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Interview with Tim Wright

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1 JONATHAN VOGEL:

2 My name is Jonathan Vogel J-O-N-A-T-H-A-N V-O-G-E-L I'm interviewing 3 Tim Wright T-I-M W-R-I-G-H-T, it's November 25th, and the location of the interview is 4 Mr. Wright's office on East Wacker Drive. So I'd like to start by just asking you when 5 you started your anti apartheid

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8 TIMOTHY WRIGHT: Honestly I don't know when. I think I had an um I had an 9 awareness from um high school. Ya know I tend to kind of reflect on people like Patrice 10 Lumumba and I don't know where it really came from. It was just an interest that I had 11 and it certainly hadn't matriculated itself into anything like, formed itself into anything as 12 clear as anti-apartheid or divestment movement. But I think it kind of came out of the 13 injustice that I saw growing up being black in America. You know I grew up next door to Watts and in fact my grandmother lived in Watts. And so all these incidents that I saw 14 15 related even to Watts riots I was at the park when that stuff jumped off. I was playing 16 baseball and I saw what took place and the reactions. And even more important than that 17 I saw how they treated my father.

18 I remember one incident we went to Chinatown to eat. We were all in the station 19 and we were pulled over. They made him lay on the grounds as they checked. They 20 didn't have any warrants or anything. Just the abuse that came out. And seeing that grow 21 up, growing up I kinda had a umm I guess you know. It was clear I wasn't from there 22 even though I was a foreigner. It was clear (unintelligible). The focus then kind of turned 23 to Africa and so it was just something that I was distinctly aware of at an early age. So 24 that didn't really manifest itself into any potential stuff to South Africam maybe you 25 know high school subject of studies, you know book reports- stuff like that. And my first 26 heightened awareness took any kind of significant action was probably about college. 27

JV: So where did the bulk of your anti-apartheid activism take place?

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- 30 31

32 TW: Where did the bulk of it take place?

33 34

35 JV: Mmhmm.

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38 TW: professors who were aware of this stuff, like Angela Davis, like Dr. James Garrett. I 39 think my freshman year I got involved in a group- that was I got involved in a group that 40 was trying to insure that the CIA stayed out of Angola and that so called civil war 41 between the fractions. And so. It was at that time that I took on some role of activism 42 dealing with what you would call apartheid. It was actually taking place in Angola at the 43 time and the South African government was supporting UNITA in their efforts to

- 44 dominate the sub-saharan African continent.
- 45
- 46

47 48 49	JV: And so I will start with some more biographical questions. What year were you born?
50 51 52	TW: Fifty Five.
52 53 54 55	JV: Where were born?
56 57 58	TW: Los Angeles.
59 60 61	JV: Where were you raised?
62 63 64	TW: Compton.
65 66 67	JV: Where was your father born?
68 69 70	TW: Vernon, Oklahoma.
71 72 73	JV: And how about your mother?
74 75 76	TW: LA.
77 78 79	JV: And so how did you get your name?
80 81 82 83 84 85	TW: Well, my name was named after my father after my grandfather after his father and after their father. My grandfather was a Chock Indian and his name was Timothy W. Wright. His father's name was Timothy W. Wright except they didn't count back then. So it was assumed.
86 87 88	JV: What is your earliest memory?
89 90 91 92	TW: Probably being a toddler. And interacting with my mother. Throwing her pins around while she was making a dress. Walking her outside of the door. Is maybe my earliest memory.

