africans?
- D.T. In the Free State contact was*really made with the Africans only - those people who - you know, who were whites in the Free State, you know, but people who were mostly religious people used to come to so-called locations (?) to see people there and sometimes even hold sermons there, you know, in the church and so on - but politically contact was very difficult - Bloemfontein it's a - the Free State, let me say, it's a hotbed of racialism in South Africa - it's - it's - it's a country - it's a town that is predominantly, you know, taken by the Afrikaaners. (*could be rarely)

- D.T. They stay there, they - they are big capitalist Afrikaaners, farmers and so on with big business and so on, and they are predominantly Afrikaaners in that - in that burg - province of the Free State - predominantly Afrikaaners.
- J.F. And did - just tell me how you got politicised - maybe in view of the time rather than take longer, you tell me - you moved to Jo'burg - your father was a preacher - how did you get your politics - when did you go to training - did you school and then go to work, or did you leave school and go to work early?
- D.T. No, well, I - I - I schooled in - in the Free State.
- J.F. You were sent back to the Free State?
- D.T. Ja- no, I didn't go back to the Free - I schooled in the Free State - I schooled high school in the Free State, then I left, I - I went to training school - I was trained as a teacher - when my father went to Johannesburg I was schooling in - as a teacher in a place called Moddarpoot - it was an Anglican institute for training black teachers.
- J.F. How is that spelt?
- D.T. M o d d a r p o o t .
- J.F. And so you became a teacher?
- D.T. Yes, I became a teacher - I taught in the Free State for quite - not for long - for about a year - I was not very much interested in teaching - I then left and went to Johannesburg, and when I got to Johannesburg I - I felt that life was more lively there I mean than what the Free State was, so in Johannesburg I moved around, you know, with politicians, I moved around with trade unionists - I studied, you know, quite a number of things about the trade union movement, the question of, you know, the relationship and the question of industrial disputes in South Africa and so on, and I learned quite a lot - I mean I - I came to a position where I - I felt that I had to put my - my whole life into the whole thing.

I was particularly - I was particularly touched, you know, by the pass laws in the Free Sta - I mean in Johannesburg - segregation, the pass laws, how people, you know, were being arrested, you know, in great numbers every day - they are taken to the commissioner - what they called at the time Native Commissioner's Court, and they were told - someone without a pass would come in and then be told that : Well, you are fined (?) for three months and so on - the next one comes in and so on, and in a - in a month's time hundreds of people will be taken away from town, Johannesburg, to go and work in the farms because they had no - their passes were out of order and the taxes were out of order, they work in the farms.

Now what really touched me of all was the - a certain farm where, you know, these people were told to go and dig potatoes with their hands, you know, their nail - their fingers and so on - I'm forgetting what the place (?) it was, but it was somewhere in the Transvaal - all these people who were fined, you know, in the magistrates court used to be taken to these farms to go and work for the farmers without pay - just had to work for the farmers and so on.

D.T. You know, they - their passes were out of order and therefore they were fined two, three, four months because your pass were out of order, and then they were all, you know, taken away to - to the farms to go and work there - that really touched me - I felt it was inhuman - that's not the way, you know, that you could develop human beings, you know, to make them responsible citizens - that type of thing I mean to me was obvious that it was really economic exploitation - people are being, you know, exploited under the - the - the cloak of, you know, passes - your pass is out of order, your tax is out of order and so on - that what -

That is what really made me go into the trade union movement - I was then secretary of - of the Milling Workers Union in South Africa, and I worked in that Milling Workers for quite a time - and then in the course of time I - let's see my notes - in the course of time, as I say, I became secretary of the Milling Workers Union, and in the Milling Workers Union naturally we had to meet with other workers, you know, who are working in other industries - other trade unionists and so on - and in the course of my activities I was now staying at a place called Orlando - Orlando is now known as Soweto - staying at Soweto.

I became now very much involved, you know, in both trade union movement and politics - and then I joined the ANC in Orlando and subsequently became chairman of the - of the branch, the Orlando branch of the ANC Johannesburg - and then subsequently I then attended, you know, trade union conferences and so on, even overseas - the World Federation of Trade Unions - when the World Federation of Trade Unions was - was formed we were the first delegates from Johannesburg to attend a meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

J.F. In which year?

D.T. What year - it must have been in the - in the '30s or '40s or so - so - then in the course of time - I think it was in the '40s I became the chairman of the Orlando branch of the - of the ANC - and so it went, and in the course of my activities my enthusiasm in the '40s - no, perhaps it was in the '50s I became a national executive member of - of the ANC, and we used to hold our conferences in Bloemfontein every year - that is why Bloemfontein had become, you know, the - the most important town in the - in Johannesburg, because that's where - I mean in South Africa, because that is where the ANC was born - ANC was born in - in the Free State, Bloemfontein.

J.F. But when you were growing up and when you first got involved in the ANC, did you see the ANC as a perfect organisation that was serving the needs - did you have - there is a view that ANC initially was quite intellectuals and professionals, that it needed to have the influence that it had in the '40s and '50s to actually serve the working....

D.T. Well, I took (?) it as a national organisation, you know, of the African people at the - initially - with my understanding then, it was a national organisation of the African people fighting against the persecution of the white man - that was my concept at the time, but as time went on, you know, I got to understand that I had to - to go even deeper than that, the question of just the white man, you know, being persecuting the - the - the working class, and I came to the conclusion that deeply it was not really just the question of white man.

D.T. It was economic exploitation of the people, under the cloak of segregation, under the cloak of - of apartheid and things of that kind - exploitation of the people - that - that - I could never forget, you know, those people who used to be taken away to the farms to go and dig, you know, potatoes with their - with their fingers - I could never forget it - I began to see exactly what it's meant by economic exploitation.

So that in the ANC I found that at the time the ANC was an organisation of, you know, teachers, intellectuals, you know, clergymen - you know, all the elite of - of the African society - young people who were not very much interested in - in the ANC - they felt it was an organisation of elderly people and so on, so they - they had nothing to do with it - they - some of them were just, you know, students and they went to students organisations and so on that they thought, well, ANC is not ours and so on - and as a result, you know, ANC never became progressive until it was joined by younger people, the Tamos, Mandelas and so on - those were members of the youth league of the ANC.

When those people came into the - into the ANC there was transformation insofar as, you know, the ideology is concerned and so on - there was quite a big transformation - because in the past, you know, the - the elderly people believed in demonstrations, you know, reconciliation with the powers that be and so on - they weren't very much interested in action - you know, action against the government and so on.

And it was not until the - in the late '40s - '49, I think, when there was a conference in Bloemfontein, where it was decided that there should be action against South Africa - we felt that the young people would never join the ANC unless there was actually action, you know, political action, struggle, which they were interested in - now at the time when then we said (?) well, that's an organisation for the young people - but after that conference, a conference which gave birth to the defiance campaign, many young people came in good numbers to join the ANC.

The - I know one of your questions here is the question of the - the defiance campaign - but the defiance campaign was a stepping-stone, to military struggle that we are having today - it was a stepping-stone towards that - young people were saying: But what are we fighting for - what is our struggle - what must we do against, you know, the miseries of - of our people - what must we do - must we be just going to demonstrations - because at the time it was just the question of getting into a demonstration to go to the powers that be to Pretoria to go - you know, to - to protest against this and that and that, and it ended there, and young people were not interested.

But soon as we went to Bloemfontein and it was decided that there should be action, political action by people, not just demonstrations, quite, as I have said, a number of people, number of young people were now interested in the ANC - and it was then decided, not by the ANC but by the ANC, the Natal Indian Congress, Transvaal Indian Congress and some organisations, that there should be some form of action which should be engaged on - the type of action that will mobilise the young people into the movement - and it was decided that we should have the defiance campaign - I suppose you know what it (.....) - what it was all about - have (?) defiance campaign.

D.T. Thousands and thousands of young people came into the movement - came to the offices of the ANC - they wanted membership cards because they felt that now they were getting into action - the mechanics of it was that people would go and - go into town and go to - into places where it's only whites are allowed to sit there, and then they go and sit there and get arrested and so on - all type of things - go into the - go to the station -

I never forget, you know, an incident where women, you know, church women, you know, with blouse - you know, these red (?) blouse of the Anglican church - not Anglican, Methodist Church - they were all dressed up as volunteers to go into the compartments of white - white people - they went to the station - of course they were being - they were being organised - they were not doing spontaneously - they were being organised and so on, and the unit (?) said: Well, here we'll want (?) a unit of so many women to go into action - so about 20 women went into action - they went to Park Station - you know Park Station - and at Park Station, you know, there are two entrances, one entrance for the whites, the other for - for the blacks - and they went into the white entrance.

When they got there they went to the platform and went to the - go and sit where whites are sitting and so on - everybody was amazed what is taking place today - and as a train came in they went into compartments, you know, reserved for whites - they just went into there so (?) - and they started singing hymns, you know, church hymns.

Now these women were being - had been politicised before - we - they were not just doing it - it - it was, you know - it was a struggle - some of them were not even members of the church but we - we just wanted to see (?) - it's defiance came - we are defying unjust laws, so we - we're having - we were having groups of people coming - today it's women, the following day it's students and so on and so forth, and even white people came in and - and they defied the laws and they - they were arrested - nobody was supposed to pay fine - some of them who were arrested were told to go to jail for three months, four months and so on, some seven days and so on, they've - because even the question of at night, you know, you must have a pass, and people - we used to have volunteers to say: Now, now you can go and march in the street and when they want to say - when they want to know where your pass is, tell them you have no pass, then you'll be arrested - go to jail and go and suffer (?) in jail.

J.F. The focus of what I'm doing is, having read the history that I've read in the history books and the analysis, I'm trying to look at it from the non-racial perspective, so in light of what you're saying I'd like to ask you in the politicisation that you've spoken about so far, the '30s and the '40s and into the early '50s, were you politicised only by other Africans - the thing that moved you most was the treatment of Africans in the potato farms because of the passes - would you say that up until - we're now talking about 1952 - that up so far you didn't have much contact with people who weren't Africans or did you....

D.T. Yes - oh, yes....

J.F. through the Communist Party....

D.T. I had - I had quite a lot of contact with whites....

J.F. Tell me a bit about that....

D.T. With whites in the trade union movement - we were -

D.T. We had some white, you know, who were members of - secretaries of white trade unions, quite progressive people, you know, but those who were not progressive, because you also had Afrikaaners, you know, who were members of the trade union movement - they were secretaries and so on - they were, you know, aloof all the time, but these, you know, the progressive ones, we used to be together, discuss things - they used to invite me to their homes, we sit down and we discuss politics and so on, and I read a - quite a number of books and so on, and then I - I felt that it was not really the question of white people that was - that was not the point - the point was, you know, exploitation of people, irrespective of whether they are white or black - exploitation of the working class that - that builded up in my mind, the - it - I became to - I came to understand that this what we are fighting against is not a white man - we are fighting against, you know, exploitation of people, of the working class.

That was really in my mind and then I - I never forgot that that was the pillar of what made me join the - the trade union movement, the Communist Party and so on - my mixing up with all type of people, you know, Jews and Afrikaaners, you know, progressive Afrikaaners and so on, made me feel that I was in a - in a different world now, which I never knew before.

J.F. How did you make that step from a Free State boy who'd only seen really Africans and very severe exploitation....

D.T. I was inquisitive - I was very, very inquisitive - each time I heard that people have got - got a meeting here, they want to talk, I used to go there (.....) and listen to what they say about - and the next day I hear that there's a meeting about this and that, I used to go there and listen to - during the war when - when Hitler was threatening, that was an interesting period of my life, because that gave me the - the impression that, you know, Hitler really wanted to conquer the whole world - he wanted to conquer the whole world - and what is more is that the - the leaders of South Africa, the Afrikaaner leaders of South Africa were supporting Hitler, you know - you know that - they were supporting Hitler and so on.

