The Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training
Foreign Affairs Oral History Project

MONICA JOYI

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INTERVIEW

Q: This is Dan Whitman interviewing Monica Joyi, we are here on Wisconsin Avenue in Washington, D.C. on December 1, 2009. Monica it is great to be here. You have thought about what we are going to talk about so tell me where the story begins.

JOYI: Well the story begins, I am from Cape Town, South Africa, the best city in the country, and…

Q: The best city of what country?

JOYI: The best city in South Africa, because if anybody outside of South Africa asks me where are you from; I generally say that I am from Cape Town and not necessarily South Africa.

Q: Let's stop right there. What is it about Cape Town that is so unique?

JOYI: I think it is just generally Table Mountain that does it for us. We have the best of –

Q: Natural beauty.

JOYI: Well not only the natural beauty, but I always brag about the fact that we have both the Atlantic and Indian Oceans and if you get tired of the oceans you have the mountain, if you get tired of the mountain you have the wine routes. You can just immerse yourself into the beauty of the city, or drive into the Stellenbosch, Paarl wine areas, even Constantia, which is not too far from where I live and be able to have a wine tasting before you order the same wine at lunch or for dinner.

Q: It sounds like an excellent communication from the Ministry of Tourism. (laughter)

JOYI: No, I'm not vying for that position. (laughter) Just two weeks I saw Bob Heath, who was in…I need to give you his contact details to you…

Q: Yeah.

JOYI: …he also…who served in Cape Town from 1975 to 1979 and I reminded him of our last climb up Skeleton Gorge because it was his last Sunday in Cape Town and he was leaving for another assignment - I think he ended up in Germany after South Africa – anyway we reminisced about that day…and that is what is so magical about Cape Town. I always tell my friends that when you land at Cape Town International Airport the first thing you see is Table Mountain and that does it for me in a very selfish way. But more importantly, I am from an area called Steenberg, and the Steenberg Mountain range is the backdrop of…I can open our back door and look towards the mountain. I like where Bob Heath lived; his home was right at base of Skeleton Gorge; so he would climb through a hole in the fence managed by the South African Parks Board and he would climb that part of Mountain. Anyway…

Q: Bob Heath was a U.S. Foreign Service officer –

JOYI: Yes, he was the Branch Public Affairs Officer based in Cape Town.

Q: You say 1975 to 1979, we'll get to that later.

JOYI: Yes, we'll get to that later. So, Steenberg is my home. I went to a Catholic mission school in Kalk Bay and a nice Catholic school, in a fishermen's village. The majority of my class mates' fathers, uncles, brothers, grandfathers, were fishermen. The students from other areas were considered outsiders and sometimes we were reminded we were outsiders, although, I was very good friends with a Muslim class mate from the area. However, the magical thing about being an outsider was we were the smart ones and we were serious students and were always top of the class…we always teased the locals that they had fish brains (because they often ate fish. (laughter)

Q: When you say we, who was we?

JOYI: The outsiders, the students, who lived outside this fisherman's village.

Q: From where?

JOYI: From areas like Steenberg where I am from and other suburbs.

Q: How was it that you went to the Catholic mission school?

JOYI: To the St. James Roman Catholic Mission School**?** All I know is that my sisters and one brother attended the school, and I am not sure whether my mother or my parents at the time thought that as Anglicans that attending a Catholic school would be the next best thing, because most of the Anglican schools at the time were all white and here was the Catholic school in a predominantly black, **'**so-called colored**'** neighborhood and the teachers there were good. But…

Q: So, let's see if I get this, your family was Anglican –

JOYI: Yes and we went to a Catholic school.

Q: - but the Catholic school was more receptive to colored students. Is that what you are saying?

JOYI: It was a 'so-called colored' school, however, they were receptive to having African children attend the school.

One of the regrets I have is that I never learned to swim because the beach was near the school we would go down the hill and the beach was adjacent to the railway line; but you were always running for the train to get home; because the following next train would be thirty minutes later.

Q: So the time to swim would have been just after school.

JOYI: After school and it would be 2:30 in the afternoon –

Q: But the priority was to get the train.

JOYI: To get home.

Q: Yeah.

JOYI: Yes, and do homework instead of going with our friends to swim. I was selected to go to a Catholic boarding school after I finished grade 8, to complete my high school. The primary school, I attended went as far as grade eight, which was very unusual. In our school system, at the time, you entered high school from grade eight and ended at grade twelve. One of the nicest things attending the school in Kalk Bay was that sometimes a

parent would invite our class to go on the fishing boat and we would go to an island called Seal Island, watch the seals. At that time we still had the old currency, and the fishermen would always tell us to take a penny and keep it to our noses to prevent the smell of the seals, which was so pungent…we were also told that the penny would prevent us getting sea sick. – I'm not sure if it worked but none of us got sick…we never got sea sick –

Q: Mind over matter maybe.

JOYI: There you go. And of course as children anything that adults told us we followed. I said that I was selected to go to a Catholic boarding school outside of Cape Town but I ended up not going there; instead I attended a wonderful school called Livingstone High School, where my middle sister and my youngest brother went. I was the third member of the family to go there. My two older sisters attended an all-girl's Catholic school and my older brother attended a school in Langa Township, while my second eldest brother attended a boarding school called Tiger Kloof, which was in the Eastern Cape. Livingstone was very important to me politically, it was the turning point in my life, with very excellent teachers, who always reminded us that the four walls of the school were only there to protect us during school hours and many of my maths and physics lessons were sit back sessions where our teachers, some of them were serving banning orders, because-they were all political activists. We would literally sit at their feet because that is where many of my class mates and many Livingstonians became politically aware of who and what we were then and for the years to follow. I recently read a book on Richard Owen Dudley, who was my physics teacher; sadly he died in May this year (2009), however in an extensive interview about the school, he included what the vision was and also more importantly how he made sure that any teacher, who came to Livingstone High was aware that they would find human beings at the school and not just boys and girls based on their race.

Q: Can you tell us first of all the years that you were in the school and secondly I thought that someone who was banned was not permitted to meet with a large number of people.

JOYI: Yes, two people.

Q: Two people.

JOYI: Yes. They were given special permission to teach.

Q: Oh, okay. They were banned because of the political –

JOYI: Yes.

Q: And the years you were there?

JOYI: 1967 to 1970.

Q: Now you say this was a turning point.

JOYI: Yes.

Q: Prior to that you were –

JOYI: I guess I was just a 'normal' child, who was protected by her family, like every other black family did in the country, at the time...I believe our parents did their best to further protect us from the horrible and miserable things *apartheid* could do to us as children. For instance, we knew we could not play in certain playgrounds, or go to certain beaches, sit in a certain section of the train carriages; even entering the station's subway, so the signs were there and at times, our parents had to remind us... But, as children we were always around our parents, and so if I think of my own childhood as a happy one, full of play, full of fun…I believe it was just so.

Q: So your parents had a protective role, they interpreted the signs so as –

JOYI: Yes, and I believe it might have been so for many black families in the country, children eight, nine years old, and younger, had to be protected.

Q: So you were taught what the rules were but the consciousness about the values that this represented came later –

JOYI: It came later for me because I had a voice then and as a young adult and I saw other young adults around me, who were also actively involved in politics. The high school I went to was always involved in protest marches, boycotts and demonstrations; and there were several other schools around the country, but Livingstone is the one school that stands out as it had a long history of activism since its inception in the 1940s and the culture of activism was instilled in us from home to school and in the community, leading through the turbulent times of our political history, which culminated with the liberation of South Africa. There were other high schools in the Cape Town area as well but I guess I am a chauvinist since I am sharing my experiences.

Q: Well many of the demonstrations, the expressions of the need for change, originated in Cape Town I think, many of them.