93	JV: What did your mother do?
94	
95	TW: My mother did a lot of different things. She was an athlete. She went to school with
96	Tom Bradley at Jefferson High School. She was known as downtown maple brown. She
97	was I guess a professional baseball player. She was a singer, she was a dancer. She was a
98	uh, she did a lot of political work and she became, she settled down, she raised all the
99	kids. She used to be a nurse for quite a while. And then she became what is called a key
100	punch operator. I think that is what ultimately where she retired from.
101	
102	
103	JV: Would you say that her political work influenced some of your activism?
104	
105	
106	TW: Ahh, I wasn't that aware of it. I knew that uhh every time we had an election our
107	house would be set up as a polling place. And I knew that uhh she would - and I met like
108	the first black mayor of Compton who was (unintelligible). But I was just, I probably
109	more aware looking back now then I was then looking at what she was doing.
110	
111	
112	JV: Right. Can you tell me what your neighborhood was like growing up?
113	
114	
115	TW: My neighborhood was uhh, typical Compton neighborhood. You know when you're
116	poor you don't know you're poor, but we wasn't poor. I had a father who worked and
117	mother who didn't have to work and then she would work. But then we would have the
118	basic kind of necessities, but we didn't have uhh a whole lot. It was a typical lower
119	middle class neighborhood where every person on the block, every household on the
120	block, you knew. And every household on the block you know- uhh the parents in that
121	house had the ability to parent you too. And so the whole notion that it takes a village to
122	raise a child was certainly alive and well there. And so they're some of the fondest
123	memories of my life but I also, umm you know things changed and there were gangs and
124	shootings and killings, and I was shot and stabbed myself before I got out of high school.
125	We had to arm ourselves and protect ourselves while were in high school, getting an
126	education.
127	But the other part of my life was sports. Compton where I grew up just had a reputation
128	for incredible sports. In terms of football, baseball, basketball, track, uhh we had
129	probably more Olympains come out of Compton than anywhere else in the nation. We've
130	had more football players in the NFL and so, the other side is that it was just a hotbed of
131	athleticism and I was an athlete. I was in my element so to speak. But you know, all in
132	all, I think it was positive, certainly the issue of gangs and the killings and all the stuff
133	was tough. We didn't know if we would survive it- when you don't know that you will
134	live you know beyond the age of eighteen and twenty or something like that it gives you
135	a different perspective on your life . And so uhmm those are, it was good bad, it was
136	good and bad and ummm, you know we'll see. I mean I think there are some incredible
137	lessons learned. It certainly had an incredible impact on my life. And certainly helped me
138	survive in Africa too. But anyway.

139	
140 141	JV: So at the time did you say you had professional ambitions or whwt were you looking forward to?
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144	TW: I had ambitions from early on. I didn't know what they were I thought I would
145	probably be a professional athlete. I always wanted to be a lawyer. Even though I was the
146	first in my family to ever go to college. So it wasn't as if I had folk who had brought me
147	along but I had folk who were pushing me to get there. So you know I was uhh, I was you
148	know I was always fairly intelligent I did a lot of reading and so there was always a
149	sense, I made good grades. Most folks you saw me on the street wouldn't know that, but I
150	did. You know when when I played football I was a Nations Scholar Athlete. Pretty much
151	a straight A student.
152	
153	
154	JV: So which sport did you play?
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156	
157	TW: Football. Or baseball.
158	
159	
160	JV: What positions did you play?
161 162	
162	TW: Fullback. Linebacker. Defensive end. Umm, early on when I was a kid I played on
164	the line. Then of course baseball I played center field or left field. Sometimes first base.
165	the fine. Then of course baseban i played center field of fert field. Sometimes first base.
166	
167	JV: So how did you decide to go to Claremont Men's College?
168	
169	
170	TW: Well, I didn't really, but I did. Umm, you know I was being recruited by a bunch of
171	different football schools because of my grades. I was also recruited by Harvard,
172	Claremont, Stanford but Stanford I didn't view them as a football school anyway. So I
173	thought I probably, I wanted to go to SC. I decided to stay in California, and I decided,
174	after back and forth, I was recruited at UCLA. So I decided I was going to go to UCLA
175	and play football and go to school. So that was my decision. And that was where I
176	expressed my intentions, I made a commitment to go. But a couple of things happened.
177	One was I tore up my knee during the end of the year. Umm, and you know tore it up
178	again in the summer. So I didn't think based on that that I would have a real shot (phone
179	rings) of playing, I didn't think I would have a real shot playing professionally playing at
180	the college level. To play professionally. So I started thinking about the education I was
181	getting. So what I wanted to do was quote unquote get out of the ghetto. Make some
182 183	money. Take the next step. (Coughs). And so umm, umm, and so umm, so I started
185	thinking about like Harvard and some of the other schools. In fact I met with the coach of Harvard and flew out there and it was snowing out there and I said, now look, and then
104	The value and new out more and it was showing out more and I said, now look, and men

185 the coach at Claremont was real hot on me coming out. And I did a recruiting visit after 186 the fact, I was with Ricky Bell, Robin Cole, Danny Benson, all three of those players 187 went to the NFL. So anyway we went out, and it was pretty cool, but what I liked the 188 most was, the coach gave me a room to stay over overnight, and then I could keep a key 189 (coughs) had a lunchcard, so I would like, and then find out, at Claremeont, there were 190 these beautiful women. So I went to a couple of parties and said man, this is pretty cool. 191 So I would go back out over the weekend and stay in the dorm and go into the cafeteria to 192 eat and like, enjoy the weekend. And I said I kinda like this. So I ended up changing up 193 my school and decided to go to Claremont. So that's how I got there. 194