And then we had to have, you know - we had to mobilise people - we had to have, you know, volunteers of people, you know, who were fighting against, you know, the - the - the question of Hitler, fascism in the country, because fascism, you know, became, you know, to become permanent in our country - as soon as Hitler declared war, most of the Afrikaaners there were - they said they were openly said they - they were supporting Hitler - and you could see some of them in the grey shirts and red shirts and so on - they were supposed to be, you know, the followers of - of Hitler and fascism and so on.

So that the aim, I think, of the Afrikaaners was that if Hitler conquered the whole world, then they would become the baby of Hitler in South Africa, that fascism would spread into South Africa and so on - unfortunately history did not unfold that way - but all those things, you know, made me think - each time there's an event that has happened I used to go into the books, read the books and find out why these people are talking like this, and they used to give me books - I read books, and my mind, you know, my outlook, you know, became, you know, much more different from what I was, you know, in the '50s (?) - completely different.

J.F. And how did you get recruited into the CPSA - was it through Africans or through whites or -

- J.F. I'm just interested in that because when I read about Moses Kotane I was quite interested that someone like himself went into a CP night school taught by whites - it's interesting that he could make that leap to understand and accept non-racialism - for yourself how did you get involved, and was it in the CP that you saw whites equally....
- D.T. Yes, I - I also underwent, you know, those night schools - it was not schools - it was lectures, you know, ideology (?)....
- J.F. (.....) Jo'burg (?)
- D.T. Yes, in Jo - ideological lectures on, you know, about the world and the - the - the working class and the capitalist and so on - I - I for some time, you know, was attending those lectures and so on and I - also reading books, and in the course of time I felt that - particularly when the war was declared I - I got to understand that the - the CP, you know, was the only organisation that really wanted to change the world, change the face of the world and so on, and therefore I joined the CP.
- J.F. What year did you join?
- D.T. It was in the '40s, you know, late '40s - no, middle of the '40s.
- J.F. I read in the history book that it was 1941 - no, I don't know when it was - in 1941 you became vice president of the council of non-European..
- D.T. That's right, yes....
- J.F. Trade unions - so was it first you joined the trade unions, then you joined the CP?
- D.T. Then I joined the CP afterwards, yes.
- J.F. And were there any particular people who were non-Africans who impressed you....
- D.T. Quite a - many of them, yes - specially a chap like J.B. Marks - he was actually the man who sponsored my - my application - you know J.B. Marks - you have heard of him - he sponsored my application - you see, we had met with J.B. Marks in the trade union movement, you know - he was secretary of - I mean president of the mineworkers and so on, and then he was also chairman of the non-European Council of Trade Unions and so on, so then we were working together before I joined the CP, and he kept saying to me : Man, look, man, join the CP, then your outlook - you'll find you'll get a better outlook when you're in the CP and so about the world.
- Well, I kept saying : No, well, you know, I'm still too young, I don't think I should go into these things - and then I'm not too sure whether I - I'm sufficiently mature to go into the - the CP - understand what it is all about - he says : No, you can only understand what it is all about when you are in the thing (Laugh) - that is how I got into it.
- J.F. And then tell me, were you in the youth league yourself, the ANC youth league?
- D.T. I was in the - yes, youth league, but I wasn't very active in the youth league, because at the time I was secretary to Dr. Xuma - I was Dr. Xuma's secretary, you know, in the ANC - I mean in - ja, in the ANC - I was a member of the national executive and also secretary to Dr. Xuma, so that I didn't have much time, you know, for the youth league.

D.T. I was - I was with the old men, you know, always working with the old people and so on.

J.F. So even though you were young you were on the older side?

D.T. Yes, well, I was with them all the time, you know, doing secretarial work for - for them.

J.F. Because you were secretary, book-keeper of the (.....) ANC?

D.T. That's right, ja.

J.F. And how did you feel when you saw the youth leaguers, the Tambos, Mandelas and Sisulus - what was your view of them coming up and them agitating against the old guard?

D.T. Well, I thought it was a question of development - I took it as a development because, you know, Mandela, Tambo and all these people came from the Cape, and their outlook was that, you know, the - our fight is against the white people - our fight is against the, you know, white chauvinism and things like that - and as a result, you see, the - they were against the - the old guard of the ANC because the old guard was not doing any, you know, fight at all, and they were also against the CP - they felt that the communism was a foreign ideology which could not be, you know, utilised in the ANC - in South Africa - that is the - the sort of outlook they had at the time.

But amazingly, in the course of time they were really supporters, you know, of the alliance of the ANC, SACP, Congress of Trade Unions and so on - close and very deep members of that alliance in the course of time.

J.F. How did you feel when they first came with this anti-CP, anti-white, anti-Indian line - how did you understand it, how did you explain it - did you argue with them, or what did you think when you heard this anti-CP, anti-white line?

D.T. Well, my outlook was that it's a question of - of development - I felt that they had not sufficiently developed, you know, to understand what the - the world is about, you know - they had not under - so I didn't want to - to sort of curse them for - for what they were saying and so on - I felt that it's a question of debating with them all the time, you know, until they understand what it is all about - what the world outlook is today, which they understand today very well - they understand very well - I didn't sulk - and many people who were with me did not sulk - we felt that it's the question of development.

I mean I myself before I could get into the CP and so on, I was not - I was undeveloped - I didn't know what it was all about until I got into it, and then I discussed with people, I read book, and - and then I felt that this the target is not the white man - he is not the target - the target is the exploitation of the people - that is the target - I mean exploitation does not only affect black people, black workers - it also affect white workers and so on, but it demands a lot of explanation to convince people about that.

J.F. And did you do that explanation, did you do that arguing?

D.T. Yes, I did - we use to argue a lot, you know, and so on, and they felt I was a traitor.

D.T. Not in the sense, you know, of being a - you know, a traitor to the enemy, but they felt that I - I - my outlook was quite confused, they thought I was - but it was not until, you know, when they - the SACP was banned and so on in the '50s, there was complete change, you know, transformation, political transformation in South Africa, because we could all see that it was not the CP that would be affected - the ANC was also coming to be affected by - by the - the banning of the organisations - so gradually the - the SACP was banned, and in 1960 the ANC was banned, the PAC - PAC was also banned, and many other organisations were banned and so on - so that alone, you know, made these people feel that they - the path that they were travelling all the time which they - they traversed was - was really unguided and un - and they didn't know what - what it is all about.

Oh, they were - they were hostile, you know, absolutely hostile in the past - very, very hostile against the CP and so on, against the whites - between you and me, some of them would not even go to - to the house of a white to go and eat there, but you can't put that, you know, in history (Laugh) - it's too - they - they didn't - even Indians, they didn't want Indians and so on - they thought Indians were just white merch - I mean Indian merchants and so on and they were not interested in the struggle of the people of South Africa - the throwing - the throwing over of - of apartheid and so on - they did - they didn't think that there were Indians who could come out, you know, and - because Indians, you know, are merchants - most of them were merchants in South Africa - it was not un - the - it was -

The exception was people like Dadoo and Indres Naidoo and so on - those were exceptions, you know, of people who understood what it is all about.

J.F. Who were you arguing against and what were the arguments - I'm just wondering if you can recount some of those arguments, because there're very few people like yourself who can speak specifically - I've read in the books that there were - that the ANC youth league was anti-communist and anti-white and anti-Indian, but I'm just wondering if you can remember specific....

D.T. They were my friends - look, these - these were not my enemies - they were my friends - Makgothi, Tambo, Mandela, Mbeki and all those were my friends - we used to - to sit together, have a drink together and discuss these things, you know....

J.F. I don't mean that it's hostile, but what was the substance of the arguments - what were they saying and what were you saying and who were you....

D.T. No, their - their cardinal point was that the - the communism is - is a foreign ideology, and that we shouldn't follow it because it does - it's not applicable in South Africa - conditions in South Africa are quite different, you know - it's the question of colour bar in South Africa - and communism occupies a wider scope than just the question of - of colour bar - therefore we should just restrict ourselves to the question of segregation, colour bar, industrial colour bar and apartheid and things of that kind, then we should not have any ideologies, you know, in our - in our struggle and so on.

J.F. And what did you say to that?

D.T. No, I used to tell them that the - the - you can't ignore the world history - history is marching, history is on the march, and you can't - you can't stop it - history is - is - is wak - is opening, you know, new avenues every - every time - history is not at a standstill, it's moving - what is happening today, in the course of time it will be a - a completely new situation, and they are seeing it today - you know, when we sit down I said : Chaps, just tell me what was wrong with you those days - they say : Well, you see, we didn't understand (Laugh) - they were fresh from school, you see - they said : No, we didn't understand, man, you know - we thought these bloody white people are oppressing us and so on - I (?) said : No, but surely it took you too long to understand this - they said : Yes, we did because right from school as students, you know, that was our politics about the white man, and you know, when we came here it was a - we came into a new world, and we are still attached of course to our old, you know, concept of white people and so on oppressing the blacks and so on.

Well, they read, you know, the old histories of - of South Africa - the dispossession of land by the white people when they dis - dispossessed the Africans of their land and so on, and they thought, well, even now the white people still want to - to dispossess what we want, and in fact all they wanted now is our labour - they were just interested in our labour, not interested in our - our well-being as human beings - that was their - their outlook,

J.F. And what were the reasons that they did get clear - why did the Mandelas and the Sisulus and the Mbekis move - the Mandelas and Sisulus move in the direction of the ANC, and the Lembedis and the Sobukwes move to the PAC?

D.T. Well, I think it was - I think they read a lot of books, left books, in their lives, you know, to find out where they were going to go (?) - and there came a time, you know, when they could come to us and say : You know, I'm - we - we are beginning to see that the direction we are taking is not the right one - so we used to say to them : Well, read more in the books, read more about the books - read the history book, you know - political history books of the other countries and so on and find out how these people managed to do this and that and that and this.

And as time went on they be - they - they came closer - they came closer to the left, you know, closer to the left, closer to the left until they understood exactly what the outlook is - today they are convinced that the world has changed and the outlook of people has also changed.

J.F. You've just spoken about yourself with regard to the younger ones, the Mandelas and Tambos - what about with regard to the older ones, the Xumas and - I'm just wondering what your experience was of being CP on the ANC NEC before 1950 - the CP was legal - everyone knew your position politically, and yet - just what was it like for you - do you - just to take it back, do you remember when Gumede went to the....

D.T. To Soviet, yes, I remember, yes, and he came back, and after he came back then he was thrown out, you know, as chairman of the - president of the ANC....

J.F. Why?

D.T. Because of his outlook - when he came back his outlook was completely changed, you know, and he wanted a new policy in the ANC, and then the reactionaries (?) chucked him out....

J.F. And how did you feel about....

D.T. And Xuma too was the same thing, you know - I was Xuma's secretary - I was Xuma's personal secretary, you know, and - and also personal book - I mean book-keeper - secretary, book-keeper of the national executive - now Xuma - when we decided at Bloemfontein to launch the defiance campaign, because people were saying at the conference that : Look, we will never get young people into the movement unless we have a programme of action in which they could be interested - and we felt that, well, the defiance campaign would be a stepping-stone for that - for the first time they - they will - they will be so proud to feel that they are going to jail for - for a struggle, not for stealing - you know, things of that nature, because in the past, you know, some of them were really out of - now we go to break into shops of whites, you know, in the town and so on, do all sorts of things, you know - dispossess, you know, the handbags of the - of the white people in the street and so on.

But after the defiance campaign there was a complete transformation in the outlook of the young people, completely - they were going to jail, you know - sometimes they were as - as a group - a group of them, you know, going to - to take action at some place, you know, where they know that they are going to be arrested - they got arrested, they go to jail - they go to jail for three years - I mean for three months, two - two months and so on - they come back, they feel themselves now better, they - they - they feel proud that they went to jail for a struggle - that is how we got the young people into the ANC.

J.F. And what were you saying Xuma was like - was he....

D.T. No, no, Xuma - when we - we took a decision in Bloemfontein to unfold the defiance campaign, he was against it - he was then president of the ANC - he was against it.

J.F. Why?