JOYI: In the 1940s, 1950s already, yes, but generally throughout South Africa, and especially in the Eastern Cape; I am of the opinion that the Eastern Cape has always been the hotbed of politics. However, if you look back to 1976, I think that was also a turning point where young adults realized this the era of oppression was going on for too long but…

Q: Is that Sharpeville?

JOYI: No that is the Soweto Uprising. It also came at a point where we had a youth, who were not only militant but they were determined that something needed to give and some

reality needed to set in…it was about time too because many of our parents had gone through this oppression, and suffered and the next generation had also gone through it and so it was the third wave or phase as I call it in the 1970s, when 1976 happened. But what is also important to remember is that while the student protests started in Soweto, it spread to the entire country, thus between 1976 up to the early 1990s South Africa was never the same again.

And if I think back to when I started working for the U.S. Government which was March 1974, I worked for State, at the U.S. Consulate General from March 1974 to July 1979 then I took a transfer to the USIA offices until July 1989, so it is a total of 15 years. And speaking about the 1970s and to the 1980s when I was at USIS, I remember those days we showed the CBS News, on a Friday. But during the height of the unrest in the 1980s, we showed the news from Monday through Friday, with standing room only; there were days when we had two to three sessions a day because everybody in Cape Town, include folks from the outlaying areas, came to watch the news. During that time too, there was a blanket banning by the government not to show the unrest on national television of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). So much so that years later, many white South Africans claimed they never knew the townships were bleeding and it is because they never saw what was happening in black areas…yet the daily newspapers were full (of reports covering the unrest in the country); so their claim of not knowing did not make sense at all.

Q: The people who came, now you had the CBS news the day after it was live or something like that?

JOYI: Well, usually we only showed it on a Friday, but we were compelled to have showings available to our audiences for an entire week, as we were deprived of viewing what was happening in our own country; coverage overseas was available of the unrest in South Africa.

Q: Did you get this by, not satellite - ?

JOYI: No, no it was the physical VCR tape, which came in the diplomatic pouch

Q: But it came quickly enough so you could see the news of the same week?

JOYI: No, it was a week later.

Q: The people who came to these sessions, demographically, was it a mixture?

JOYI: There were mostly from what I can recall, white journalists, black journalists of course, community activists, some politicians, and as the word spread, the proverbial man in the street**,** mostly black and some students…it was generational, across the spectrum, generationally (young and old).

Q: Now, this is important, so it was commonly known that if a person wanted to see the

CBS news they could go to USIS Cape Town –

JOYI: At 1 o'clock every Friday, initially, until the early 1980s, when the intensity of the unrest heightened, and the USIS centre became packed, and we extended the services of showing the news.

Q: No need for an invitation.

JOYI: No, no. However, for that period since the actual news footage was banned from South African television more people came. It is almost…it reminds me how in 1977, when Roots was shown, there was a marathon showing of Roots, and likewise, there was a marathon showing of the CBS news over that period.

Q: There must have been a special arrangement with CBS, there were three networks.

JOYI: I think there must have been a contract through USIA in Washington.

Q: Well we are already onto a very intriguing topic. So this product which was a weekly video with a compendium of the entire week's news –

JOYI: And covering mostly South Africa, news, and some U.S. stories, but it was the covering of the South African portion of the news**,** which South Africans were deprived of from seeing on their own national television stations.

Q: Tremendous. So this was an opening way back in the 1970s –

JOYI: I also want to add that it was in 1976 that South Africa got television for the first time.

Q: So it was in the 1970s and early 1980s that this was – now what was the size of the audiences? Did you have 100 people or fifty people or did it vary?

JOYI: No, it varied; the multi-purpose room could comfortably house approximately 100 persons, but as I said before, during that time, it was standing room only; we also tried to have a feed in the lounge area where we had several couches. Because one of the things that Bob Heath did when he designed the audio visual section of the Centre, was too make it multi-functional. I started at USIS Cape Town in July 1979 Bob Heath had already left in June 1979. He designed the USIS Center so that the audio-visual technology and equipment were very sophisticated, and when the news tape was in the video machine**,** Hamilton Mahola, who was the programmer at the time, would connect the feed and arrange for the news to be available to the over-flowing public, in the lounge area where the overflow would sit; but mostly the double doors of the multi-purpose room were open and there were people standing near the doors, sitting on the couches and sitting on the floor. I cannot recall the dimensions of the auditorium, but there were always, floods of people.

Q: Now when you say that the type of news feed was banned by South African television that you were in a U.S. Consulate, was there any question of being permitted to show that?

JOYI: Well the thing is as this was U.S. soil there was nothing the South African government could do at the time. While I would not know, and I was not privy to what was discussed at another level, with senior South African government officials and the U.S. representatives….all all I know is that from an activist's perspective, it was great to see the crowds coming so that they were able to see what was happening in our own country.

Q: So did you feel as an activist, which you became at your high school that working in U.S. Information Service, was the appropriate thing to do? Did you feel this was a good vehicle for changing society?

JOYI: Well it was a vehicle in the sense that I did my j.o.b., which was required of me but at another level, I had access to reading material and, of course, in the library, which were banned in South Africa. And so for instance, if a James Baldwin novel came in I would tell my friends and contacts, or I would ask them, have you seen this article, or bring an article to their attention in the New York Times or Washington Post. Although thirty plus years later here I am sitting in Washington, D.C., I do not even read the New York Times, and similarly, I do not even bother with the Washington Post, I do, however, only read the Sunday Washington Post's Style Section, and the funnies. I came to the decision that anything written on and about South Africa I could read online. I thought that the content in the news stories were empty and that they should be taken with two tablespoons of salt.

Q: Meaning what? You feel that coverage – there was more coverage back then there is now?

JOYI: Well, back then because we were deprived of access to news, we devoured any news of things South African, however**,** now in 2009 and for the past two and a half years I have been concentrating on reading South African papers on line because sometimes I find it problematic what someone would bring to my attention an article about my country that they read in the New York Times, and if I read the same article in any of the South African newspapers on line, we would speak of two totally different topics. I have also become critical with the CNN coverage; there are a group of young Turks, who work at CNN now and they have me miss that analytical thinking of people like Bernie Shaw and Riz Khan, whom I met in Cape Town, and their other senior colleagues. Mr. Khan was there on assignment to interview Desmond Tutu…I was working at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) at the time.

Q: Who's that?

JOYI: Riz Khan.

Q: From CNN?

JOYI: Yes, he is of Pakistani-descent, and now working for Al Jazeera. And so to me, they do not have the substance, they appear so flippant and they still need to understand the know-how; right now, and they do not seem to have the know-how, maybe ten years from now they will be seasoned but for right now they appear too flippant (I have said that before…they seem so unprepared, and do not have the seriousness, in my view, of the likes of Bernie Shaw and Riz Khan, and someone like Wolf Blitzer.

Q: Do you feel know that the sources from South Africa –

JOYI: Or elsewhere. I remember when I was at Brandeis from 1989 to 1993 I would listen to NPR all the time. When I returned here in August 2007, I stopped listening; I just got tired of the comments from specialists and/or so-called experts, who would give their opinion…

Q: Instead of just the news.

JOYI: Yes, for instance, the turning point came with the demonstrations in Myanmar (formerly Burma); the presenter introduced Burmese citizens, who were living in Norway, and giving their opinions; and**,** of course**,** there were the commentaries by US experts, I just lost interest…it seemed the experts were not listening to the comments from the Burmese citizens. And so here in DC, I listen to SAfm, which is similar to NPR and that is my favorite station back home, so I listen to it on line and that is how I learned of Michael Jackson's death; I heard at midnight –

Q: In the U.S.?