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- 196 JV: So what did you study there?
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199 TW: Well I studied economics and political science. So I came out with a dual degree, a 200 dual bachelor's degree. Umm, but I started off in math. I did some engineering work. 201 Cough. Claremont was a difficult place because of the struggles as it pertained to students 202 of color you know black students on campus it wasn't easy. I had like three or four 203 classmates, you know three or four other blacks in my class. I was told by one professor 204 they should have never allowed blacks to come to that school and he told me that I would 205 probably have never graduated from Claremont. And these were advisors. So it was a 206 challenge. I would be in all white classes, and I would ask questions, and everybody 207 would start laughing and the professor would say I don't understand what you're saying. 208 Growing up in Compton, you grow up with a whole nother kind of vernacular, I say I 209 learned how t become bilingual. I spent too much time at Claremont, and I would come 210 home and the brothers in the hood would say, man what are you saying. I don't know 211 what you're talking about. So I got to speak both languages so to speak. 212 So Claremont, in its efforts, we had a black studies center, they were always trying to cut 213 it back. We hired Angela Davis they tried to fire her. I remember my president, Jack 214 Stark, once told me that we were fire insurance. Meaning that we were allowed to come

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218 JV: That's intense. So how did you get to go to Angola out of the Claremont Men's

into the school so that they wouldn't burn it down. So anyway.

- 219 College?
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222 TW: Well, two ways. One I didn't even know about. One was from Angela Davis and a 223 book she was writing. I was her research assistant. (Coughs). And ultimately I wrote my 224 senior thesis on the Angolan economy, indicators of underdevelopment, the subtitle being 225 the prospect of transformation to a world economy. On the theory that most of the 226 colonial places that had been colonized in Africa only had extractive economies or 227 infrastructures, where they were pulling out wealth. And there was no finishing or 228 processing that took place. And finishing and processing is how wealth is created, how 229 wages are created and so on and so forth. But for example they are fishing out Walters 230 Bay in Angola and processing the fish up in Portugal. You know, and so, there was, that

231 232 233	was where the value was being created. So, anyway, [Phone Rings, Mr. Wright takes the call, recording is turned off]
233 234 235	[Recording begins again]
236 237	TW: No I'm fine go ahead.
238 239	
240 241 242	JV: So you were talking a little about Angola and the work you were doing for Angela Davis. Can you talk a little about what you were doing with her or what was the intention of the trip or your experiences there?
243 244	
245 246 247 248 249	TW: Well, what was I doing with her- just going to Africa with her. I was her research assistant so I would uhh research for our, it was just an opportunity to take a trip. I had never been out of the country. Um and so really it was a series of meetings that she had and I remember flying to South Africa, flying to Angola, and I met Dr. Augustine Onito of the NPLA. You know I just became acutely aware from the discussions that were
250 251 252 253	taking about what the conflict was really about and it was ultimately really about South Africa.
254 255	JV: Mmmhmm.
256 257 258 259	TW: Even with the Portuguese abandoning, with the Portuguese giving up Angola, just saw what they did when they left, in terms of pouring cement into the sewer system and stuff like that. Just anal stuff. Just angry stuff. As they had to leave Angola. And so, uhm,
260 261 262	it was a series of meeting and talking and visits looking at sites and so forth.
263 264 265	JV: And so umm, how did you become involved in your first anti-apartheid group?
266 267 268	TW: Well, again, what it was being able to see first hand what was taking place as opposed to what was opposed to on the papers and knowing that I was very very different and then trying to talk to people about that and get that information out. Umm I don't
269 270 271	know who ultimately, Graylon Davis comes to mind, he was a uhhhh schoolmate of mine at Claremont, and I don't know who else but we started to talk about forcing universities from supporting these companies who were ummm essentially supporting this South
272 273 274	African government and the apartheid regime. First was the talk about the atrocities taking place, stuff that we actually saw, stuff that wasn't being communicated by the media. So I think it began with some awareness campaigns and being able to talk to
274 275 276	someone. It then turned into action (Coughs). And I think the divestment movement began at UCLA. Uh, and then began to took around to some of the other colleges and