D.T. Well, he felt that, well, you know, it means we are going to jail - it means he'll also be called upon, you know, to take - go into action, and then he'll go to jail, they'll put off (?) - they'll take away his shoes and in the cement, the cold cement (Laugh) - well, he, you know - he was - these conservative chaps and so on, you know, who didn't just want to go to jail - he just wanted, you know, demonstrations and going to see the - the minister and the - or the prime minister in Pretoria and so - those were the type of things they wanted, demonstrations, reconciliation about this things and that and - well, they didn't want to go to jail - that's why Xuma - that I knew very well, that he won't take it - he won't support that motion - and he lost his seat as president at that conference.

Then they elected Dr. Moroka - you must have seen it in the - in the history books - J. Moroka - James Moroka was - took over his.

J.F. Was he less conservative, Moroka?

D.T. Well, he - he was also no good, I must tell you, but we wanted to take off Xuma, but at least we put on this one - we'll deal with this one afterwards (Laugh) but let's first take off this one here - at that time, you know, those days, if you want to be a president of the ANC you must be a doctor, a lawyer or things like that, you know - highly qualified and things of that nature and so on, so that when Xuma left, who was also a medical doctor, we took Moroka, a medical doctor too, but that was the - the order of the day, you know, those days, but not today of course - things have changed today, completely changed - so Xuma was ousted - ja, there was - because he put his motion that we should not go into action and (.....) - that we should not go into action.

- D.T. And then the chairman, who was then the speaker of the house, they used to call him those days the speaker of the house, you know, put it to the vote.
- J.F. And how did you work with the Xumas and those - how did you feel - did you feel, well, you were going to help for change from within - for you....
- D.T. I was elected by the national executive to - to be Xuma's secretary - I felt I was doing my - I was doing a service, you know - I knew that I did not agree with him and so on, but I was not serving Xuma - I was serving the national executive, but I had to work with Xuma, you know, as the president of the ANC - to take minutes, you know, when - wherever he speaks, and I've got to go and type those minutes and what not - I had a hell of a lot of work, don't - I couldn't even sleep at night.
- J.F. And how did he treat you - was he anti-you because you were comm - were CP, was he anti - was he difficult to work with because of....
- D.T. It was difficult - it was very difficult to work....
- J.F. He was anti-you?
- D.T. Because I remember at one time people phoned me, you see - somebody wanted to speak to me over the phone, and then I'm told he said someone - the girl was working there - he said to - on the phone - he's not here - and then somebody said : Where's he gone to - he has gone to see his comrades and so on (Laugh) - when I came back, you know, this girl who was working there said : You know, this fellow says : You - you are not here, you have gone to see your comrades - so I understood that's why he knows now (Laugh) that I've gone (?) - now he knows where I stand.
- J.F. So you weren't open with him - he must have known you were CP, or did he not....
- D.T. Yes, I knew - he knew that, but he thought he would sway me away from them, you know - that was his - he felt that in the course of time, you know, I will take his line.
- J.F. And what about after the 1950 Suppression of Communism Act - did it alter you - you had to then resign, you couldn't - the CP was finished, so how did that affect you personally - you weren't banned or anything?
- D.T. I was banned.
- J.F. You were?
- D.T. I was banned, ja.
- J.F. Was it from 1950?
- D.T. Not immediately, but I was banned, I was house arrested.....

END OF SIDE TWO.

- J.F. not immediately - first you were house arrested, then you were banned?
- D.T. I was banned - I was told to - to - to - to resign from all political organisations and so on and I must not attend public meetings and so on - show you something -
- J.F. Can I have a copy of this?
- D.T. Yes, you can - complete reply to your question.
- J.F. Since I have the facts I can concentrate just on more your impressions and your experience, because I can check up the facts in that piece of paper - so let me just ask, in terms of your experience as from 19 - I'm still unclear because it shows that you continued to be active, because in 1952 you were part of the defiance campaign - so in 1950 were you actually banned or house arrested when the Suppression of Communism Act was passed?
- D.T. Well, the A - the Communist Party was banned in 1950 - I think the ban must have come two years after that, you know, when I was actually banned - or a year after that.
- J.F. But I - in another history book I read that you were banned for the defiance campaign - you were tried and banned for the defiance campaign in '52, is that right?
- D.T. No, that's a distortion of history.
- J.F. That's why (.....) - so in 195....
- D.T. Just read that thing, it will tell you.
- J.F. But it doesn't tell me if you were banned - it says you played a prominent part in the defiance campaign and you were tried and convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act for your part in the campaign - you got a suspended sentence - in 1953 you got banning orders?
- D.T. That's right.
- J.F. So then you - then that was the end of your above ground activity and you had to only be involved underground from '53, is that right?
- D.T. Then we had liberation - had a book - not a book, a journal.
- J.F. Did your banning order allow you to be the publisher of Liberation?
- D.T. Yes, they didn't take steps against me - they didn't take steps against me, because I was doing - because it was a decision that we could be doing it, you know, so as to - to keep people, you know, involved in the struggle.
- J.F. And when - how long did Liberation last before it was banned, or was it ever banned?
- D.T. Liberation was not banned, but in '62 when I left the country I had to abandon it and leave it with other people there - it seems to me they didn't continue it.
- J.F. Let me go back to before the '53 situation when you were operating openly - I'm so interested to read that you were the secretary of the meeting of the Xuma-Dadoo-Naicker pact of 1947 - that meant that you were....

- D.T. There was the pact of the - of the ANC, the Indian Congress and so on, and the Natal Indian Congress, and I was secretary of them - there was sort of an alliance - they were building an alliance at the time - then I was secretary of that alliance.
- J.F. Of - but that's before the congress alliance - it's just the Xuma-Dadoo.....
- D.T. Yes, that is a special pact, you know - they were - they were really beginning, you know, to - to come together and work as - as, you know - as a unit.
- J.F. I've read about the pact, but what was it like for you to be involved in that - there was anti-Indian feeling from the youth league, and yet you were helping to forge an alliance between Africans and Indians - did any of the youth league people say : How can you be part of that alliance.....
- D.T. No, they didn't - they - I had told them my outlook - I told them that my outlook had completely changed now - I told them - I made no secret about it - I didn't want to go it (?) underground.
- J.F. But I mean did you ever - did some of the youth league people oppose that pact?
- D.T. Well, they thought I was a traitor.
- J.F. Because even in Natal when the pact was signed, because of the problem of Champion and those reactionary forces, even in Inkundla there were reports saying that people didn't like the pact and that kind of thing, and some Africans said : Why were there two Indians and only one African - can you just tell me a bit about that time?
- D.T. Well, I don't know, you see - there were some reactionaries, you know, who really felt that - you see, the - at the time, you know, there were quite a number of communists, you know, in the ANC, even though they were not in the national executive, but they were in the branches, you know - there were quite a number of communists in the ANC - now I remember at some conference, you know, a motion was put forward by Lembede, who was president of the - of the youth league, and people like Champion, to the effect that the communists should be flushed out of the ANC because they have (.....) - I remember the word they used - the communists had come to make ANC their playground, so they must get out of the ANC.
- That motion was put into - into - to the people to vote for - it was tabled, that motion, at the conference, and they were defeated - they were defeated - people felt that now these ancient things - we can't do such things now, these days now - people felt that those are old things, we can't - so the motion was defeated - that's how they threw out Champion out of the - out of Natal, in the leadership of Natal, and his place was taken by Lutuli, and Lutuli was quite a progressive man.
- J.F. What - there's one criticism of the alliance between the Indians and the Africans or even the congress alliance that I....
- D.T. You mean now?
- J.F. Ja, it comes now - it even came then, that I wonder if you could address, is the people said : Well, it's fine for the leaders to get together, for Dadoo and Xuma, or for Lutuli and Naicker to be together, or for Reg September to be together with Mandela, but what about the people at the grassroots level.

J.F. I think even today in UDF structures there're some people who say that the non-racialism that exists, it's being forged at leadership level, but what about on a grassroots level - how do you respond to that?

D.T. Well, you know, as I say, these things, you know, are a development of a people - how people develop and so on, and in order to - to - to make people understand, you know, what your direction is, you have got to politicise them - you can't say the people say this and therefore we are going to abandon what we are doing - you show them the direction, you politicise them, you educate them - you educate them to - to make them understand that we are taking this direction because of this and that and that and that and that - you put forward the circumstances to them of - of your direction, and as a result there are very few people today who - who - who want to fight against the alliance.

I don't know in South Africa - (.....) in South Africa, but even there I don't think so - COSATU, UDF, those are our babies....

J.F. I'm not saying they're fighting against them - these are UDF people who would say : We have to build more non-racialism at grassroots level - that it's not enough to have it at the higher structures - I'm just wondering, did you see grassroots African people saying : We support the Kuma-Dadoo-Naicker pact?

D.T. Not those days, no.

J.F. So it was leadership only....

D.T. Not those days - I mean people had not sufficiently developed then - you see, the ANC made a mistake at the - the foundation was wrong - the foundation was that it was too much focus on the white people - white people are oppressing us, they have taken our land and so on and so forth - and even PAC, you know - when PAC came into power - I mean when they - they pulled out of the ANC, it was on the question of this, you know, people - white people took our land and so on - they started saying it's a question of land and so on.

They came out - they left the ANC because the ANC South Africa belongs to all of us, black and white, and they - they were fighting against that - they say it doesn't, it - it's - it's a black man's country - says no - our - our direction and our philosophy now is that South Africa belongs to all of us, black and white, and that we can stay together and build together in this country as human beings - and then they pulled out - they - you remember PAC pulled out of the ANC because of that, and we defended, you know - we defended the question it was the Freedom Charter that we defended, and they didn't want - they wanted that clause to be deleted (?) that South Africa belongs to us, black and white, and we refused to do so, and they pulled out - of course they built up their own organisation and so on.

So that you can see there has always been a - you know, a - a tug of war in the movement - people thinking this way and the other thinking that way, and in the - at the end of the day I mean we - we have come out to have been correct in what our policy was.

J.F. And can you tell me (Interruption) - I was only kicked out in '85.

D.T. Did you speak to them?

J.F. Ja, I spoke to Billy Nair, Murphy Morobe, Dorothy Nyembe, Archie Gumede, all those kinds of people.

D.T. Are they putting forward the - the same line that I'm putting to you?

- J.F. 100 percent the same line, but Billy Nair wasn't in the same exact position, he was in Natal - Murphy Morobe wasn't born yet, that kind of thing, so I'm trying to trace the development from the '20s and '30s through the '80s, because you could say non-racialism really got forged - you had some non-racialism with liberals even in the 19th. century, Shriner, Jalabu, but the real true progressive non-racialism came with the trade unions and the CP and the ANC and SACTU, so that's what I'm trying to develop.
- D.T. Ja, that's good.
- J.F. So....
- D.T. That's good - I think you are doing a good work - we'll see your book when it comes out - will you give me a copy?
- J.F. Yes - do you have copies of Liberation still?
- D.T. Liberation, no - I've got a - we have got copies in London.
- J.F. In London where, at the....
- D.T. You must get in touch with Brian Bunting - he has got some copies there.
- J.F. He has everything, I think.
- D.T. Have you seen one of the copies?
- J.F. No, I saw Brian Bunting and he showed me all the catalogue, but I was going to - I'm coming in June and in June I'll arrange to see the material - I couldn't do everything at once, but I saw that he had it.
- D.T. It's a pity we couldn't continue with it - it was really a very interesting magazine, that - very, very interesting, because all and sundry used to come then, make their own, you know, contributions to the - to the journal, and then we used to - we had a committee of about three to edit, you know, all the paper and things (?) - articles that were coming in and so on - of course - then of course under very awkward conditions because we were banned - we didn't - we didn't have, you know, all the - the facilities of moving out, you know, to go and in - investigate this and that and that, or even to - to find out whether what we (?) were saying is correct and so on - (.....) let's carry on.
- We were receiving de - statements, speeches and what not from people outside who were not banned and so on, and we had to go through them, and it was a serviceable journal to the people - really very serviceable - they used to understand what has been going on because, you see, it was as if - it's (?) the state of emergency, people didn't know what was going on and so on, and the people are afraid to talk - after the CP was banned and the ANC was banned, people were afraid to talk, and they thought that each time you talk you'll be talking to a - an enemy and so on, so they used to now talk in the Liberation journal - say their views there.
- J.F. And when you say all and sundry, did you only have ANC people writing in the journal, in the Liberation?
- D.T. No, we had CP people too - there's a chap we had there, Michael Harmel - do you know him - he was in the - in the journal too - he was a member of the directorate in the journal - Mike Harmel, you know - he died in - I saw him now two days - two years - two months ago I was in Czechoslovakia - I went to see his - his tombstone.