JOYI: It was 6 o'clock here, midnight in South Africa –

Q: But you were listening to SAfm not to NPR?

JOYI: Right and SAfm announced his death. After 6:20 pm (Eastern time) CNN was saying he is on his way to hospital, when he was already pronounced dead on a South African radio.

Q: SAfm knew, was more up to date on news in the United States than NPR was on that day?

JOYI: Or even CNN, by that time I shad topped listening to NPR so I was watching CNN online because I do not have a television so everything is done online and in my view in real time.

So back to the days, working for the U.S. Government: and back to your question of if it was cute and sexy to be working for the U.S. Government, I think during the *apartheid* yes but post-*apartheid* and specifically during the Bush administration it was unsexy.

And by that time I was working with Fulbright**,** and many South African scholars were not interested and, especially after 9/11, in applying for Fulbright grants. I would try to promote the programs for senior academics and they would tell me straight "…we would rather go to England, Germany or Australia or even Japan because we are not prepared to take off our shoes and stand in long lines in the U.S…" That was the response I often got from most academics.

Q: In fact South Africa became a destination I think for other students, English speaking students who sought –

JOYI: Not only English-speaking because if I think back to places like Stellenbosch and even the-University of Pretoria, these are the former Afrikaans speaking institutions where you have students from all over the continent, parts of Europe, parts of Asia, specifically Korean theological students and so, if may I fast forward and I would sometimes refer to my seven and a half years at Fulbright, as a "difficult" time to get academics to come to the U.S. , post 9/11.

Q: So the wish to travel sort of reversed direction, people wanted to go to South Africa instead of from South Africa.

JOYI: Exactly, and also if you think back to the 1970s, to the 1980s and 1990s at the height of the political struggle in South Africa where very few academics had the opportunity to leave South Africa because of the academic boycott**;** and of course American scholars only started coming to South Africa in the early 1990s on the Fulbright program. But as a source, for community activists working at USIS at the time, was a good place to be; as I said there was access to community material that South Africans generally could not get. And I remember one of the stalwarts of our activist community, Allan Boesak, he would be interested in certain materials (books and newspaper articles) and we would make them available to him, of course, this was done without the knowledge of the Branch Public Affairs Officer (BPAO), I did not think it was illegal, because it was public information, and it was also a difficult time in South Africa,…

Q: So as a South African of the U.S. Government you were able to use this as a way to inform communities –

JOYI: Yes, although it was also done on an informal basis. When we had visits from CODELs (Congressional Delegations) coming in and out of the country, they would meet individuals, who were banned, and get to meet with these banned persons, and gain first-hand information from them. However, a personal gripe that I have with so-called American experts and/or specialists…about two weeks ago I was at a party, and in one conversation said that the world got to hear about Nelson Mandela, through Winnie Mandela, and this person "attacked me" and vehemently disagreed with me. Another person would later tell me that I am very opinionated**!** and I responded, **'**no I'm South African.**'** I further responded that while I do not claim to know everything but still maintained that it was through Winnie that the world got to know about Mr. Mandela. I

further added that individuals like the late Ted Kennedy and several other congressmen, who came to South Africa, would work their way to Brandfort to visit Mrs. Mandela and she would remind them about her husband, who was languishing on Robben Island.

But sadly many of my American friends and too many of them (have the tendency) to take ownership of our liberation struggle for black South Africans. Yes there were protests outside the South African Embassy by TransAfrica and other organizations, but equally members of the anti-*apartheid* movement in England, the anti-*apartheid* movements in Holland and Scandinavian countries, the people of India and some countries on the continent of Africa, they would be first and foremost on my list.

I would also add that I had been visiting the U.S. since 1977 and I would never stand on my soapbox and claim to know things American. As colleagues at USIS, we also had a private joke amongst colleagues that you find an American coming to South Africa for two weeks and within that time they would either write a book or claim to be a specialist on South Africa. In a recent situation at our Fall orientation session at American University; the first person, who introduced herself to the group said her name and added that she had just returned from two weeks in South Africa and added "…there is a lot of work to be done there..." By the spring semester, this same person was teaching a class on South Africa and invited me to speak to the class. I consulted with some friends back home and in the US, and they urged me to do it for the students. After the session, I was asked to respond to the myriad of questions from the students, and I spent many hours preparing the answers, and I came away thinking what a disservice to the students…this story goes on, but let me stop here…

Q: We're talking about interesting issues; I want to eventually get back to the chronology. But, so disinvestment you think, which Harvard did not do, in good time would have been more instrumental had people actually done it do you think?

JOYI: Because they had the most money invested in the country.

Q: Would this have brought change quicker?

JOYI: No, because the Afrikaner is a stubborn and forthright human being.

Q: Yes, yes.

JOYI: They were prepared to form *laager* and stay there because they had done it before, with the British, that is how the Great *Trek* took place from the Cape area into the hinterland and – but the one thing about the Afrikaner, I remember in the mid-1970s a friend said to an audience at a University of Cape Town (UCT) summer school session, "…so many English-speaking whites are concerned about our plight as black people; so if you are concerned about us as black people why do you not bring your checkbooks down here and write out your checks? Of course nobody moved. Then he added, '…the Afrikaner would give you a horse without the saddle, while the English-speaking white would just give you the saddle. (laughter) And he further added, that the Afrikaner he

would tell you I hate you, but would respect you if you go toe to toe and you speak at the same level, whereas the English-speaking white would smile at you, and stab you in the back all the time; he argued that it is also the English speaking white South African who kept *apartheid* alive and well because they were not prepared to give up their comfort zones.

Q: Well this is a huge topic especially between Afrikaners; let's say I would define this white people whose native language is Afrikaans I guess –

JOYI: The Afrikaner.

Q: And white people whose first language is English –

JOYI: And whose allegiance is to Britain and not necessarily to South Africa. Whereas the Afrikaner, in my view, would say this is my soil and 40 years later would stand on his orange box and say I am an African. I have yet to hear a white English-speaking, South African saying I am an African.

Q: I know one, but it's anecdotal, the point is very interesting, these two different groups, both of them an obstacle to –

JOYI: Well, the Afrikaner developed and implemented *apartheid*, right? And the English-speaking white South African enjoyed the comforts that it brought, although they tried to pretend that it is atrocious but yet**…**it reminds me of this student organization called NUSAS, (National Union of South African Students), and long-standing body that at one stage had black members, but because of the Black Consciousness Movement, the late activist, Steve Biko formed the South African Student Organization (SASO). And while I never joined SASO because it was mostly for university students at the time and I never went to university in South Africa, I happened to work at NUSAS after high school as part of an informal work study of a Secretarial School I attended, owned by a black woman, and I'm using black in the general sense because I come from the school of thought which leans towards the *credo* that if you are not white in South Africa you are black, and Mary Maurice, the owner arranged for me to work at NUSAS, later I would work with her late husband, and political stalwart, Edgar Maurice, who was a former high school principal at Harold Cressy High School in the city. He resigned on principle when the government broke up the structures of education into 12 different departments, based on race and ethnicity. Dr. Maurice started a building society, and I had the privilege of working for him part-time and part-time at NUSAS.

At NUSAS, there were all these white liberal students fighting for the quest of black people and I always said to them, why do you want to go into the townships and fighting for the right of black people and yet it is my mother, who cleans your houses and you treat her badly when she's there but you want to come into homes in the townships because of some conscience that you have niggling. I became friendly with one white member of NUSAS, but I always reminded Graham that whenever I were to draw the proverbial line in the sand and I crossed the line; he had to know that he could not follow.