279 from putting their money in the conflict and doing business there as a way of forcing 280 some change. 281 Umm I know after law school I was working with Carol Mosley Braun who was in the 282 state representative to draft legislation divestment legislation for the state of Illinois. And 283 then we did that and it was passed. With Baldman and others were involved but I was a 284 principal drafter in that. Then it was connecting up with other players like Prexy. I think I 285 met Prexy at the point that we were involved in advocacy around Angola. Umm and that 286 would have been 74, 75. Right around there. And then I think, then having come to 287 Chicago, after law school, which would have been 83, 82, 83, I reconnected back with 288 Prexy and got involved you know the ongoing activity. Also I was a member of the 289 National Lawyers Guild. Cough. And through the National Lawyers Guild I got engaged 290 in volunteering time to be involved in some of these efforts that were taking place. Where 291 they was going to South Africa and doing affidavits of detainees. Uhhh, some you know 292 got involved in council for Namibia and the remnants of the Committee Against 293 Apartheid. So anyway. 294 295 296 JV: So it was a pretty wide. So how did your family react when they understood you were 297 becoming heavily involved in the activist movement? 298 299 300 TW: You know, no major reaction. I didn't- My mother always worried about my safety. 301 But other than that, my politics were mine. 302 303 304 JV: And so when were you talking about the divestment movement at UCLA, did you 305 find that there was a great deal of support among your peers or was it something more 306 struggling? 307 308 309 TW: I think it built a momentum. It was something that uhmm people were very 310 cognizent of. For me it was always that connection (Coughs). Because I felt that until 311 umm Africans were free in their homes I couldn't be free in mine. You know I saw a 312 direct correlation between how I was treated in this country versus you know in what was 313 happening in that country. The similarities, the strife so I felt that the battle had to be 314 fought there and that the implications of that battle or the ramifications of that battle 315 would have impact here. I mean I saw, understanding being in California gives me a 316 unique viewpoint particularly with respect to Japan. And Japanese and Japanese-317

ultimately became full force. I remember being involved in that when I was in law school

at UCLA and the divestment movement at UCLA to get the law school and universities

317 Americans who had been incarcerated during the war uhmm and the status of Japanese of 318 American, Japanese-Americans and I saw that as Japan kind of shrugged off its defeat

and decided to engage in the economic market and became strong, as Japan became

320 strong so did the fortunes of the Japanese increase. And Japanese Americans here. And

321 their status, and ultimately so I saw that in a similar vein in respect to Africa. It hasn't

322 worked quite yet but it's still on its way.

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- 323 324 JV: Right. That's interesting I've never thought about that. And so umm, let's see, can 325 you describe some your closest friends in the movement, especially when you first started 326 in it? 327 328 329 TW: Well I think it would have been Prexy Nesbit, Sharon Pitts, Basil Clunie, Steve 330 Cough. Haywood Burns. Umm you know there was so many out there. Graylon Davis as 331 I mentioned earlier. Umm I guess just tons of people. 332 333 334 JV: And, uh can you describe sort of tensions in between activist groups, like any conflict 335 between groups that were occurring when you were in the movement? 336 337 338 TW: Yea, I mean, I don't particularly remember any. It doesn't really kinda come out and 339 uhh hit me. But you had a lot of groups and most were cooperative. You know same 340 issues, but they had a different strength. Maybe this group (Coughs) was about Namibia, 341 this group was about Mozambqiue, this group, but they were all fighting the same issue 342 for the most part. So I didn't pick up a whole lot of tension for the most part. There might 343 have been some old Cold War kind of Communist kind of stuff happening with one 344 group as opposed to another group, ideologues, this or that wasn't nothing. 345 346 347 JV: Mmhmm. Can you describe for yourself a little bit about the relationships in the 348 different African countires you visited and how it sort of impacted you, how you visited 349 so many different places in Africa and how you feel that sort of travel impacted you? 350 351 352 TW: I've been able to see the real stuff. I've been able to experience the real stuff. I've 353 been in Zimbabwe, I've been in Namibia, I've been in Mozambique, I've been in Zambia 354 I've been in South Africa. All these different places, they're different people, you know 355 (Coughs), it's always incredibly interesting just to see how people cultures so forth so on. 356 You know I guess if I was to step back a bit and say that what I have most appreciated is 357 what I saw twenty five, thirty years and what I seen today. And to see that progress has 358 taken place. Even looking at all the skirmishes on the planet. On the continent and how 359 have they really become a few. Look at the modernization that has taken place and it 360 gives you a sense of how that in fact ultimately umm Africa is going to be just integral, 361 uhh to the world's economy and full part and parcel and their governments will be, will 362 reflect that and umm uhh it will be an interesting day. But this is you appreciate your 363 culture, it also makes you appreciate the economic strength of this country and uhh you 364 know your hopes that some of that can be created there. 365
- 366

367 JV: Mmhmm, To keep jumping around a little bit, can you describe how became

368 involved in Harold Washington's administration when you came to Chicago?