J.F. But he wrote as Larumo....

D.T. Who?

J.F. He wrote under another name, Larumo.

D.T. Ja, Larumo.

J.F. But was that only outside he used that name?

D.T. Ja.

J.F. So when - on the Liberation who else did you work with - you were the editor or the publisher - what was your position?

D.T. Publisher and editor.

J.F. And who else....

D.T. Maka - Mandela was also there.

J.F. In what capacity?

D.T. He was also, you know - he was als - he was in the directorate, but we can't say that today - don't say about - you take it with you - because, you know, it can prejudice his position there, because so far we have never said Mandela was in the Liberation, you know - we've never said - I'm telling you because you are my friend and I (Laugh) - please don't use (?) it.

J.F. So who can you say publicly was in Liberation?

D.T. Well, there was a chap who's now died, and that is Jack Hodgson....

J.F. Ja, I interviewed Rita.

D.T. Jack Hodgson was also in the directorate.

J.F. If I can go back again to the earlier years - you were on the South African Peace Council - you were vice president of the Peace Council, is that correct, or were you involved with the Peace Council?

D.T. Yes, I was involved with the Peace - I don't think I was - I was any - I had any position there - I'm not too sure - it's only now that I - I'm one of the vice presidents of the Peace Council.

J.F. Oh, now - and in those days were there a lot of COD people working on the Peace Council?

D.T. Yes.

J.F. How did you find working with those COD people - did you feel that all white South Africans had potential, or did you feel that the Liberal Party types were those you couldn't work with - how did you differentiate between the white South Africans?

D.T. In the Peace Council?

J.F. Yes, just generally in terms of white South Africans in the struggle - you had those involved in COD, you had those involved in the Liberal Party, and then you had Nats (.....) and that kind of thing - did you have contact with a range of whites or was it....

D.T. Yes, we did - our mission was, you know, these people are working for COD and working for other organisations - our mission was, you know, to show them the - the direction of - of - of a future South Africa, and they must see it in the same way as we see it - we were trying to do that, but of course when you talk to people they have their own arguments too, you know - for instance, some of them will tell you that : Yes, we agree with you, but then we don't think we - we are going to allow, you know, a South African socialist - socialist country - we won't be able to - don't want a socialist country in South Africa, but otherwise we can stay together, you know, as human beings and so on without socialism.

It - it's like these fellows of the - of the PFP - they say to us : Look, we don't - we don't want apartheid, don't want it at all and so on, and if we get into power we'll see to it that it's eliminated, but then at the same time we don't want socialism - we don't want socialism but we want to stay together, you know, as - as white and black and so on, and all facilities, you know, in education - in all spheres of life, you know, we have equal opportunities and so on, but we don't want to introduce socialism.

Now we have never told them that we want to introduce socialism in South Africa - we've never said so - this - the right stage (?) has not yet come - we - we understand that stage has not yet come - we've just told them that we want to eliminate apartheid, but they want us to know where they stand - then we say : Now what kind of constitution do you want - then they say : We want a - what do they call this type of constitution now - is it parallel - what is it - no, it's not parallel development, that's a....

J.F. Federal?

D.T. No, not parallel - Federal, yes - federal - they say they want a federal constitution and which, you know, this federation and then this portion will be for the whites and this - you know, that type of thing, you know, federal type of - we don't want to argue with them as far as that is concerned, because the time is not yet ripe for that, you know - that is their point of view - we take it as their point of view and we leave it as such, and we don't even think we should politicise them on that - I don't think so - leave them as they are.

This fellow was here now the other day, but that's between you and me - take it off record please (Tape off)

J.F. I guess what I didn't ask you was about your trade union activity, because first you went into the trade unions in the '30s, you - it's just interesting that with your background - your father was a minister and you were a teacher - you could've gone into a petty bourgeois....

D.T. I had to - to abandon the teaching profession - I went to - I went to the Wits to go and study with journalism that time - journalism and - and accounting - I was doing them part time - we used to go to work, you know, and then in the evening and afternoons I go to the - to Wits to go and study journalism and accounting.

J.F. And what work were you doing in the morning - were you working....

D.T. I was working for the trade union movement.

J.F. So you went from being a teacher to being an organiser?

D.T. Ja.

- J.F. And why did you give up teaching - that could have been quite a comfortable life for you?
- D.T. No, it didn't - it didn't impress me at all, you know - I was not really impressed.
- J.F. Why?
- D.T. It was too, you know - I don't know how to put it, you know - it didn't impress me at all - I knew that, you know, to - to - to impart knowledge to other people is a very important thing - I knew that very well, but I was a bit greedy to know more than that, more than just teaching - very greedy because, you know, I used to attend meetings, you know, of these chaps and hear them speak at the platform and so on, speaking about changes - changed world, you know, about apartheid and so on, and I felt that what the hell am I doing here wasting my time.
- J.F. And why the working class, why the trade union movement - what attracted you to go into the trade unions?
- D.T. Well, I had some friends, you know, who were trade unionists then - somebody like J.B. Marks, somebody like Gana Makabeni - those were very great trade unionists, and of course they - they persuaded me to come to the trade union movement.
- J.F. Did you have any contact with any white trade unionists or non-African?
- D.T. Yes, Solly Sachs - many of them, you know - Solly Sachs and - and many others in the Transvaal, you know - some of them are dead now.
- J.F. Did they....
- D.T. Those I acquired after some time, you know, but I first of all got in contact with African trade unionists - then in the course of time, you know, they introduced me to Solly Sachs and many other trade unionists, white trade unionists and so on, but some of them were very reactionary, you know, absolutely reactionary - you know, they - they - that is why we formed, you know, the - the - the Council of non-European Trade Unions, because in the first place, you know, in the past we were affiliated to the Trades and Labour Council - Trades and Labour Council was a council they - they pretended not to be - to have any colour bar, but the structure of the Trades and Labour Council their constitution was such that African trade unions could never, never make any impact in them, you know, because it was a question of a card (?) vote.

How many members have you got - when they vote, you know, said : How many members have you got and so on - and they were always, you know - because they had stop orders and African trade unions had no stop order until it was - until they were recognised - because when we joined the trade union movement the African trade unions, you know, were not recognised by the government - you couldn't go and - and talk to the bosses, you know, with authority and so on - they could chase you out, they could - you (?) couldn't do anything because Africans were illegal - African trade unions were then illegal, let me put it bluntly - they were then illegal - they were not recognised by the government, so you can see the imbalance there.

So that is - we then felt that, you know, well, in order to exert ourselves as - as a body we should then build up, you know, non-European Trade Union Council, and then organise the unorganised, see that Africans are organi - because those chaps were not prepared, you know - they - the white trade unionists, they were not prepared to organise Africans - not interested in organising Africans.

D.T. So we had to do it, and the only way we could do it is to build up another trade union council of non-whites, and successfully we - we - we set ourselves the task of first organising the mineworkers as - as the target, you know, as the priority, and we did so - organised the mineworkers - they formed a trade union - J.B. Marks became president of the mineworkers and so on, and he was also president of the Council of non-European Trade Unions and so on, and successfully in 1946 we stage a - a - a strike of the miners, and the whole thing started ball-rolling, you know - snowballing, snowballing now - snowballing and so on.

Then the - the white trade unions began to understand that unless we ally ourselves with these chaps here we are going to, you know - we'll phase out - we'll phase out of the - of the struggle - because we were not - we're not racials, you know - we're not racial - we say : No, can - anybody can come in - but it was a Council of non-European Trade Unions - we wanted to impress the non-whites that they should build themselves up and not rely on - on the - those fellows there and so on.

And after the mine strike the trade union movement - the Council of non-European Trade Unions was absolutely, it was held very high in esteem, you know, because of the mine strike - we - we were behind the mine strike of 1948.

J.F. '46.

D.T. '46, yes - and then came an idea - the idea was : Look, we feel that we cannot (?) - some trade unions, you know, came out and said : No, we can no longer be with this - the Trades and Labour Council - because there's too much colour bar there and so on, so let's build up a - our - a organisation of trade unions federal body which is going to include all members of - of the community, black and white and so on - that is how we decided to (.....) South African Congress of Trade Unions - we then dissolved - the non Trades Councils was dissolved, and we build up SACTU, South African Council of Trade Unions and, you know, all the black - white trade unionists came there and then joined - you know, the progressive ones.

And we went on and the government could see that the - the South African Trades and Labour - I mean the Council of - the SACTU was becoming popular - then they jailed the leaders, banned them and all sorts of things and so on, and it could not function inside the country - that is why it had to come outside the country to develop there, SACTU.

J.F. Did you have a executive position in SACTU?

D.T. I was banned at the time, I couldn't - even at the conference I was not there (?) because I was not allowed to attend any public meetings, any public conferences at the time, so - but underground we formed the (?) - we used to meet at night, you know, and - you know, made all the arrangements how it should be formed and so on, and then those who were not banned, you know, they continued with the work.

J.F. Did you feel that - you nearly were elected the SG of the ANC in 1949, and then Sisulu got the position.

D.T. By one vote.

J.F. Why do you think that was?

D.T. Well, it was his luck, I think.

- J.F. Do you think it had anything to do with the fact that you were CP - do you think there was prejudice?
- D.T. Maybe - maybe, I don't know, but I - I thought I had mobilised very well, you know, for my 30 (?) days (from my treasury days) (?) - I thought I'd mobilised very well, but seems to me the other forces, you know, were up by one vote - did you know that - that I missed it by one vote?
- J.F. I just knew it was narrow - I didn't know it was by one vote.
- D.T. What - what have you got there in your....
- J.F. Just narrowly defeated.
- D.T. No, by one vote.
- J.F. I'm just wondering if you found that there was prejudice against you being CP, or whether ANC members accepted CP as members but didn't want them to hold office - just what that experience was of - if - J.B. Marks, for example, was a leader, but him being CP there were some ANC people who didn't want him holding office - was that a handicap for you or did you have to just let people see that you were O.K. despite being CP?
- D.T. Personally I don't think it had anything to do with the ques - the fact that I was in the CP - I don't think it had anything to do with it - it's just that that man was lucky, he - he won the vote by one - he - he - he got - I lost it by one vote.
- J.F. But aside from that election, just generally in the....
- D.T. Personally I mean personal contact was - has always been as usual - there was no animosity whatsoever.
- J.F. But I mean, for example, with J.B. Marks and with others, did you think there were some ANC members who accepted the CP as members but didn't want them to hold office?
- D.T. Well, there was a bit of prejudice there - they felt that - because they used to say - they used to say a lot about foreign ideology, and we didn't take much notice of that - we felt that it's a question of development, you know - they always used to say, you know, foreign ideo - for instance, when J.B. got up to speak at the platform, then the crowd would say, in a conference : Moscow, Moscow, (Laugh) Moscow and - and things of that nature - that of course, well, we thought it's all in - it's - there was no animosity about it, but they were just mocking him that he's a Moscow man - he didn't bother (?) so much - it's not something that we can write about.
- J.F. Because there were attempts to challenge Marks's election to ANC Transvaal president in 1950 - do you think that that was more of the liberal African nationalist view, that they didn't want him?
- D.T. No, those were reactionaries, you know, actually reactionaries of the ANC and those who didn't want J.B. to come in as president - those were actually reactionaries - reactionary - because I mean all the way - I mean in all organisations surely you must know there are reactionaries - people are very reactionary - and in our country it's more so, all the more so because of this racial question - racial question, you know, clouds, you know, the real things that have to be done - the thinking, too, becomes clouded.