I recall, while at NUSAS in the early 1970s SASO was traveling around the country with a play called the Blood Knot, and the play came to Cape Town. A white colleague at NUSAS, who did not live too far from where our home, decided that she wanted to go with me, to see the play I did not have a car so Janet provided the transportation to the venue. During that period of protest-theater and theater-in-the-round where the performances takes place and after the performances the performers have discussions with the audience. And at the end of the play one of the main actors said, "…*we have a problem, we have a white problem, there is this white woman in the audience..."* And I said Janet, "*let's go!",* and he said, "… *not you my sister the* woman next to you…" I said to him, "*we came together*!" And we left.

Q: So this is antipathy towards a white visitor in the township?

JOYI: Because it was at the height of *apartheid*, and the play was hosted by the Black Consciousness Movement, and this was in the early 1970s.

Q: They suspected her of being the agent of somebody?

JOYI: No, it was just that this was during the black consciousness period and with her being there in an all-black audience in a black township and this discussion between the performers and the audience would be highly-politicized and we had the presence of this white woman. I was caught up in it but I understood where they were coming from and at the same time in principle I had come with her and she was providing the transport…I had to get home too. The following day, I had a visit by two of the SASO officials, and I explained that I understood their action, it was a friendly meeting, and I am still good friends with the one official, sadly the other one died.

Q: The visit was for the purpose of what you did?

JOYI: Well, not to challenge and/or confront me, but they came to explain why they had to do it and to apologize to me.

Q: So to apologize for those who had been - ?

JOYI: To apologize to me because I had to leave. No, they were not speaking against the actor, who 'confronted' us, they came to me to assure me that they were not holding anything against me, but the ousting of the white person had to be done. And I said I understood and it was fine with me.

Q: I want to ask you now, we've gone through a series of fascinating topics, let's go back now get the chronology. You went from high school –

JOYI: I went from high school to secretarial school to my first real job. While at the typing school, well even at high school too, I used to work on Saturday at a department store's supermarket, and during the school holidays. And while I was at type school I

worked at NUSAS and at the building society Dr. Edgar Maurice owned and formed. It was towards the end of 1973 that Frank Sassman, whom I met at the local community library as a child, said that one of the U.S. Consuls, Albert Barbieri, had asked him if he could recruit any professional black staff members because they needed to hire more black professional staff as the current pool of black staff at the Consulate General at the time, drivers.

Q: Frank was there at what status at that time?

JOYI: Frank was over at USIS, and he was the senior program officer.

Q: Already?

JOYI: Yes, 1974. And I had known Frank since I was eight years old because he was the community librarian. He knew that I had just left typing school and he asked if he could submit my name to the US Consulate General. I went through the interview process and later a security background check, and on 18th March 1974, I started work at the US Consulate General in the General Services Offices as clerk. There were all these white South African woman - the receptionist was white, the commercial librarian was white, the two women in the consular section white as well as the woman in general services was white.

Q: Did Al Barbieri go to Frank Sassman with this question, was it a personal thing or was it a policy thing?

JOYI: I do not know but Frank contacted me and came to my parent's home to speak to me and said, "try it!"

Q: And you came?

JOYI: Yes, and I applied and a three-month security check was done, I think I started the process in December and then of course, I am not sure you are aware of this during your time in South Africa but around the 14th of December to the 14th of January the entire country comes to a standstill.

Q: Oh yes I well remember that.

JOYI: Which is fabulous... So I started on the 18th of March 1974 and five years later I quit, at the end of June I quit the Consulate General and transferred to USIS.

Q: That's not quitting, that's transferring.

JOYI: Transferring, to me, it felt as if I was quitting because it was nice because when I got to USIS there was Frank Sassman and Ron Hendrickse, Aubrey Mathabatha, Hamilton Mahola, Joyce Phikela, and I was in intellectual heaven…no cold and sterile bureaucracy.

Q: Tell me about USSI at that time because I've seen the USIS more recently in the 1990s, but where was it and how was it staffed and what sort of visitors did you have?

JOYI: USIS was on the second floor of Number 10 Plein Street, Scotts Building downtown, right in the middle of town.

Q: Wasn't that still the address in the early 1990s? Plain Street, I think that's where it was.

JOYI: I started at Fulbright in 1999 and USIS had moved to the Consulate General, so I guess they were –

Q: Maybe they moved.

JOYI: They must have been there in the early 1990s and moved later to where the Consulate General is.

Q: So in fact, your USIS is the same one I saw in 1994-1995 I think.

JOYI: Yes.

Q: Okay and from that window you could see the day Mandela was released –

JOYI: Yes the

Q: From that window, yeah.

JOYI: Yes.

Q: So it's the same, that's quite an institution, second floor –

JOYI: And then later on just before Bob Heath left he had part of the third floor as well.

Q: Okay, and now it sounds as if it was a pleasant move.

JOYI: Oh absolutely, it wasn't so mundane and having to follow everything to the letter, having known Frank since I was eight years old, I met Ron Hendricks though when I was in High School and so it was going home to a family and Aubrey I had also known for many years –

Q: Aubrey who and where - ?

JOYI: Aubrey Mathabatha, he was the librarian and Ron Hendrickse and Frank were the programmers. And so it was like a homecoming; because also I got to work with Bob Heath while I was still at the Consulate General also with his predecessor Steven Telkins.

Q: Okay. Well when you went to USIS sounds like a pleasant move –

JOYI: Absolutely.

Q: You mentioned the CBS showings the video, what other types of programs were you involved with?

JOYI: The Fulbright program, student program –

Q: In what way? Were you - did the Americans turn to you for advice on candidates?

JOYI: No I worked – Ron received applications but I got involved helping him setting up the interviews and I got to meet other Fulbrighter alumni, who served on the panels as the interviews were held in the building –

Q: Did you meet Bart Rousseve?

JOYI: Yes I did, I actually met Bart – oh while I was at the Consulate in 1977, I came to the U.S. on a three month visit, it was purely personal and what is interesting is, no one at the Consulate General or the vice consul, at the time, recommended that I go for consultations. So in 1977 I came to the U.S. for three months, in 1979 I moved over to USIS, in 1981 I came back to the U.S. on holiday for three months and the PAO (Public Affairs Officer) at the time, Eugene (Gene) Friedman, arranged – was it Gene Friedman or was it Bob Gosende? … arranged consultations for me at USIA. It was Bob Gosende and later, in 1988, Gene Friedman, arranged consultations for me at USIA.

In 1988, I came for one week to Georgetown University, where a group of South Africans living in exile and specifically Henry Isaacs, who at one time was president of SASO, and later the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) representative at the UN, invited me to present a paper – Henry was living in Washington D.C. and we had met Henry in Zimbabwe in the early 1980s.

Q: Sorry, Henry?

JOYI: Isaacs, he was called affectionately by his initials, HE. As I said 1977 it was not even suggested that I come for consultation at State Department.

Q: We were talking about Bart Rousseve, did you meet him - ?

JOYI: Bart Rousseve, it was during those times, one of those times that I met him; it must have been in the 1981 trip or 1977. I was in New York and Bart was hosting a group of South Africans Operation Crossroads Africa (OCA) grantees, and in the group was my dentist, Trevor Arendoff, the late Trevor Arendoff, who died too young. I had already met Bart Rousseve in Cape Town when he came for the interviews.

Q: Did he work with Ron and you in interviewing South African - ?

JOYI: It was more with Ron because I was the administrative assistant.

Q: Okay, back to your chronology then, you had two three month visits 1977 and 1981, but neither of them was an official - ?

JOYI: No but 1981 Bob Gosende suggested I come to USIA for consultations and I think that is where I met – were you in Washington at the time? When were you at USIA?

Q: I was 1980 – no, I was in USIA but I was not yet _____.