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- 370 TW: (Coughs) Actually I became involved in Harold in LA. They did a fundraiser out
- there and I think I was an intern for Willy Brown at the time and I had volunteered to go
- there because I wanted to meet this guy Harold Washington. I was taking a civil rights
- 373 course at the law school and Harold was carrying the civil rights bill in '82, '81 whatever
- it was. Therefore I remember going back there and going to this thing and kind of
- 375 meeting Harold. And being enthralled with him. He and Tom Bradley was there. And
- Tom Bradley was always Tom Bradley who I thought was a candidate of the Jewish West
 Side Community in LA and not necessarily being of the black community. And in that
- side Community in LA and not necessarily being of the black community. And in that sense kind of umm I heard Harold speak, and I'm like saying this is the real stuff. This is
- what we have to be. And the kind of progressive issues he was talking about and the way he dealt with the issue of color.
- 381 And so I decided that I wanted to help out, we talked and I took home some callbacks in
- 382 Chicago I would come out here and work in some menial job passing out fliers just doing
- 383 whatever volunteers did. And so that's how I got involved, and then I decided to come to
- 384 Chicago after law school and clerk I worked at Bpi, Business Profession People for
- 385 Public Interest I was a public interest lawyer got involved in some stuff with Harold. And
- so I would be seen as somebody here. But at one point back in '83, '84 they tried to kick
 Harold out of office because of the ethics statement. So I got involved in that and
- essentially researched it and provided a memo to the corporation council and he looked it
- over and he thought it was it. He used it- I was in court that day with him. We won, you
 know a couple months later they invited me over so the mayor could thank me and my
 partner (Coughs).
- 391 partner (Coughs).
 392 And he did and he says, "Son do I know you from somewhere." And I say, "Well we met
 393 in LA." And so I think after that umm they made me an offer. I think we did park district
 394 and then Harold made me an offer to come in inside and I turned him down but he had
 395 other plans. And so he prevailed. And I started working with him. I started as the
- assistant to the chief of staff and I was deputy director of intergovernmental affairs, and I
- director of intergovernmental affairs, and I was special council to the mayor and then I
 was the commissioner of economic development for the city. But Harold and I were
 extremely close and you know I ran city council. I did some other things for me. He was
- 400 my mentor. He taught me politics. So that's the story. I ran city council, that's it in the 401 middle [Mr. Wright points to picture on wall].
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- 403
- 404 JV: That's incredible. Do you have any favorite memories from working under Harold405 Washington?
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- 408 TW: Oh tons of them.
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- 410
- 411 JV: Tons of them?
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414 TW: Just tons of them. You know from the twenty nine-twenty one city council and uh

415 council wars quote unquote to the White Sox stadium to any interactions around that and 416 we got it done. That was a story every day. So very, very fond memories. Umm, stuff that

- 417 I would never talk about, but umm good stuff.
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420 JV: Right, and was anti-apartheid activism a topic that came up in the administration, or 421 how was that?

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424 TW: Oh sure. Harold was very much supportive of that. In fact when ummm Toyota 425 Toybil (coughs) was the first head of Spabo and was in prison on Robbins Island with 426 Mandela. And when he was released from Robbins Island one of the first places he came 427 was Chicago. And Harold Washington gave him the key to the city. Umm Harold knew 428 of my work in South Africa and was very much supportive of it. In fact it was under 429 Harold that umm the city prosecuted those seventeen defendants of the criminal trespass 430 and it was somewhat cooperative that most of the jurisdictions should have been 431 dismissed charges so they would just go away. Under Harold they maintained the charges 432 so the issues could be confronted.

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JV: And so how did you get involved in that case, can you talk a little about how thatcase started?

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438

439 TW: Man you have to be pulling my memory like I dunno- Well you know people got 440 arrested at a protest and I was called in ahead of time, early to bail them out to get them 441 out of jail and I did that. And so we had bail money and all kind of stuff you do around 442 action like that. And so got em out, and you know proceeded to prepare. Uhmm the 443 defense I represented 17 defenders so I put together a team of lawyers on the other side to 444 represent some of the top kawyers in the city. And I coordinated and wrote the bench 445 brief, which you saw. So you know, in fact, I was teaching at Columbia College. 446 And I was teaching a class called Law and Society. And I did- that became a project for 447 my class was the preperation of the defense of those 17 defendants including Jackie 448 Jackson, uhhh Dick Newhouse, Alice Palmer, uhhh you know all the ones that, Alice 449 Streeter, so we prepared the examination the cross examinations of the officers we 450 prepared the direct examinations of all the witnesses that we would have and we had just 451 a ton of witnesses (cough). I think ranging from Ted Kennedy to Charley Haves to 452 Margerie Bantiff to Prexy Nesbitt to- and we just put on a trial. 453 And the trial and in a sense uhh, while we had utilized these defenses that we thought 454 would be available to us through the supremacy clause- in fact that these treaties and laws 455 of the UN were being violated in South Africa. So we also chose some local common 456 law, which was necessity. And so we had to show on the necessity defense all these 457 atrocities were being committed and weren't being addressed and that you know under 458 the necessity defense allows you to address a wrong to break a minor law in order to 459 prevent a greater crime from occurring. And that's essentially what we had to show. So it