J.F. Do you think that your position in your experience was different from a white CP member, or an Indian or a Coloured CP member - I'm just interested to know - the CP in South Africa did start with white working class and there was the change - there was the understanding of the native republic, as it was called then, and I understand the history, but I've never - I've rarely interviewed someone who was an African CP member who happened to be African and happened to be CP, and I wonder if it was more of a difficult road because of the fact that there were Africans who were so pro-nationalist who might have thought why are you mixing with these whites, and why are you listening to lectures about the Soviet Union - I'm just wondering in terms of your experience if you think it was different - did you ever speak to someone like Bunting and feel that his experience was different because he was white, because maybe there was less prejudice in some ways.

D.T. I spoke to quite - I mean to a lot of white communists in the past before I even joined - I mean I used to - they used to invite me to their houses, they used to invite me to parties, you know, and so on, and in the course of our activities there we used to sit down and discuss, you know, the situation and so on - but I don't want to - to praise myself but I - I've never had an instinct of, you know, anti-whitism - I've never had it in my life up till (?) - but I think that is because, you know, in my home my father used to be visited by white ministers and so on and - and of course at the time then I - I thought, well, it's - it's just, you know, things of the - of the clergymen and so on.

But then I - I felt that if - if my father could speak to white clergymen and so on, then the issue is not the white man - the issue is, you know, what - what life we want in our country and so - what type of country we want - that has always been uppermost in my mind - and when I met some of these people, Bunting and so on, I really felt that they were people who were fighting for a new world, and I have always thought of myself being one of them one day - be part of those people who are fighting for a new world - I've always thought of that, but I thought I should take time.

I should study and I - I should make sure that when I take a step I - I am not going to regret for what I've done - and that is why I was studying, you know, in - in - in - and doing so, but - but I found I was acceptable (?) - I found that I was acceptable (?)

J.F. I was also asking like, for example, Bunting - his father was in the CP - there was a history where the - perhaps - did you ever think that it was easier or more natural for whites or Indians to be involved in the CP - for example, if you were in Durban in the '40s there was Dadoo and there were so many Indians - if you were an Indian person who had taken that road - I don't know if Indians would have shouted Moscow at a meeting, even in a joking way, because - I'm just wondering if you think there's - I won't belabour the point but if you think there was anything that made it a bit more of a difficult road for someone like Kotane or Marks - being African in that early time and trying to be CP?

D.T. The interesting thing about it is that despite the fact that that they were (?) members of CP, when it came to voting, you know, for members of the national executive, they were voted for by some of these people, even those who were saying Moscow, Moscow voted for them - of course it was always a, you know, secret ballot, and one doesn't know how so and so and so vote (?) but the fact that they were accepted and they got their votes, you know, on the (.....) it shows that as persons people felt that they were honest, except that of their ideology, but as persons, as - as personal people, you know, they felt that they were - you know, they - they meant to fight against the - against the evils of South Africa.

D.T. They were convinced about that, except they - they only wanted them to throw away this ideology - I - I don't know - I don't know whether I'm - I - I'm successfully putting my - my - my point home.

J.F. No, I understand that - let me....

D.T. You see, people can call you all sorts of things but still vote for you - they can still vote for you, and having called you so many things they still vote for you, because they think that you are an honest man, you work for the movement, because they judge you by your activities in the movement, what - although they know that you are a CP member they said : What - what have you done and - and some of us, you know, had put all our life into the struggles of the people, you know.

We used to go to their homes in the evening - sometimes we even go and speak about quarrels in the - in the families and so on - when people are quarrelling, and you start reconciling them and things of that nature, you know - people think well, he's a good man.

J.F. You were on the joint planning council of 1951 for the defiance campaign?

D.T. Yes.

J.F. Was that mainly Africans or only Africans?

D.T. What?

J.F. Defiance campaign?

D.T. No, it was for everybody, white, black - white and black - all - all - all I mean races were - were allowed to, you know, go into the defiance campaign - in fact they did come - the whites came and - and, you know, they - some whites came and defied - Indians came in and defied, you know - quite a number of people came to defy.

J.F. And tell me, in terms of people's perspective there were those who had the African nationalist view - did you ever remember trying to speak to them - if somebody had said to you in the '40s and '50s : Look, this is Africa - African nationalism is what we support - how did you counter that - they weren't being hostile in saying communism was a foreign ideology, but they just very innocently said : Well, why aren't you just simply a national....

D.T. No, some of them used to put it in their conferences, you know - foreign ideology, they used to put it, you know, when - when there's a motion that is being debated for, you know, they used to put it - well, this is foreign ideology, we - we are nationalists here and these - these people took away our land, you know - that was the type of approach and that - well (?) - then we - we would get up, you know, and say : No, that is not the issue, we - you can't address the issue to the question of racialism because then you miss the whole thing - the issue is this and that and that and that - and in that way we are able to sway the people, you know.

Those who were intelligent enough to understand, sway the people that first of all we say : You can't take the white man and throw him into the sea, he has - he has come to stay in South Africa, he was born in South Africa, and you can't chase him away - he's not - they are not colonialists at that time who - who....

J.F. They're not what?

- D.T. Colonialists of that type (?) where they can be - take and say (?) go back to your land in England and so on - these are not that type of colonialists - they will stay with them - they were born here, some of them, and we will have to stay with them here - people got to understand it - even today, you know, if you talk to people that, well, we think the white people should go when we take our independence, they smile, they laugh at you - they think that you must be mad.
- J.F. But didn't Kotane make a famous statement where he said : I'm a nationalist first....
- D.T. First, and then, ja....
- J.F. and then a communist.
- D.T. I think he was angry - angry - he must - you know, there was a time when - you see, to be frank with you, you go into these meetings as an African, and you go into - especially in the CP - people who are highly educated - some of them are professors there - this and that and that and that - and your level is not their level, you know - when they - when you talk to them and so on - and then Kotane used to have a feeling that well, everything that he says they have suppressed because they think he's not highly educated, you see, and then of course in anger he would say : Well, first of all I'm an African and so on.
- J.F. Who was suppressed, the white CP people?
- D.T. No, I - I'm saying so is that, you know, he had that weakness of thinking that if they oppose a proposition that he has put forward they are - they've opposed it because he's an African.
- J.F. If the white CP would oppose?
- D.T. Ja, because, you know, he had that - I don't know how to put it in English, you know, the - something that haunted him in his mind as far as the intellectual capacity is concerned - he was very much worried by that, you see, because he's a man - you know his history - he came there, he didn't know how to read and write - he attended CP school - they taught him how to read and write, they taught him English, they taught him this and that and they taught (?) him this and that and that - he attended night school until finally he became secretary of the - of the Communist Party.
- And you can see a man who (.....) from that time - I mean from that level becoming the future secretary of the Communist Party - I think he still had those illusions, you know, of thinking that people don't respect him because he - I don't know - perhaps I - it's too much of a speculation saying (?) that (Laugh)
- J.F. Did you never have that - you never....
- D.T. No....
- J.F. felt the whites were - had some lingering racism that they thought African was....
- D.T. No, I think it's because I was too stubborn and - I was too stubborn and, you know, when I - I put my point of view I didn't care a damn what - who the next man is and what he's going to say - I never changed my views.

D.T. Each time I've put forward my proposition, whether people can tear it into pieces, I never change my views - when it comes to a vote I vote for it - now some people don't do that, you see - they re - they retreat - once you see that no, the - the whole - the whole thing - packet (?) is against him, then he retreats, and I never used to retreat - I used to tell them that : Well, even if I'm defeated, I'll know that it's not the last time that I'm being defeated - I'm still going to be defeated again - so some people were very, very much - they felt that I - I used to fight for my point of view, and never retreated even when I was defeated, and that goes a long way, you know - it goes a long way - you can't be compromising with people all the time.

J.F. But you didn't agree with Kotane that you would be a nationalist first and a communist second - would you never be - say you're not a nationalist?

D.T. We used to fight, you know - we used to fight with Kotane, and then he used to tell me that : Look, this is how I feel about it, and you don't come and tell me and teach me what to say - and then I gave up.

J.F. So for you you would never say : I'm a nationalist?

D.T. No, no, it never came into my mind.

J.F. Do you think nationalism is - what is your objection to nationalism?

D.T. Now look, to be frank to you, in the first place I had this background of being the son of a clergyman, and the principles of - of - of religion is that we are all, you know, children of God - we are all equal in the high - in the eye - in the eyes of God - and it doesn't matter whether a person is white or black or he's this and that, they're all children of God and so we are equal insofar as life is concerned - that of course was the approach, you know, of - of religious people, but it had some meaning, you know, with me - I - I felt that it had some meaning that we are all children of God and so on.

Like K.K. used to always say that - we are all children of God and so on - it had some meaning in me - but then I felt, you know, in a later - at a later stage I felt that it has some meaning but it's unscientific - you - you must go very deeper into it and - and understand what it means - if you say we are all the same, we are son of God, we are equal in - religiously we are equal and so on, it's not enough - you must - you must go into the scientific approach of it - then you will find out, you'll be able to - to - to get exactly what it means to be equal in the - in the eyes of - of life.

END OF SIDE ONE.

J.F. and that meant that you couldn't accept nationalism?

D.T. No, I couldn't accept it, no, because it - it was - to me it was not just nationalism, it was really the question of racialism, because the - the South African politics, you know, you - it's not so much nationalism, it's - it's racialism.

D.T. And once you start - you get up and say : I don't want the whites, I don't want the Indians - it's not nationalism, it's racialism, and I didn't want to go to that level of racialism - I didn't want to go to that level - I felt that no, they - you see - look, the world is changing, the outlook of people is changing today - now if - if - if you - if - if I can get up today and say : No, I don't think I want the white people to work with me - I think people will laugh at me - they'll think that I - I'm backward - I don't know what I'm talking about, because the world has changed.

You look what is happening today in South Africa, to show you that the world is changing, and even the outlook of people has changed - look what is happening - young people age of 15, 14 throwing stones and so on, and they know why they are throwing those stones because their outlook has changed completely from what they were in the past - so how can anybody, you know, think that I don't want Indians, I don't want whites, I don't want - it really shows that you are not yet developed - that's what it means, and I didn't want to go to that extent with that background of - of - religion of background that we are all the children of God, that background - it never impressed me but I thought it had - there was some substance in it, even though it was misdirected.

J.F. That's quite a good answer - I think it's very helpful.

D.T. You think so - perhaps I - didn't I go out of the way to say irrelevant things?

J.F. No - I just wanted to ask a bit more on theory - do you think that - I'm asking all these questions about non-racialism - do you think that non-racialism is an important topic - do you think it's a central topic or more of a peripheral topic - do you think that it's something that's worth probing into - this whole - if I say non-racialism, I'd like to ask you about it, do you think ag, but that's not really central or do you think yes, that's central to the ANC's ideology - how do you feel about non-racialism?

D.T. Well, I don't know, you see - my - my concept of non-racialism is quite different from what people think about - people think about non-racialism and racialism as being, you know, an issue between, as we call it in South Africa, white and black and so on, but that is not my approach - my approach is that this whole thing means, you know, colonial oppression of people - it means a question of profits - exploitation of those who are - who are not privileged in the country, and that brings about that whole question of non-racialism and racialism and so on.

The real question there is profit - profit motive - exploitation of - of cheap labour - that's what it means - it's not a question of colour - it's nothing to do with colour - it is the motive, you know, the economic motive of it which one should take into account - once you understand that then the question of - people talk about racism and so on, it doesn't - I'm not so much bothered about it, I'm bothered about the motive of it.

J.F. So you think that non-racialism fits into the internal colonialism thesis?

D.T. Yes, yes, that's where it starts from.

J.F. Explain that a bit?

D.T. I say that's where it starts from - it - it starts from the - shall I put it now - colonialism - what was the motive of colonialism, colonising other people - it was to exploit them, isn't it, to - to - to make them - you take the slavery, the - what was the motive of slavery in the past - ancient history - what was the question of slavery - what was the motive of taking Indians or Chinese in - to come and work in South Africa historically - it was the profit motive bringing them there and so on.