JOYI: Oh okay. Because I met Kurt Huff as well –

Q: LaGamma perhaps –

JOYI: I never met Bob LaGamma. And so I came to the U.S. as I said both times, that was also during the 1980s I also started traveling to Zimbabwe and I would go three times a year to Zimbabwe to visit friends because I had many friends, who were living in exile especially from the Pan-Africanist Congress movement. In August 1985, I was in a demonstration with Frank Sassman, and I got beaten up by the police. Bob Gosende was the PAO at the time and got more support from him in Pretoria than the Branch Public Affairs Officer, who shall remain nameless.

Q: Well wait, so Gosende was Branch PAO in Cape Town then later went back –

JOYI: He came back to South Africa as the PAO yes. I think Bob Gosende must have been in Cape Town before Steven Telkins?

Q: I have yet to get – Gosende's moving to Washington very soon I understand.

JOYI: Yes, he is…?.

Q: I'll get him. The demonstration, well describe –

JOYI: It was a march to release Nelson Mandela.

Q: In 1985?

JOYI: August 28, 1985, and I got caught up in that, and I was home for two weeks.

Q: After being beaten up.

JOYI: Yes.

Q: Were there many people hurt on that occasion?

JOYI: Yes, well that was only one demonstration I had participated in but people were being beaten up throughout the country, some even lost their lives. And specifically, the 1980s were very violent.

Q: And we should say, I think, that at that time very few people imagined that he would be released, in retrospect we know what happened but at the time it was a very bold thing to be doing I think.

JOYI: I am not, no I would not say that, I think what was bold happened in 1976, on the 16th of June because – and I think that started the whole process of what would eventually lead to 1994, that is my opinion.

Q: Now, tell me a little about, you were an employee of the U.S. Government; you were in a demonstration –

JOYI: I took the day off, I had applied for leave.

Q: Okay so it was a very personal thing.

JOYI: Yes.

Q: Was there ever any discussion with Americans in the consulate or USIS, did they have any opinion in favor or opposed to their own employees going to demonstrations?

JOYI: Well I was told by the BPAO as I said shall remain nameless, that as a U.S. Government employee I was not supposed to have participated and that –

Q: Do you think that was typical of what Americans were doing at that time, that was an individual - ?

JOYI: Oh no, this was a rather interesting man, I am trying to be extremely diplomatic, and so had it been somebody else it would have been a different reaction but this was an extreme individual, who for the four years that he was in Cape Town, two of those years I would go to the dermatologist every other week and all my dermatologist said to me was, 'why do you allow this to happen, and you need to do something about it and you must go out in the sun and enjoy yourself.'

Q: Meaning - ?

JOYI: I should not get stressed over this person, yeah. And so I had to do what I thought at the time was right for me to do is literally and figuratively change my personality, and almost fighting back, reacting; at first I would not react, I would bottle things up. And for two years I reacted to not only – because my dermatologist said to me if I do not do something, he would take further action and have me either see a therapist, which he said he did not want to do, it would not be necessary because I needed to be strong. He said,

'you are able to…' This is an old Jewish man, who further said, 'you are able to deal with issues that affects you as a black person, turn this around and use that same energy and stop coming to me because I am going to refuse to treat you and see you…'

Q: Meaning he felt your health depended on y our channeling your energies –

JOYI: No, he wanted me to react, if I was in a clash with this colleague of mine, I had to react and not bottle things up. From bottling things up my face would flare up.

Q: Interesting, so a dermatologist –

JOYI: Yes, he was an old wise man, who ran this little practice out of the medical center and he said to me one day, you are reacting to things out there but you are not reacting to things that affect you directly.'

Q: So you must follow your feelings and express them.

JOYI: And express them, yes. And I learned to do it.

Q: You did it?

JOYI: Of course, for two years I did it.

Q: Imagine receiving such wisdom from a dermatologist.

JOYI: Yes.

Q: Okay, so when you did things your supervisor asked you not to do, what - ?

JOYI: It was always an antagonistic relationship, for instance, I would block up because of the air conditioner and I would open my windows and he would say to me, '*don't expect my cool area to cool down your hot area…'* and would proceed to close the window and I would go and open it; and the time I was beaten up there was a very strange woman, who worked with us and further than that I will not continue, but she said that she went to report me to him and said when I came back after the two weeks after the beating, she asked me how I was and I ignored her, and I was called out on the red carpet for that. And he said to me, *'...why wouldn't you respond to her'?* I said*, '...because I have got nothing to say…'* and I asked*, '...are you done because I have work to do…'* Weeks later, he wrote in my evaluation, under my evaluation for areas for improvement, he found nothing wrong with my work but for areas of improvement I needed to strive to maintain a good relationship with this woman, and I refused to sign the form.

Q: This woman was where in the chain of command, just a colleague? Did she supervise you?

JOYI: She was below Ron and Frank, she was the third programmer, a junior and she had

just started working at USIS. He said that before she came to USIS, it was dullsville in the office and she had this effervescent personality. And I think I was smarting also because the programme officer before her was an Afrikaner woman, who was nice, and I liked her, but the way BPAO treated her so badly was despicable. One Friday afternoon, the BPAO called a meeting for 3 o'clock and everybody waited for her to come down – she never did. I would always like this woman for what she did; she left her letter of resignation on her desk and walked out of the third floor exit…never to return.

Q: Because of him?

JOYI: Yes.

Q: Not to be treated - ?

JOYI: She could do that because she had a husband to support her; I could not, plus I enjoyed what I was doing and frankly I'll be damned if I was going to quit because of that man. I would do something like that later when I would be in a better position and be in a better frame of mind, I would be older and I would have the latitude to do it but at that time, I could not.

Q: What was the reaction of the unnamed person when they were waiting and this woman didn't show up for the 3 o'clock meeting?

JOYI: He could care less; he really could care less.

Q: Yeah. Did he conduct the meeting at 3 o'clock without her?

JOYI: Well the meeting went on...what was discussed was – well I was not part of that meeting, but what was discussed was this woman quitting. And the woman, who complained about me to him, and, who was the number two person, AND whom he actually wanted to hire initially, but the Afrikaner woman credentials were far superior … by the following Monday, this woman with the effervescent personality was there…

Q: Was there.

JOYI: - was there, without a blink of an eye she was there.

Q: Okay, internally that is a snapshot; meanwhile Frank and Ron and you, were doing –

JOYI: And Hamilton and Aubrey…

Q: Tell us about the things you did; you lined up interviews, and these are interviews of South Africans who were candidates to go in one form or another overseas –

JOYI: On Fulbright, that's where I helped Ron, but the other things were small; there was the PAO, Jodie Lewinsohn, and during her tour, we had the visit from the Head of USIA,

Charles Wick. I enjoyed working with Jodie, worked in –as everybody loves Bob Gosende and of course I enjoyed working with Gene Friedman. And it was a good, as I said intellectually it was great, which made me believe that State was just *there*… and USIA was the place where smarter people worked and it seemed that way for me because working at the U.S. Consulate General was more you are in the back room of some dark dingy building. And of course, the U.S. Consulate Offices were very nice offices, but it was just so boring, whereas everyday at USIS was different with the many programs, the films, the roundtable discussions and so on.

Q: What do you think the Fulbright program was succeeding in doing at that time?

JOYI: From my own experience I saw individuals, who moved, where prior to Fulbright experience they were in these so-called ordinary, mundane, lowly positions but post-Fulbright they had moved up. And of course education being the weapon that was first and foremost in anyone's, any black person's mind, in my view, because that to them was the weapon. If I think back to especially, and with Cape Town being my point of reference, the one person I know, Nicky Morgan, who went as a professor in labor studies at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), went on a Fulbright to Cornell, returned home, and one of the many jobs he had, two of them in the academic arena was a Vice-Chancellor (VC) of the, the former University of the Transkei now called the Walter Sisulu University, and he is currently the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (DVC) at the University of Johannesburg (UJ), which is the former Rand Afrikaans University (RAU). In fact there was a time, and also during my Fulbright years, where there were about five or six Fulbrighters, who were university Vice-Chancellors, which is equivalent to university president. Edgar Maurice's son became the curator at the Cultural Museum in Cape Town; there are several government officials and high-respected academics, who all belong to the Fulbright family. So if you look at the Fulbright program and how it has impacted not only on individuals but also on several institutions…it has been more than a success.