460 461	was an extraordinary trial I think that those young Columbia students got the thrill of their lives because that was their assignment to come in there every day.
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463	
464	JV: That's great.
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466	
467	TW: And writing on that. But they were able to develop defense work through the theory
468 469	you know, and to prepare the witnesses and all these kind of things, I think that was the last time I taught it. And then we had the trial Trial was about a week long we had
470	maybe 117 countries represented by press.
471	
472	
473	JV: Wow.
474	
475	
476	TW: I mean it was pretty huge. We did this and at the end the jurors came back with a not
477	guilty for each person and then they read a statement and they asked to join the Free
478	South Africa movement. (laughs) After demonstrating all of that. And so I mean it was an
479	interesting, an interesting piece.
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481	
482	JV-Did that bring a lot of awareness to the-
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485	TW- It sure did.
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488	JV- Mmhmm. And jumping ahead a little bit again, can you describe your reaction when
489	Ronald Reagan was elected?
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491	
492	TW- Well you know Ronald Reagan was from California. And my reaction was, "Damn,
493	they let him out." Well yall in trouble now because yall don't know Ronald Reagan.
494	Ronald Reagan and Samuel Highcower were always these conservative folk out of
495	Californa and Richard Milhouse Nixon was too. Umm but, umm, Milhouse was smart,
496	Reagan was not (coughs). And so I don't know. My reaction was I hope we can survive-
497 498	we survived Hitler we survived other players we have to survive this too. But it wasn't a
498 499	good reaction because I knew we'd be in for hell. I knew he'd be the kind of guy that
	would support South Africa and the white regime.
500 501	
501 502	JV-Did that sort of change the work you were doing here about apartheid or-
502 503	J V-Did that soft of change the work you were doing here about apartited of-
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504	

505 TW-No. it just- you just had to redouble your efforts. But it didn't happen. I mean there 506 were always opposition to it, you know. There was Kennedy, he was supporting these 507 folks. So it was the same stuff.

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510 JV-Mmhm. Can you describe some of your visits to South Africa during this period and 511 how you had the opportunity to do that?

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514 TW- Mostly it was through the National Lawyer's Guild or through something else, some 515 kind of seminar going on over there and we would utilize it to go over. You know back in those days you had to be an honorary, you had to have a visa, and so you had to be an 516 517 honorary white person in order to get the visa. As you could well imagine after I did that 518 trial I was never able to get another visa. And so ummm but most of these trips were trips 519 where we were doing legal work or having conferences over working for example Odessa 520 with the national lawyers guild sent some lawyers out to help the antina government 521 when they were working on reforms to the constitution, so we got involved in that way. 522 And there were trips when we had to bring information back to the UN that the South 523 Africans didn't want us to do. And so we had to play a little cloak and dagger and stuff in 524 order to accomplish that. Or kind of we went into like, when they were protesting at 525 Crossroads and the South African government was bulldozing those homes and it was 526 illegal for us to be there at Crossroads and helping to organize those residents but we 527 were doing it anyway.

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JV- Can you describe some of the conditions you saw when you were in South Africa?

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533 TW- I saw al little bit of everything man. You know the squalor, the shanty shacks, you 534 know like you see right up there in that top picture where they got the eggs up there 535 [points to picture]. They were voting. I mean that's what people lived in. No plumbing. 536 None of the stuff. The passbook laws and having the areas and how restricted and policed 537 it was, militarize. In Soweto- Soweto was cool back then particularly back then because 538 everywhere had to live there. Tutu lived there, Mandela lived there. Everyone had to live 539 there. It was kinda like Compton under these restrictive racial covenants when you could 540 live in certain places. In America we had doctors, we had lawyers, because they could 541 only live in Compton. We had baseball players, we had a uhh, a mix economically 542 ummm, and that's how Soweto was back then. So there would be some very poor there 543 would also be some very nice, well off, they had some nice houses. (coughs). But, you 544 know, once people were liberated and lived where they wanted to live that leads to where 545 the poor can't leave the certain place and conditions becomes even more squalor, crime 546 becomes rampant, and particularly if there are no jobs, in an apartheid system, umm, 547 there thing was to keep a pool of ready labor, it was meant to- they didn't have jobs 548 except for certain- and they kept people poor. They could not accumulate wealth. 549