It was not a question of well, they are - they have come to work there because they are Chinese and so on - they're not whites and so on - it was a question of profit - they had - they knew their jobs - they knew certain occupations and so on which they could do, and then they knew that when they came here they were going to be exploited - they knew that I mean here the people - I mean in South Africa they're going to be exploited - they are not going to get the same wage that they could get in - in their homes where they are, but as far as South Africa was concerned the - the profit motive, you know, was - was quite accepted, you know, in South Africa that they - they would get profit out of these people and so on.

So on it went on - so on it went on and so on - you take today the question of the mineworkers in South Africa - now the wine - mine - the mineworkers in South Africa, the black mineworkers have always - they were not allowed to do skilled work in South Africa (?) all these years (.....) until, you know, they were recognised by law and they could have their own trade union - they could bargain with employers and so on - then they started recognising them - they started feeling that well, you have got to pay a man for what he is worth - not because his colour is this and that - they couldn't do otherwise because they - they couldn't do without that labour - it had to be - that labour had to be there.

Now a new element has come into it - that element is that the idea of people coming from the Transkai, from all over - they leave their family there and come and work on the mines - must be abolished - if you want labour from any country people should come with their families and so on - they can't be going in and out, backwards and forwards, you know, to see their families in the Transkai - they're working in the gold mines in South Africa and so on.

COSATU says now that - that - that process must be completely destroyed - if you take a man you take him with his families in South Africa, and so there's no travelling, you know, in and out and so on - so these are changes which some people never thought they would come about, you know - there's a (?) - how shall I put it now - transformations in the laws of the - in South Africa - the labour laws of the South Africa never wanted a person, you know, to come and stay there with his family and so - especially black ones, you know.

But today they have no alternative - they either accept that - that position that was put by the union, or do without labour, without black labour, and which they can't - they can't do without black labour - that is one thing they cannot do - in the first place there isn't sufficient people in South Africa, black people, who are prepared to go to the mines - they're not prepared to go there - South African blacks, you know, most of them are urbanised, and they don't want to go to the mines, you know - they want skilled work and so on.

D.T. But if there can be provision in South Africa where Africans are allowed to do skilled works, I think even in South Africa they'll get quite a lot of labour to go to the mines because they'll be allowed to do skilled works - but at the moment, you see, South Africans in South Africa are not - don't want to go to the mines because they are not allowed to do skilled works - they say (?) to hell with you - we are not going there if we are not allowed to do skilled work - because skilled work, as you know, in South Africa is preserved for - for whites only - Africans are not allowed to do skilled work.

But the openings, you know - there is transformation - there is a change, you know, in the - in the laws, and there's a change in the outlook of people - even the mines are beginning to see that just now there will come a time when they will not get labour from other countries - at the moment they get labour from Swaziland, Botswana and so on and - but there will come a time when that labour will come to a standstill, and they will have to rely on labour in South Africa, but that labour will not be able to give them satisfactory work unless it is allowed to do skilled work - I hope I'm - I'm going out of - I can say I'm going out of the way now (Laugh)

J.F. Let me - I'm interested in - initially what you said I think was answering my question is the theory of non-racialism and how it relates to the ANC's ideology - the idea - for example, is there such a thing as a four nations thesis?

D.T. Four what?

J.F. Four nations - that you have Indians, Coloureds, Africans and whites?

D.T. No.

J.F. Because when the Transvaal Indian Congress was revived in 1981, '82, then you'd have articles written by people in South Africa saying: We oppose the four nations thesis - you mustn't have a separate organisation of TIC or NIC....

D.T. I - I wouldn't call it four nations - I think it - it's four racial groups, not nations at all - a nation is a different thing altogether - you know, to build up a nation you - you - if you talk of a nation you are talking of something very, very different.

J.F. I guess what it is is the ANC says it's non-racial - then why do you have a special organisation for Indians called the NIC or the TIC - why do you have a special organisation of Coloureds - why do you have a special organisation for whites like JODAC....

D.T. In the past.

J.F. Even now in the present you have the NIC, you have JODAC - from Morogoro until 1985 there were no-one but Africans on the NEC, so I'm saying how do you explain to me how does that square with non-racialism?

D.T. Well, racialism has always been there insofar as....

J.F. With non-racialism?

D.T. Non, ja, non - it has always been there - even amongst our people it has always been there....

J.F. Which....

D.T. Racialism - Africans - we've (?) some Indians who feel they can't work with Africans and Africans thinking that they can't work with Indians (.....) - it has always been there - but it's a matter of - of education, it's a matter of political development that you must teach people that this does not work at all - it doesn't help them in any way - that is what people have got to be taught about - they are wasting their time, you know - you are wasting - you think I'm going to waste my time about racialism, talking about whites - that I don't want whites, I don't want Indians - I'm wasting my time, because it means I - I'm far behind history - history is on the march and nobody can stop it.

Even the whites in South Africa know that the question of apartheid segregation has really come to an end - they know that - Pieter Botha - is it the one - minister of - of foreign affairs....

J.F. Pik.

D.T. Ja, he said : Well, as far as I'm concerned I - I think we cannot discuss the matter - I mean the - the idea that one day there'll be a black person (.....) in this country - he said so - I know they - they pulled him up for that, but I think he was saying - he was saying exactly what is going to happen in the South Africa, exactly what is going to happen.

J.F. But if you believe that why do you support the Natal Indian Congress or the white Jodac organisations today - why did - why up until 1985 were there only Africans on the ANC NEC?

D.T. Well, the his - - there - there has been prejudice in the past, you know - there has been prejudice in the past, and this prejudice was mostly done by the - when it comes to Indians the people in Natal - Natal Indians have been very reactionary in the past, very, very reactionary, and it took some time, you know, to educate, you know, the Indians in Natal to accept Africans - for instance, you know, when they - when a Natal man, Indian man, you know, got enough with the bla (?) - let me not say this thing with this - let me not talk about these things.

When a Natal man got in love with a black woman there in Natal Indian (?) - it's not because they love them, just to sleep with them - that's all they did - that's why at one time there was a big row in Natal - do you remember that history when people were fighting the - the Zulus....

J.F. In '49?

D.T. Ja, they were fighting them - that thing, you know, took some time, you know, before it waned away - it took some time, because it even permeated into the trade unions, you know - permeated into the organisation and so on - there're still people who are saying that : But why the hell should we have Indians, you know, in the ANC and so on - and the - the Indians themselves were say : Why should we have Africans in the Indian Congress and so on.

Then we felt that well, as a development we shouldn't force it, because people are not yet developed - they are not sufficiently developed to understand where we are drifting to, what our direction is - the best thing is to build up an alliance, you know - in that alliance we have Indians, Coloureds, Indians and - in an alliance.

D.T. And it is through that alliance that now we are going to be able to educate the people and make them understand that it's not the question of because this one is an Indian, this one is an African - it's the question of we are all, you know, exploited in the same way - so that the alliance, I think, has done a lot of work - the alliance has done a lot of work, because it is because of the alliance that today we have the UDF.

What is going on outside here in exile it - it must not be - it must not be - it must not your - by your meter, you know - don't - don't take it as being the guideline - you must - you must actually, you know, take what is going on inside the country - that is where the - the core is, you know, of our - of our problems.

J.F. But why - just the thing about the NEC - why did it - why were there only in 1985 that Indians and Coloureds and whites were on the NEC - why was it only....

D.T. Because for years, you know, members of the - of the NEC, black members of the ANC, they resisted it - they resisted it, and we felt that we could not throw them out of the ANC because they are resisting it - what we should do is do political work on them, and this, you know, has been going on and we're harping this thing and harping this thing, and in 1975 it was accepted.

J.F. So you were one who was pushing....

D.T. Yes, yes, I pushed it - I pushed it - how do you know that?

J.F. I'm asking....

D.T. (Laugh) I pushed it, yes - I pushed it - you know, I - before we had the conference we had a meeting here in - here in Lusaka - a big meeting, you know, of all the delegates who were going to - the conference was in Kabwe - you know Kabwe - that's where we had the conference - so we had a meeting of ANC men here who were going to the conference and so on, and this was going to be the big issue, the issue of members of other races becoming members of the NEC and so on.

So we went to a meeting, you know, and then I was asked by Tambo to address that meeting, and I must be able, you know, to put the first shot in my speech about what is likely to happen there in order to allow Indians and Coloureds and white to come into the meeting - then my theme at the meeting was : Look, we say we don't want apartheid - we say we don't want the ideology of apartheid of separation, segregation of people in South Africa - we want to be one thing - should be equal before the law and before anything else that is being done for the people there - we must (.....) - why must we have segregation and - and apartheid in our movement, and yet we don't want it in South Africa - it's meaningless.

If you don't want apartheid then you must accept the - the - the idea that there are going to be Indians and whites who are going to be members of the NEC, and the only way if - if you don't want them, you must vote against them - vote against them if you don't want them - but the idea - the - the - the - the whole concept is that we - we are not going to tell the world that we don't want apartheid in South Africa and yet we have got apartheid in our movement - it makes - it makes it nonsense.

- D.T. And some of them understood it - they carried - and when we went to the conference they said : No, I think we are going to follow that line that you put forward.
- J.F. And what about in a future South Africa - if everything is totally non-racial, do you worry that because - maybe a little bit of that fear of Kotane's - because Africans have been disadvantaged, because working class people have been disadvantaged, that you might still have a bit of domination of upper class Africans and whites and Coloureds and Asians - do you think there would be an argument for what they call in the West affirmative action - for a special effort to say : O.K., this is the....
- D.T. No....
- J.F. this is the merit system - put extra African working class people in?
- D.T. No - no, history is far away from that now today - look, assume (?) that we go to South Africa and we are told that : No, chaps you can take independence now of South Africa, or ANC can take over - we haven't got the expertise to run that country - we haven't got them - we can't run those mines - in other words, we'll be unprepared for it, so that you can see that our stage will not be what it is with other people - it will mean we'll still have to work with the white people there in South Africa, those who - the expertise - those who know the - the skilled workers and so on.

We won't have sufficient men out of the people who have trained here to run those mines, to run the economy of the country - we won't have them, so we'll still have to work with those people - with the whites and so on until such time as they get educated, they get politicised and we are all - our people too get politicised, and then build up a - a harmony, and get our people trained and so on and so forth - that is our dilemma now - what will happen if they say : All right, take over - where are we going to find the expertise to do the work - we haven't got sufficient of them.

Well, perhaps one would say : Well, we'll get some inside the country - but inside the country there's a question of colour bar - they're not allowed to go into skilled trades and so on, so even those who - who have the knowledge and the - it's the knowledge of, you know, job on the - you know, a knowledge on the job, but not actually trained, you know, in institutions and so on - we don't want to talk about those things, but that is our - our problem, and it has not been - - it's not only our problem - it has been the problem of Zimbabwe, it has been the problem of all these countries problems here when they got independence - they didn't have expertise to run the country.

You see our problem - so we have to address ourselves to such problems and see how to solve them.

- J.F. And what about the - I understand the expertise would be lacking, but what about ensuring working class hegemony - African working class domination after - during and after the struggle - will there be an effort to again have - would it be purely merit, or would there be an effort to give extra training and give an extra push to African working class people so that you would ensure that you don't have a society that's been created that has a domination of these elements that have had privilege either because they're upper class Africans or because they're white or Coloured or Indian.