Q: How big was the program back then? How many people approximately?

JOYI: They sent? Must have been about 30 for the country.

Q: That's big.

JOYI: That's big, yes.

Q: And then during, you said the African boycott, Americans were not coming to South Africa but they were financing South African study in the U.S., is that right?

JOYI: The academic boycott. Through the Fulbright program, there are other individuals like Deva Govindsamy, and Gill Jacot-Guillarmod, and Ron Hendrickse, who worked closely with the program; at the time I was seeing things on the peripheral until I worked at the Fulbright Commission which is a different … But if you look at the stats from 1953 to when the U.S. Embassy administered the program, until, I guess, June 1999, and then

from June 1999 to March 2006 the Fulbright Commission administered the program.

Q: Well, we'll talk about that tempestuous period later.

JOYI: And how I am still smarting, about the closure.

Q: Yeah, the only commission I believe that Sub-Saharan international has ever had -

JOYI: In Sub-Saharan and Africa.

Q: And now zero.

JOYI: Nothing, it was sad.

Q: Yeah, it was sad and it deserves a whole interview in itself at a later time. Okay, back to USIS Cape Town.

JOYI: USIS Cape Town as I said was an exciting place. At that time, a security guard was placed at the entrance of the Centre, and I think, more so, because of the unrest. During that time, security enhancements were done inside the office; the entire internal structure was changed; and an area that was an open public space was enclosed; from the entrance of the library, a wall was built, which cordoned off the library section, from the staff area.

Q: Now this is because of the social tension –

JOYI: In the country.

Q: It was not yet a world-wide security?

JOYI: No, no, no, this was in the 1980s in South Africa. And then of course there were marines, who were introduced in the early 1970s when I was still at the Consulate General. The Marine Security Guards were introduced then brought then.

Q: Okay. Now the Fulbright program, you mentioned there were also programs, daily things that happened that were hosted at the center.

JOYI: Now these were for…while there was not a Fulbright scholar program from the U.S., bring academics to South Africa, there were these specialists, academic specialists and also individuals, I remember a couple of names, Robert Rotberg from MIT, there was a visit of Earl Yates and there was Edie House from the television station and Ray Herbert was from the University of Maryland, College Park, he came with Edie House, they were communications experts, and others from Georgetown.

Q: Oh yeah, from Georgetown.

JOYI: - from Georgetown. So they ran workshops and as I said roundtable discussions or visits to local universities.

Q: How was this generated? Was this something offered by Washington - ?

JOYI: Yes, through cable form, yeah.

Q: So these are programs actually offered to all embassies I think.

JOYI: Yes, or to the southern African region or the continent...

Q: And the Branch PAO would request the PAO at that time I guess for authorization to say yes on these offers is that how it worked?

JOYI: Well if Washington was saying Dan Whitman was coming to South Africa or was going to be in the region, Washington would ask, are you interested? And if the programmers met with the branch PAO and they would plan how they would plan your program during your visit and – oh I remember Charles Pace, the actor from Texarkana, Texas and in fact I am still in touch with him, we spoke just last week; he came in 1980 and 1981.

Q: Describe a little these programs, who came and how long the visitors stayed and how far away they traveled, did they do into the townships?

JOYI: They went into the townships or communities or members of organizations, they were not called NGOs then but what we would call NGOs today. But also these were members of the United Democratic Front if it was a political person. There would be roundtable discussions and people would be invited, it was also tricky because people like Frank and Ron had to work with the South African government officials as well.

Q: *I was going to ask, what type of observation; these things must have been observed by the government.*

JOYI: I guess they did but because we were operating on USG soil, so that became a totally different story, because as anything goes, on US soil outside of the host government, they could not send in a security, they might have sent in one or two people under cover, who knows.

Q: Sure and yet but even the – sometimes what happens is the people who attend the event they are fine while on the USG soil but when they go home that's another question. But you don't know of any -

JOYI: I'm not privy to that, no.

Q: - where someone had a hard time because of that?

JOYI: No, maybe Frank or Ron would but know.

Q: Okay, so these, it sounds like very exciting moments.

JOYI: Absolutely, because as I said, top of that list is the news, the CBS news and later there would be a contract with ABC, but it was CBS at the time. And with individuals coming to the center, including hard core activists and it is because they knew the local staff, and it was deemed okay.

Q: Deemed by you staff, you felt it wouldn't be compromised outside their homes by the South African government; when you say deemed, deemed by your team?

JOYI: No, no. Okay, let me break it down. If you were an activist or a member of the UDF you would speak to me because you knew that I could get – I would say to you there's a James Baldwin book that came in or there's this article, things like that. At the same time if Dan Whitman, who is a human rights lawyer based in Washington D.C., he has worked with the Black Panther, he has worked with activists groups in D.C., he is coming to South Africa, we are hosting a roundtable discussion, and then Dan Whitman, the UDF or maybe underground ANC, as UDF was a front for the ANC, so any of those activists would come to the auditorium, and participate or attend the roundtable discussion.

Q: So your auditorium could be described as a safe place, intellectually and –

JOYI: Exactly but from my experience Dan Whitman the UDF leader of that branch would come because he or she would get to interact with comrades and colleagues, it would be a meeting of minds, or he or she came because they know Dan Whitman the human rights lawyer by reputation.

Q: Okay, you flatter me, but I understand. So the place provided intellectual openness, a sense of safety to have dialogs which might have been more difficult to conduct outside. Okay. Did some of these events take place outside - ?

JOYI: Well, Frank traveled to the Eastern Cape and to me the Eastern Cape has always been the hotbed of things politics in South Africa, and yes off-site events took place. And also Frank would meet with not only the UDF types but AZAPO (The Azanian People's Organization), and UDF and AZAPO members would come together to come and listen to Dan Whitman, the human rights lawyer. You see that is what they, and I in retrospective believe, what these groups could get at the moment was like *manna* from heaven-just this interaction was enough for them-because we were isolated not only through academics but also if ever we were, for instance, if anyone had a James Baldwin book in his or her possession, which was banned in South Africa, even something like The Autobiography of Malcolm X, I know copies of the autobiography filtered around the country and by the time it got to you it was falling apart and somebody needed to go and, copy another copy and that way it found its way around the country.

Q: Provided by USIS?

JOYI: Somebody in USIS would have made a copy …

Q: Remarkable. So banned books –

JOYI: And publications.

Q: And so these publications did make their way outside the premises.

JOYI: Yes, and it could also have been Dan Whitman, the UDF leader, who is a member of the library; he might have legally borrowed a book and photocopied it and you made sure your constituencies got to read it.

Q: Right, what happened outside was not the concern of the USIS staff.

JOYI: No.

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Q: Yeah, okay, so that's -

JOYI: I would let Dan Whitman, the community leader know that we received a new consignment of books.

Q: (laughter) Yeah, great. Okay, now I've lost track of the dates, you were –

JOYI: I was at USIS 1989 to 1979 ten years.

Q: Oh wait, 1979 to 1989.

JOYI: Yes, July 1979 to July 1989.

Q: Okay, is there more to say about that 10 year period before we move on? Is there something else?