556 JV- When you felt that your activism, that the activism, in South Africa and would lead 557 to the downfall-558 559 560 TW- I had a vision one day. It was in 1985, I was in South America. I just met one of my 561 close friends, whose now ambassador for South Africa Doume Matabate (??), he was the ANC's rep in Washington, Johnny Macatin was ANCS rep in New York but I met with 562 563 Doi in South America in Georgetown. I think Prexy was there too. But anyway. So we 564 were staying at a hotel down from the conference and you know I told him, we were 565 sitting there with some guys from Nicaragua and Sandanistas so they say. And some 566 Cubans. And umm these were the outcasts. And so we were sitting with them and 567 drinking some rum and eating some fish and smoking some Cuban cigars and I told Doume, "Man I see it brother." He says, "You see what?" I said, "I see uhh a Free South 568 569 Africa." I said I can see it right now. He thought I was crazy. He said, "Man these boys 570 will never give up South Africa. There's gonna be blood in the streets." And I said, "No man. I said I see a change taking place." [Phone rings, Mr. Wright takes call, recording 571 572 stopped] 573 574 575 [Recording continues] 576 577 578 JV-So I guess you were speaking a little about when you were in South America, talking 579 about what you saw as the future of South Africa? 580 581 582 TW- Yea, so, I told Dumi, Botomome I said Dumi I said in ten years I said within ten 583 years we're going to be sitting, we're going to be standing at, we'll be staying at the 584 finest hotel in all of Johanessburg, drinking the finest cognac (phone rings) and we'll be 585 saluting a free South Africa. And then he says, "Man are you crazy" (laughs), but anyway 586 that was in 1985. I think Dumi hadn't been home. He was in the armed, well, he was in 587 the armed forces [Mr. Wright checks e-mail, long pause] Sorry there was a flight-588 589 590 So, umm, so anyway so Dumi hadn't been back and ummm, you know fast forward to

JV- Can you describe for me what a turning point for you was in the movement?

TW- What do you mean a turning point?

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590 So, unini, so anyway so Dufin hadii t been back and uninini, you know fast forward to 591 ummm I started going over there I guess in, I started going back over there in I guess like 592 '90, no '88, '89, something like that when the discussions had begun and they were 593 Kadessa was focused on Declerq and he done what he had done. And I think I had went 594 over there with the national lawyer's guild. So, you know, I didn't know when this stuff 595 was going to pop but then in the early 90's it became clear that this was about to pop and 596 so I remember what it was in like 94, umm, I sent Dumi back, I bought his airline ticket, 597 or helped him buy it. He had gone back home because when they declared the amnesty 598 against ANC, might have been in like '92 or '93, I'm not sure. And then so Dumi went 599 back home, so, first time in 20 years. So when I go out there, I go out to do the election in 600 94. I think that's the next time I saw Dumi. The next time I was in South Africa, I think 601 that's correct, because I did Bill Clinton's campaign, I was his director of domestic 602 policy. And so that would have been '91, '92 and I worked the transition team. But so 603 anyway it was after that that I worked back out to South Africa, to work the election, and 604 I was picked up at the airport by Dumi and his nephew, and I was staying at Carlton hotel 605 which was one of the finest hotels in Johanessburg and I had bought this bottle of cognac 606 from the plane, you know in the free, whatever they call it, in those little things they had. 607 I bought this very nice bottle of cognac and we were up in my room and I had a balcony, 608 looking out on to whatever street we were on. So I said to Dumi, I said, we grabbed a 609 couple glasses, I said, "Brother, remember when I told you when we were in the jungles 610 of South America, and I told you that within ten years we would be sitting in the finest 611 hotel in Johanessburg drinking the finest cognac. I says so lets do it." (laughs). So we 612 toasted to a free South Africa. And so but anyway we showed up at the hotel on the 613 election night because we were working out in the field I was in the Western Cape I don't know where Dumi was. All this stuff when it was a little tenuous we were out in the field, 614 615 and that's when that picture was taken right there, with Dinkens (points to picture), and 616 that's when these pictures were taken when we were out there. And so, but anyway, that night they had three nights of voting, three days of voting, just some incredible stuff. Just 617 618 brought tears to my eyes, just to watch this occur. And to know this was happening. And 619 finally, that night, I went in to see, oh I was going in, I had to leave because I had to get 620 back for some reason. So on the last night I had to go. And it was clear that Mandela had 621 won. And so as I was walking downstairs, going downstairs, I ran into Thabo Nbikee, 622 that's him in that shot now. Beneath Harold. (points to picture) So I run into Thabo. He 623 says, "Man what are you doing. He says where are you going?" I says, "I gotta go man." I says, "I gotta go back." He says, "You haven't even you enjoyed the celebration." I says, 624 625 "Victory is the celebration." He says, "Do you want to see the old man before you go." I said, "I would like to say congratulations to him." He says OK, so we go up to the suite 626 and he goes in and they open the door. As I walk into the suite, there's this room and this 627 628 couch and this coffee table, and there was Coretta Scott King and Mandela, you know, he 629 got up and greeted me and we hugged and he thanked me, and I said (??) this king. But 630 that was probably uhmm, that was an image there that could never, ever, ever be erased. 631 It was just an incredible- It was a confirmation of all that I have thought in terms of even 632 sitting in high school and understanding the relationship between the two peoples and the 633 two places and the two movements and the oneness of all that struggle brought that home 634 in terms of that picture. So it was an incredible piece. 635