- J.F. Do you think it's purely a system where there'll be total non-racialism - it doesn't matter what colour you are....
- D.T. You can't - you can't avoid that....
- J.F. You can't avoid....
- D.T. That there'll be a - a - a bit of a mixture, you know - bit of a mixture there - in fact if we - if we take over I think we'll - for some time we'll have to allow mixed economy - we'll have to allow mixed economy for some time until we are ready for - for what we want to do - but I - I - I don't see our position being Zambia, like where they got independent and so on - our position is quite different - we are staying with those people there - they're not colonialists - they haven't got homes outside South Africa - they are going to stay with us - so you can see it - it's a different complexion altogether.
- It's not parallel with what is happening in - in Zimbabwe, in what not and so on - those people had to leave - the - the whites had to leave here and go back home and so on - you don't expect those whites in South Africa to go - where to - where will they go to.
- J.F. I'm not saying that there won't be Coloured and Indian and white involvement - there're already whites and Coloureds and Indians on the NEC, so obviously the whites in South Africa will stay and the Coloureds and Indians, but I'm saying how will you ensure the working class interests are represented in a future South Africa, when you need a mixed economy, you need to have people with skills continue - how will that class structure be built so that you have African working class people ultimately leading the country - if you say non-racialism, because if you say if - in fact for whites in South Africa the concept of non-racialism they should understand it as their protection, because if there's a non-racial position you don't kick out Gavin Raleigh (?) because he's white - you don't kick out the Afrikaner who is the particular position in the mine because he's white if no-one else can blast besides him - if in fact there're 25 blacks who've been blasting without permits that's another story, but I'm saying non-racialism in effect protects the whites, but I'm saying do you think it could actually mean that you'd have to say we're non-racial but we give an extra push to help blacks ahead, like in the US - you could be turned down for a job if you're a white man because there's a quota for black women, and whites get quite upset about it but then they say they understand historically why that's happening - not so much under Reagan, but especially in the early '70s and it's called affirmative action, and if you were a black woman you really had more of a chance suddenly because there was a quota system - do you think there ought to be such a quota system in South Africa or do you think you'd say : No, we fought too long for non-racialism, we can't have that - or would you say : No, such a quota would help working class Africans?
- D.T. Well, I don't know, we - I must tell you we are in difficulties - you know, when - when Zimbabwe went to Lancaster House they had no draft constitution of what type of Zimbabwe they wanted - they had to bargain on the draft constitution prepared by the English people - they had to bargain on that - they had no - they had no clue, they had no idea of what direction, what kind of country they are - they want to go and build, nothing - they had to depend on that.

D.T. And of course the - the - the - the English people were prepared, you know, to - to give it away I mean as long as - because as Mac-Millan put it, you know, it was the - the - the - how did he put it again - the winds of - of - of change, you know, had come and they felt that they had come, had to be done - South Africa feels that the - the - the winds of change has not yet come in South Africa and so on, so it will be - it will take some time before, I think, they'll yield to it.

But you see, what we have done now is we have got a panel of lawyers, students who came here - some of them have been practicing as lawyers, some of them have just come back from school and so on - now we want them to work on the future constitution of South Africa, our constitution and so on - and we don't want to go to South Africa when they say : Well, let's come and find out now what type of South Africa do you want - then we say : No, we have nothing, going to make our own - we must have our own draft constitution to a future South Africa - and we have gone quite a long way with it, you know.

We have sent a number of our chaps, you know, to Czechoslovakia, some of them to - to GDR - some of them are now in London and so on to - to find out exactly what type of constitution will meet a future South Africa, with all the problems that we have there, and they've done a marvellous job - they've really done a marvellous job - they are back now - they went to Germany, they went to Czechoslovakia, they went to Bulgaria, they went to - they've done a good job.

So that part of it I think we can take after we - we can take - we can look after that one - take care of that one, question of a future South Africa - what type of future South Africa, that we can - but then the problem, as I say, is still this question of expertise, you know, jobs and trained people, you know, skilled jobs and so on, skilled trades - that is still our problem.

Well, it has nothing to do with your book, I think, this part of it - it's just for your information.

J.F. The only thing it has to do with is this idea of is non-racialism almost sacred or can it be adapted - does - the non-racialism, is it - I guess maybe let me take it away from what I've just said - I'm trying to understand for you whether you think all this discussion about non-racialism is a aspect, just one thing that is one nice part of the struggle, or whether you think it's deeply rooted in the ideologies (Interruption)

D.T. We have always said South Africa is a country of - a colonial country of a special type - it is a colonial country of a special type because the oppressor and the oppressed are in the same country - it - it's not the type of colonial country where the colonialists will soon leave, you know, and the - the owners of the country take over the - the country, so in that - in that - under such circumstances - in such circumstances our work will be easier in South Africa if we - if - if - let's say the ANC takes over as an example, it will be easier because we are going to work with the same people, but we are going to mould their outlook when we work with them, completely mould their outlook to make them feel that South Africa is our country, all of us, because that is one thing they don't want to - to accept.

That's why they built up the bantustans, because they say Africa - South Africa is - belongs to the white people - all the blacks must go to the bantustans, go and stay there and have their own homelands and so on.

D.T. And we want to destroy that idea that African, the black people belong to - to the bantustans, those are their homelands - if we can destroy that and dismantle that their outlook will also change, you know - the outlook will change - they will feel that now we have got to work together - whether they like it or not they've got to work together - because that idea which Verwoerd had of the homelands is completely - it's out of order completely, and they have come - even in parliament they have gone - they feel that they are wasting money there with the homelands because they don't get anything - they have been pumping money into the homelands, but they get no returns whatsoever, so what is - what is the point now.

Now the question is if we take over what are we going to do with the homelands - it's their babies, not our baby - we are going to dismantle them and dismantle the homelands too - now - you see, to eradicate racialism, it's not a job that can be done in ten months or in - or in two years and so on, to eradicate it - it - it - you are dealing with human beings - you are dealing with human beings who have different, you know, concepts about life, and in order to eradicate that concept you must be able to educate them, and be steady and be patient to educate them.

I suppose they are going to educate us too - the expertise will teach us how to work, how to run the mines, and we are also going to teach them how to - to - to forget about racialism - so it will be a task, you know, of transformation of both sides - I don't know if I'm putting my point very well - it may be I - I'm off the mark.

J.F. I guess maybe I could ask you to clarify how you're saying that the colonialism of a special type relates to non-racialism - the theory of colonialism of a special type - does non-racialism have bearing on it - is it central to it, is it part of it - I'm just trying to ask you, if I say this concept, non-racialism, do you think of it as something that is integral to your ideological understanding or do you think maybe it's not that important, or do you just see it as one aspect - I'm trying to ask you to integrate it theoretically.

D.T. Well, it's a development of history - you take tribalism - tribalism it - it - it's a curse, you know, that is being upheld by certain people, that there should be tribal, you know, institutions and so on, and in the same way as you - you - you go to the whites and you find that the Jews and the Afrikaaners and the English people in South Africa and so on, some of them feel that we can't have anything to do with the Afrikaaners, the English men and so on and so forth - I think that is part of racialism, isn't it, in the - in a sense.

I don't know whether it is the type of racialism that you could say cannot be eradicated - is that what you have in mind?

J.F. No, I'm not saying it can't be - I think it has to be - that's the future - that's what the struggle is about.

D.T. But you think it will take some time?

J.F. Well, I'm saying (.....) some theories that would say you have to integrate non-racialism with an aspect of racism in reverse, that the only way you're going to change the running of the mines so that the majority of people have control is if you have special programmes where you don't even allow any more of these young Afrikaans boys who came from school and have these cushy jobs - you actually push Africans in there, and if a Coloured guy comes along you actually say : No, we have to develop the African working class to be managers of the mines - so in fact you discriminate against whites and Coloureds and Indians - not totally.

J.F. You're not kicking them out, but you would expect that even people who are well trained whites from Wits would have to take a bit of a back seat, would have to learn not to dominate - some of the stuff that the BC people said in the '60s and '70s, something that sounds like Moses Kotane was saying - but it sounds like your view is a more pure non-racialism where you chafe a bit at the idea that there would be racism used as a kind of a tactic - I'm just wondering what that - how you would see the future?

D.T. Well, I - I - I appreciate the fact that you can see that we - we have qui - it's going to be a lot of problems we are going to have in South Africa - I appreciate the fact that you can see the problems - going to have plenty of them, but it'll want patience, it will want education, it will want political education - it will be - it will take some time before, you know, we can build up a new nation in South Africa, because it will really mean now we are going to build a new nation, which was unheard of in the past - we'll have to do it - it's a question of how we are going to do it.

It's the question of how we are going to take over that country - are we going to take over that country by sitting together at a - at a round table conference and all of us, you know, trying to find out the type of South Africa that we want to build, or are we going to take over that country by means of military revolution - we don't know what's going to happen - we don't know - we know that they - they're highly, you know armed - that we know, but revolution has got nothing to do with that, whether you are highly armed, because as soon as you lose (lose) the people - as soon as you cannot control the people, then even your arms don't mean anything - if you can no longer control the people.

That's what happened in Russia - they could no longer control the people - the Czar was trying to hold on, but the people were no longer interested - they were ungovernable, and that is what is likely to happen in South Africa - some people say : Oh, South Africa is well armed, you know, you'll have a lot of difficulties - but you know, you can have so much guns, weapons, but if you can't rule the people, if people are ungovernable, then economically you don't move at all, you know, you don't move - so I want you to look at all those aspects, you know, of - of what our life is going to be - there will come a time when it'll - it's no longer the question of racialism or what, but it's the question of how do we stay together - how are we going to remain in South Africa, all of us, white and black, and work together as a new nation, because at the moment they say we are not a nation - they say nation is the white people, we are not a nation - we are just tribal things, you know - we are not nat - we are not part of the South African nation.

Now all those things we'll have to - to fight against - anyway I suppose I'm - I seem to be saying things that are outside the scope of your book.

J.F. I guess there are two areas - let me come back to one thing very concrete I didn't - we kind of stopped in 1963 or '62 when - when exactly did you leave the country and can you just tell me about that, because I didn't take you from 1960 to 1987, just in your life history?

D.T. Well, in 1963 - was it '62 or '63 - '62 I came into Botswana - I was told to leave the country when - is it '63 or '62?

J.F. Placed under house arrest in '63 - you were put under house arrest in '63.

- D.T. Yes, house arrested - and when was I allowed to - to leave the country?
- J.F. I guess the same year.
- D.T. You see it?
- J.F. It just says placed under house arrest in '63 - he was sent out of the country by the party - so you left in '63 and went to Botswana?
- D.T. Went to Botswana.
- J.F. And how long did you stay there?
- D.T. Quite for some time - I left Botswana in 19 - permanently I left Botswana in 1980, I think.
- J.F. And came here?
- D.T. Ja - in '70 or '79 I came here - I was told to - to leave Botswana and come here - in the past I was told that I was hold - I must hold on in Botswana because it was a transit - a transit of people coming here and a transit of people going into the country, and I was told to hang on there - then after some time I was told to leave Botswana and come over here, so I had to do that and so on and - and then of course things, you know, the position came changed and from time to time - at onetime, you know, Botswana was bombed, you know, by the - by the enemies and so on and so forth, and it made - it brought about comp - complete, you know, radical changes of our stay in Botswana, so I was told to come up to headquarters and so on in Lusaka.
- J.F. In 1980?
- D.T. Ja, was told to come here.
- J.F. And from the '60s through 1980 what position did you hold - were you on....
- D.T. I was a member of the national executive, and I was a member of the - the central committee of the - of the Communist Party.
- J.F. And SACTU - were you in....
- D.T. I was also a member of the - of SACTU - I was in the leadership of SACTU.
- J.F. In what position?
- D.T. Well, I didn't have position - I was just a member of the executive in SACTU.
- J.F. And then it was in 1987 that you became chairman of the party?
- D.T. Ja, this year.
- J.F. And before that you had been on the executive....
- D.T. I had been on the politburo of the party.
- J.F. I guess that's the other - the other thing I wanted to ask was if you could say something about the CP in South Africa today and the future goals.