JOYI: As I said, during that time I worked with wonderful men and women, Jodie Lewinsohn, Bob Gosende, Frank Lattanzi, Bob Heath, and Gene Friedman, who stand out; then there was Samir Kouttab, who was a gem, he was the BPAO in the mid-1980s. In 1986, he was the PAO in Zimbabwe after a stint in Riyadh. He was also the ACAO in Pretoria with Bob Gosende and Frank Lattanzi. I also became good friends with the Bill and Donna Edmondson, Bill was the DCM when I started in 1974 and returned as the Ambassador under the Carter Administration in 1978. I got to meet and became good friends with Walter Stadtler, who was the Deputy Chief of Mission and Harvey Nelson, and his wife CeAnne; we used to go mountain climbing with Bob Heath. I met the Walkers in the early 1980s and they were here two weeks ago for lunch, Howard and Terry Walker, and then also the Taylors, Jay and Betsy Taylor, who was the Political Counselor. And of course when I started at the Consulate General in 1974, I met Jeff

Davidow, who was a Political Officer along with his colleague, Richard Tierney. Then there was Bob and Mary Pringle, and Leonard Lange, both were Economic Officers.

Q: Jeff Davidow, that's the person now at USC, now in California?

JOYI: In California, he was the favorite diplomat in Mexico.

Q: Yes.

JOYI: Yes, he was the Ambassador.

Q: Okay now, he is the head of a Latin American studies program now, it's USC or UCLA.

JOYI: Oh, I thought he was at some organization in San Diego; has he moved?

Q: No, he is in San Diego at USC San Diego –

JOYI: As an adjunct?

Q: I don't know exactly, he runs a program on Latin America. You say he was in Mexico; so he too was in Cape Town?

JOYI: Yes in 1974, and Steve McDonald, who is at the Woodrow Wilson Center.

Q: Well, well, well, fantastic. The number of people and Davidow for example, is known as a Latin American specialist –

JOYI: Yes, when he was in Venezuela and Mexico.

Q: He was anointed in Cape Town. (laughter)

JOYI: (laughter) Yes. And he went to Zimbabwe I think either as the Ambassador; oh he opened the embassy in Zimbabwe. The other two stalwart, of course, are the late John Burns and Chuck Bell.

Q: Yes. Actually let's reminisce a little about John Burns, he was such a, he was the only South African who saw fit –

JOYI: He asked me to work at USIS Zimbabwe in the mid-1980s but was it in 1984 when there was a falling-out between the US and Zimbabwe; Jimmy Carter was in Harare for a 4th of July reception, and Mugabe wanted to throw him out and it was about that time when I was working on my work permit and of course never got to work in Zimbabwe. This was according to Mr. Burns.

Q: So John Burns wanted, what was he PAO?

JOYI: Yes, PAO.

Q: Which he was twice I guess, right? I think he was PAO twice because he was again – he finished _____ in 1984, so that must have been his second time.

JOYI: Well remember I said to you during the 1980s I traveled back and forth to Zimbabwe? That is when I met him.

Q: So he saw you as a person who could help with USIS Harare.

JOYI: Yes.

Q: Oh and since you were traveling back and forth you knew the place quite well.

JOYI: Yes, I knew and I got to meet most of the staff members and had worked with this one officer at the Department of Foreign Affairs in Zimbabwe, who was working on my work permit application. When I lived and worked at the Fulbright Commission, I bumped into this person at Johannesburg International Airport; he was now the Consul General for his country, and he confirmed what John Burns told me about the work permit.

Q: Zimbabwe.

JOYI: Zimbabwe. However, maybe five, I have been here, since 2007, I think early 2000 he was arrested, it turns out he was spying for South Africa.

Q: Wow.

JOYI: Yeah, which I thought was very interesting. But my work permit was turned down.

Q: Like arrested by the Zimbabweans?

JOYI: Yes.

Q: I don't know what it is you can spy on in Zimbabwe, their problems are so visible, but I understand, there's paranoia in every country.

Let's get through, there is a time element, let's get through the 10 year period 1979-1989.

JOYI: As I said, from an intellectual perspective USIS was extremely exciting, having the opportunity to work with Frank Sassman, Ron Hendrickse, and Aubrey Mathabatha; Bob Gosende and Gene Friedman, Jodie Lewinsohn, I did say Samir Kouttab and of course Ray McGunigle because he was the first BPAO I worked with and we arrived more or less the same time; I had left at the end of June 1979 to work at USIS, and I started the beginning of July.

Q: Now Jodie Lewinsohn was PAO?

JOYI: She was PAO I think when Ray McGunigle was around.

Q: Now as we know that the relations between the PAO and the branches at that time were much closer than they are now, they aren't even branches anymore and you mentioned Jodie Lewinsohn a few times. What was the relationship like between a branch and the country PAO? Was it –

JOYI: It was always good.

Q: No, I mean what type of – were decisions made together? I think the PAO would decide on –

JOYI: Well I think from what I can remember, decisions were made at branch level and sent to Pretoria, I guess for vetting and approval.

Q: Right, okay. But you say you worked with Jodie Lewinsohn, did she come very often?

JOYI: She came often but also specifically at the time of Charles Wick's visit, that was huge, we even had to get a piano for him.

Q: Yes, everywhere Charles Wick went there was the piano requirement. Tell us a little bit about those, that visit, because there are so many anecdotes about Charlie.

JOYI: Well, we were having this dinner for the Cape Town community of academics and civil society including, community activists and politicians. We had it at the Round House restaurant, which is in Devil's Peak, half-way up mountain, and you have all these steps leading up to the restaurant and it was quite tricky to get the piano up there needless to say…

Q: (laughter) Oh, my gosh; what did you have extremely strong guys carry it, is that how you did it?

JOYI: More than ten men, I guess…and the interesting thing is, everybody was sort of waiting with angst, what is he going to play? But he just went –

Q: Oh, no.

JOYI: - and that was it. He may have played just two minutes,…but it was great.

Q: What else? Was there any he achieved during that visit, the gathering of the community leaders, activists, on the occasion of his visit?

JOYI: Yes. I think also a lot of …I am convinced that many people attend conferences to

catch up on friendships and I think that was one of those where somebody from Stellenbosch University would get to speak to a community activist so it was those kind of meetings.

Q: So you think that the embassy and the consulate and USIS used the Wick visit effectively for local purposes too?

JOYI: I think so…–

Q: Was Gosende the PAO at the time of the Wick visit?

JOYI: Bernie Lavin was there – no, Jodie Lewinsohn was there.

Q: Jodie Lewinsohn.

JOYI: Oh, Bernie Lavin too; I met Bernie Lavin. Jodie Lewinsohn was there and I think immediately after that because the visit was a success, Jodie was brought back to Washington.

Q: Became a big shot in USIA, was a big shot.

JOYI: Yes.

Q: One of the area, EAP I think, head of EAP, because she had been in Japan. Well, and do you remember the year? Was it 1989, 1988?

JOYI: No, it must have been, let me see, it was after Bob Gosende

Q: In the 1980s –

JOYI: Yes, it was deep into the 1980s.

Q: The time requirements of the tape, we should bring this particular section to a close and then we'll start the next one in 1989 and see what happened at that point.

Before we leave this 10 year period, anything else? Any particular experiences? Did you go to the Eastern Cape - ?

JOYI: No I didn't. I was in Cape Town.

Q: Let's spoil the story a little bit and say you were later the director of the Fulbright Commission; what were you learning working with Ron at that time that prepared you for that experience later?

JOYI: I got to know individuals, actually became good friends with them, prior to their travel to the U.S. and post their Fulbright experience, to where they were in new

positions. Some of them were individuals, whom I worked with in my Fulbright years and, of course, leaning on the experience of Ron and Deva became important for me.