JV- That is pretty incredible. So going ahead to some reflection questions, about the
whole activism history, so how do you feel about South Africa and what's going on there
today?

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642 TW- You know what, I lived there, I lived there for three years. I was there from 2003 to 643 2006. And I still keep a home there in Fumalong, outside the cities. You know I think, 644 that the struggle continues louta kouta (??) no, out there, I thought the peace when Mbike 645 was outsed and Zumi, I thought it threatened but you know, I keep, we gotta create some 646 jobs. I think the economic issues. You know its one thing to have fought for regime 647 change and to have fought for empowerment and to fight for you know the right to uhh, 648 lead yourselves without having these imposed minorities backed by guns, but that's one 649 thing to get into office. But the fight is not yet won. The fight has to be won 650 economically. It has to be won when we have created jobs, when you've created 651 economies, when you've done these kind of things, when you're allowed to operate 652 freely in the world market. When you know your focus is on education and development and so that's the next stage that we have to get to. South Africa is in the lead, they're not 653 654 by themselves, Angola's there, Zimbambe, I mean not Zimbabwe, well Zimbabwe was 655 there, Zimbabwe was one of the best economies in Sub-Saharan Africa before Mugabe 656 began to destroy it. And others, it's not just Mugabe. But, so, you know, that battle has to 657 be fought and the battle of access to capital, the battle of development and businesses and 658 so forth, and of running water, and of railroads that work, and that connect, and all those 659 battles are still being fought and ultimately before there's real freedom they have to be 660 won 661 662

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JV- Right. And so why do you think the movement to end apartheid was successful?

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666 TW-Why was it successful? Because God had ordained it and it was supposed to happen. 667 These people were not supposed to be in this situation, subjugated in the way that they 668 were. You know I think that in this way of things, it was supposed to occur. And I think 669 that you know we can take some credit for it, I think all the credit for it belongs to God. I 670 mean, those changes had to occur. I think that we were simply instrumentalities of that 671 process. That's how history works. That's how life works.

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574 JV- So how would you describe your biggest contribution to the movement?

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TW- ust being foots on the ground when necessary. Being an advocate. Doing what's right. You know, being of a right heart and trying to make a difference in other peoples lives. And, you know, but it's me, me, and others like me. You know, who've made that difference. It's not one of us. But it's doing what right's in this life to make a difference in lives without fear or concern. Now, I certainly fear, you know, of being harmed but you know what, I have no fear with respect to it. I mean death's a possibility that's how we live. But that's what this life's all about.

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686 JV- So if Mandela was here right now, what would you say to him?

688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710	 TW- You know what couldn't you say, amagandi (??), go well. You've done well, you've lived a good life, you've made a difference. You have struggled for what is right and your struggles have been rewarded. It's not that the struggle is over but we certainly have made progress. I think you know Mandela is by no means perfect. There are issues, but you know what, it doesn't matter because he's an important call that has turned. And we can only be so lucky to be able to do that. You know he has the wisdom of God in him. And, he's stuck by that. And that's a blessing. JV- So my last question is, what do you hope your legacy will be? TW-You know what, I wanna be like Harold. I wanna say if they talked about me, they say that he tried to help make this a better place. You know, he was, he had his flaws, he had his issues, but you know what, on the whole, he tried to make a difference for other people. And particularly those who couldn't make a difference for themselves. That's it. Hopefully my kids will go well and do well, you know, and I've been able to push them a little further. Umm, but you know, this is what us souls are here for. This is what we do. And, you know, it just helps to bring forth I think the kingdom.
710 711 712	JV- Allrighty, I guess that's it.
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