- J.F. I understand the Freedom Charter is not a socialist document, but how - can you just say something about how you envision the future political situation in South Africa - what kind of economic system there'll be - do you think there'll be a period of a mixed economy?
- D.T. It will have to be a mixed economy - it can't be otherwise - it depends on who takes over - it depends on who - if - if - if the ANC takes over it will have to be a mixed economy - even if it is the party, the Communist Party that takes over, it - it cannot jump into socialism immediately - it'll have to be a mixed, you know economy, because of the conditions - conditions under which we live in South Africa - more so that there won't be whites, you know, leaving the country, except those, you know who will be closing their factories and going as they are trying - as they are doing it now - some of them are shutting down - they are going.
- J.F. And do you see evidence of support for the CP in the country now today already?
- D.T. Where, in South Africa - it's very difficult - we were trying to find out that from Slabbert, you know - he's also confused about it - it - it's question of speculation because we - we seem to think that this man has called the - the elections because he wants a fresh mandate - he want a fresh mandate to continue with the so-called cosmetic reforms in South Africa, and we don't know whether these people will give him that mandate - don't know, but the academics, you know, professors and so on, some of them have resigned, you know, their posts from the - from the party because they want to stand as independents - I don't know whether anybody could make out a pointer out of that action, do you think - where are they going to - are they to stand as - as - as an independent - what does it mean, and when you have no political home.
- J.F. You mean like Morrow (?).

END OF SIDE TWO.

- J.F. rearranging the (.....) - one thing that people say in South Africa today is they don't have a plan - I think they're just - don't you think?
- D.T. Yes, yes, quite so - so we don't know really what is going to happen elections - but I can't see any independents winning - individuals will perhaps win, you know, because of their statutes (?) you know - because of their standing in the country, you know.
- J.F. But in terms of the CP what if someone said today : But the CP is a foreign ideology, there isn't support inside South Africa for the country - how would you answer that - you've talked about how you've answered that in the past, but how would you answer it in today's framework?

D.T. Well, today, you know, the - the - the CP I think is - is highly developed in South Africa - highly developed in the sense that, you see, the - the viable (?) of the trade union movement, the question of COSATU, and the understanding of the working class of what the Communist Party is is - is - is far more higher than it was in the past - as I told you, that the outlook of people has changed, you know - the type of workers we had during our time are completely different from the type of workers you have today.

The type of miners that we had, you know, in the past, you know, in 1948 when we went into this - '46 went to the struggle (?) are not the type of miners that you find today in South Africa - completely different - they know what they are - they are going to - they know their direction - their - their loy - I mean their - their leader was saying the other day here that we think that our direction will be socialism - that's the policy of our mineworkers union and so on - he said so....

J.F. Bahai (?)

D.T. Yes - you see, he - he's talking with confidence because he knows what his people are - you know, what they believe in - he knows very well - so that in itself, you know, is an indication that our people have changed - you talk about the party in South Africa and you say the party can go to hell or something, but they kill you - the party is underground, as you know, and the ANC is underground and so on - it's not easy for people to come out - up and say : No, I'm a member of the party or I'm a member of the ANC - but unban those organisations, then you'll see what will happen - just unban them.

J.F. And what about the models (?) - there's so much anti-Sovietism around, but you do have aside from anti-Soviet you have people in South Africa who say : Whatever the future is on the socio-economic level it won't be exactly the same model as the Soviet Union - it'll be a typically African kind of socialism - do you think that that's correct?

D.T. No, it's nonsense.

J.F. Why?

D.T. I mean - there are no types, you know, of socialism - you don't have socialism - types of socialism - there's only one socialism - either you go into it - you can't - I don't know how to put it - can't put labels on it - you either go for it, and if you go for it you must take the - the - the appropriate steps before you get there, unlike what some people were trying to do, like - let's take a chap like Machel - he came into power there and he immediately thought he could, you know, push socialism - he went even to - to - to bookmakers, you know, fellows who, you know, book repairers and then tried to - to nationalise everything, even small little shops, you know, of people, he tried to nationalise them - as a result his ideas collapsed, because he didn't want to follow the pattern.

The pattern is that you must take these people step by step - step by step - even if it takes you ten years, step by step until they understand what it is all about - so in South Africa I think our task will be easier - our task will be easier because we have politicised the people of South Africa - I am not too sure whether we have sufficiently politicised people who are in the - in the rural areas, you know, the - the peasants and so on - not too sure - but the COSATU fellows are telling us that they are - they are doing that work now, going into the villages.

D.T. And we think that will be a very good task, you know, to be undertaken because, you know, the - the - the villagers and the farmers, you know, the - the so-called peasants, although you don't - we don't want to call them peasants - have been kept in the dark for many, many years - they don't know what is going on - even the - the - the whites, you know, they - the Afrikaaners in the remote, you know, places, farms and, they don't know what is going on in the towns.

Even when they vote - they come and vote, they don't know what they are voting for - I - I still remember one day Dr. Moroka - I don't know if you know him - he took after Xuma, was president of the ANC - he - he was a doctor, medical doctor in Thaba'Nchu - he - he took over as president of the ANC after Xuma - he was telling me one day - I was in Thaba'Nchu - he said there was going to be an election, you know of the whites there - you know, normal election - and then there was a - quite a number of whites who were working for him in Thaba'Nchu - working for him, you know - they respected him very much and he gave them jobs - he had farms, you know, and they were looking after his farms and so on.

So he says he asked these fellows : Now tell me how are you going to vote there - I'm told there's going to be a - are you vote - for what party are you going to vote - and these fellows says : You know, my father was a nationalist, my grandfather was also a nationalist - they voted for the Nationalist Party, and I'm also going to vote for the Nationalist Party - as simple as all that, and that is an indication that the man doesn't know direction - he doesn't know his own direction - his father voted for this and his grandfather for - he's also going to vote for that.

That is likely to be the same thing that is going to happen in this elections of May - people are going to say : Well, my parents used to vote for this, I'm also going - but it will not happen to intellectuals, students - I don't think so - students will have a different outlook - and I know at the moment they rely on the church, the Dutch Reform Church - that's what Piet Botha's relying on, but even the churches today have completely changed, you know - their outlook has changed.

If you listen to Tutu, you know, preaching in church you can see that the - the - how shall I put it - the approach, you know, of - the religious approach of the past has completely changed - it's different - I don't know if you have noticed that - it's completely changed - and by so doing they are also trying to change the outlook of - of - of the members of the church and so on, except that the - some of them were a bit opportunistic, you know - they still want people to believe that before they can be liberated in this world, the church will do that for them.

They still do - they want - some people they're still doing that, you know - they're taking advantage of the ignorance of the people - even the whites - I think there are some whites, you know, who really think that the change will - the church will change the outlook of the world - do you believe in that (Laugh) - well, I think, ja - I'm sorry if I - I have taken much of your time - I didn't know that we'd go so far.

J.F. I've asked you before, but I wonder if you could just give me a statement just - if I say the concept non-racialism - if I say I'm coming, I'm writing a whole book about it, do you think it's an important topic - do you think it's a kind of secondary topic in terms of the ideological considerations in the South African struggle, or do you think it's a central one - could you just give me your -

J.F. I read you my short understanding of non-racialism - I'm just if there's something I could quote from you where you would say : Non-racialism, it's important - it's not important - it means this, it's central or it's peripheral - just something?

D.T. I think you have put the question now very clearly now to me - it - it's no longer clouded, as you put it to me before - it's quite clear - if you talk about non-racialism you are really - you are speaking the same language of people who are saying apartheid must go - the same language - if you say there's going to be non-racialism and so on, non-racialism cannot come about unless apartheid has been dismantled - it won't come about.

Of course you have got to work for it - you must work for it - but that theme I think is quite correct - you can take that theme - because it's in line, you know, with the - the fight against apartheid - and today you find among the whites, you know, even in South Africa, the academics and so on, they really feel that the time must - they think that apartheid is outdated in South Africa, completely outdated - we must fight for - for - for a new social order, whatever it will be.

So non-racialism - you are not out of step when you talk about non-racialism, not at all - did you think you - have you any hesitations about it?

J.F. No.

D.T. You have no hesitations - I think, no (?) you'll be in order - I mean if your book is - is going to have one of its themes as non-racialism it will be very good, but then it must be - it must explain what non-racialism is and what it means, and how is it to be attained - I - I don't think your book will go so far (Laugh) - your book won't go so far - you are merely - you want to speak the facts in your book, that's all, isn't it - you are not going to the extent of saying how these things should be attained.

J.F. No, I think it's very important because I think - I believe there are tactics to attain it, and one of the tactics is the Natal Indian Congress, and another tactic will be the something something committee for the white elections in next May, and if there's only Sheena Duncan and Beyers Naude on the campaign - on the committee - the UDF people in Soweto aren't going to say : Ag, look at these racists - they'll say : No, no, conscientise those whites - you see, so I'm saying part of what I'm trying to look at is how non-racialism is attained, how it's built, and I think one way to build it is working with whites, working in the white community, whites working with other young whites who've left the country, and I think it's important - I believe it's important that it happens in different phases (?) but what I'm trying to explain or to have people like you explain is if somebody from - in the '50s from the PAC or in the '70s from the BC or in the '80s from the Cape Action League says : Yes, but that's not non-racialism - then you have to be able to answer them : But we're building non-racialism - you can't move people without the right methods - if those people relate to Gandhi you use Gandhi - if those people relate to - Braam Fischer quoted Kruger and The Sun Will Rise in Africa - he didn't say : No, I don't want to do that - he wanted to make that judge understand in his language - so I'm saying partly I - when you said do I want to speak of the ways of attaining it, ja, I think it's important, and that's why I keep trying to ask you because you're someone that people would like to read and find out what do you say - you fought for non-racialism since the time of Moses Kotane, so they want to know why do you think it's important - that's why I was trying to ask those questions.

D.T. My - my own observation - it's not a universal one - it's my own observation in the country now is that there should be a mobilisation of the white people in South Africa - there should be a big mobilisation of the white people - you see, in the past we used to say : Well, the - the white people will be mobilised by other white people - it won't work that way now - we - we should go out, you know, and mobilise the white people.

J.F. The ANC?

D.T. Yes, mobilise the white people - in that way, you see, we'll be able to politicise these people and make them understand, you know, the question of non-racialism, and I think that thing of non-racialism should be the one that should be - be taken in mobilising the - the white people - the white people are no longer difficult as they were in the past - are you aware of that?

J.F. How?

D.T. They are no longer as difficult as they were in the past insofar as the question of racialism is concerned - they are no longer difficult now - they can see how (.....) - I'm giving so many illustrations - I'll give you an illustration of what happened - in South Africa people organised, you know, domestic servants, because we felt that those people are always being neglected, domestic servants - now they had quite a union of all domestic servants in the country and so on, and then you had branches in South - in Bloemfontein, in Johannesburg and so on and so, of women, you know.

And they became quite enthusiastic, you know, because in the past, you know, domestic servants have always thought they are not part and parcel of the struggle because they are working in - in, you know - in the homes of people - they are cooks, they do washing and they clean the floors and so on - I'm talking about African domestic servants.

Now we got - received reports that now they're - they're quite organised and they are politicised - they understand what it is all about and so on - not all of them of course - those who are in towns, in the big towns - now I'm told - we were - it's an incident where there was going to be a demonstration - that was before the - the state of emergency - going to be a big demonstration in Johannesburg, so at - a - a domestic servant says to the - to the madam - they call them madams, you know - say : Look, I'm going to a demonstration today - I won't be able to do washing, I won't be able to cook and so on - so the madam says : No, but you can't do that - before you go to the demonstration you must cook and you must do the washing, and then you can go to the demonstration - so this woman says : Now look, you are also a woman, you can do that - you can cook, you can - you can do all that - you are a woman like myself - I'm going to a demonstration - when you go to your businesses outside I never ask you why do you - do you go there.

Now that is a sign of consciousness on the part of a domestic servant - now if a domestic servant can talk like that, you know, it really shows that people are beginning to get politicised - people are really getting politicised, so an act of the nature it - it's now - it's not something that you could pooh-pooh - it has got a lot of meanings, you know - it has got a lot of meanings, but these are the people who never thought of even going to an ordinary meeting, political meeting, because they were always kept in the homes, you know, and so on.

D.T. Now the fact that today they know of going to a demonstration it's an indication that the - nobody can stop the march of history - nobody can stop it - and if those people can - can march too and they - they can take that attitude it - it's an indication that we - we are getting nearer, you know, to - to our goal - I don't know if you - you take it that way - we are getting nearer to our goal, because those are the people are being (?) - you know, who really - who - I don't want to - to say many things about that, you know, because it - it's something that cannot go into the book.

END OF INTERVIEW.