Q: Deva, Ron's counterpart in Durban.

JOYI: In Durban, yes. And then too, Gill, who was always invited to sit on the student panels.

Q: Now again leaping ahead because I can't help it, knowing these individuals did this create a base of expertise for your later - ?

JOYI: Absolutely.

Q: So one thing led to another, you'd call so-and-so and say who do we nominate this year, this sort of thing?

JOYI: No, one of the key things that became important for me to be mindful of all the time that inasmuch as the Fulbright Commission covered the country, I knew that I could freely operate in the Gauteng areas of Pretoria-Johannesburg and also in Limpopo in the Free State but if I ventured into KwaZulu-Natal, Deva was my main contact, and I would defer everything to him.

Q: So because you knew Deva so well you had that natural relationship.

JOYI: Yes. And that made for excellent working relationships and the same with the Eastern Cape, where Ron where I would defer things to him, that is, the Eastern Cape and Cape Town. I consult with them, about dates and plans for the Fulbright program. We would discuss the individuals and/or institutions I would like to visit and their availability to accompany me to the meetings, since it was their turf. It became important for me not to allow our friendships to interfere in our professional interactions. Many of my movements and meetings were discussed with them first, because I was aware of the sensitivity that reared its ugly head before I joined the Fulbright Commission, and how almost became a stigma. I was very clear that professionally I enjoyed working with my two regional colleagues, it further helped that I liked both of them.

Q: This is a very suspenseful moment to take a pause. You just stalked about the stigma created by regional turf issues.

JOYI: No, but I do not care, who it is Dan, if you work in …

Q: Right, no, I don't think you meant to say, that they didn't say that, it was those individuals –

JOYI: No, no, no. I'm saying is if you at an institution, which covers the country, and there are individuals in certain regions, who operate within that region almost for the same cause, one has to respect those individuals if you want to make for a very good

working relationships. And that, I am pleased I had the opportunities to work with these individuals, that in the second stage of my career I got to work with them again and so that helped, having established that basis. Because in no way was I going to step on their toes because I wanted to – my thing with Fulbright was I needed to ensure that if Dan Whitman, the grantee is applying for Fulbright and you are successful, I needed to make sure that your transition from Dan Whitman the applicant to Dan Whitman the grantee needed to be without hitches. And if you sat in Cape Town you needed Ron Hendrickse to help you. I needed to facilitate that but had I had stepped on Ron's toes in the past that might have just affected you the grantee itself. I wanted to make sure that worked very well; that even now I can for instance when Bob Heath wanted to know about Frank Sassman's email, I could email Ron and get a response within a day…

Q: Right. Okay, a very fascinating view of institutional, I won't say politics, but mechanisms –

JOYI: Politics too.

Q: Politics, yeah.

JOYI: Politics too, because I have seen it happen too often and – I always say Dan that I am not going to create a problem if it does not affect me; if it does affect me and I know that I need to make sure Dan Whitman is okay, I am going to move things, but if I do not have to move them I stay back.

Q: Maybe a dermatologist taught that lesson.

JOYI: Oh he was fabulous, oh yes. I will testify to that, yes.

Q: Okay, just to identify for the transcriber it's December 1, Dan Whitman interviewing Monica Joyi and what a pleasure and we will continue soon.

JOYI: And we are in Washington, D.C.

Q: Yes, thank you

JOYI: You are welcome; You are not in South Africa yet.

Q: Well mentally and emotionally we both are, I know I am.

JOYI: Oh, we were transported.

Q: I was. Thank you.

This is Dan Whitman interviewing Monica Joyi, this is our second session December 3 and there's noise outside that we're not going to worry about and we are on Wisconsin Avenue in Washington, D.C., Joined by Therese Mance, who is witnessing this occasion

and we're happy she is here.

Monica when we stopped in our last session, you were just getting to the end of your 10 years in Cape Town as an employee of the U.S. consulate there, in 1989 –

JOYI: Actually I was leaving USIS.

Q: I meant USIS.

JOYI: Ten years.

Q: Right, the consulate then from there USIS. I say consulate because nowadays it would be called the consulate, that's a very sad matter, but that's the politics of what happened to USIA.

JOYI: Except for benefit of this discussion I would still like to make the distinction because for five years of my life I worked at State and it was more exciting to be working for USIA. As I said earlier, to me it was more from an intellectual perspective, there were more exciting programs happening and it was not just bureaucratic stuff where you have to change manuals and follow regulations like everybody around the world –

Q: Foreign Affairs Manual.

JOYI: Yes, the FAM.

Q: I can appreciate that because I too was USIA and I had the same bias. So, Bastille Day, July 14, 1989, -

JOYI: My last day –

Q: - which was exactly –

JOYI: A Friday –

Q: the bicentennial of the French Resolution. How did you celebrate the bicentennial of the French Revolution?

JOYI: I did not, I just knew I needed to get out before another person, who shall remain nameless returned from home leave. (laughter) Yes, yes. He reminded me of a village school master; he had this pocket protector in his pocket with all the pens.

Q: Oh really, now that would be a duas.

JOYI: A duas, yes. And I left a month later for Brandeis University.

Q: Good. Now how did you pull that one off because Brandeis is a very expensive

school?

JOYI: Brandeis is a very expensive school; I also got the full scholarship from the University and a partial Fulbright travel grant. I was 1988, I was still working at USIS with Samir Kouttab. I was invited by some South Africans living in exile in the U.S., and in particular, the now late Henry Isaacs, who was the Pan-Africanist Congress representative at the U.N. He organized this South African conference at Georgetown, and for some reason he invited me. But it was a good reason because I met many…

Q: He invited you - ?

JOYI: To present a paper on political strategies for women in an *apartheid* system. And I came here and met so many South Africans, who were living in exile; and over a week we were able to hold what I call *fellowship* because it was an opportunity for us coming from the country to interact with individuals, living in exile since the 1960s, so this is 1989 almost 30 years later...

Q: The people you met, the expatriates, were you familiar with any of them by name?

JOYI: I met a South African writer, Mbulelo Mzamane, Bennie Khoapa and Phyllis Jordan, as well as other South Africans living in exile, in the area.

Q: So they were expatriates at that time?

JOYI: I am not sure how to understand expatriates because –

Q: Oh, South Africans living here.

JOYI: They were living in exile, and so I have always understood expatriates to mean someone like me, if I lived and worked in Washington, D.C. and I am able to go back home to South African. But if you live in exile, self-imposed or imposed by the SA government, you cannot return home, while that particular government is in power.

Q: They could not?

JOYI: They could not return while the white government was in power. So I think –

Q: Thanks for the distinction.

JOYI: Yes, that is my interpretation and my understanding. Because for instance I know in Botswana there are expatriates working there but the idea is if enough Botswana nationals are educated and/or trained to do the work that expatriates are doing, it is the expectation that these visitors or expatriates would return to their home country or go elsewhere.

Q: Understood.

JOYI: Yes.

Q: Well since we're on that distinction, were the exiles, under what conditions did they leave? Did they leave, were they able to leave –

JOYI: They left for political reasons; either the government gave them 48 or 72 hours to leave the country on an exit permit or they left by way of the underground, because they were sought by the government authorities.

Q: Yes, the government, the regime allowed them to leave, or did they instruct them to leave?

JOYI: No, they knew their lives were in danger so they escaped, they did not just – I guess many of them may have gotten on a plane and left South Africa, others would have gone to the nearest country like Lesotho or Botswana or Swaziland even Mozambique and from their go to Zambia or Zimbabwe, very few went to Namibia because Namibia was administered by the South African government.

Q: Yes, and it had a different name I think.

JOYI: It was called South West Africa. And then it had its own political struggles with South Africans and the liberation group SWAPO, (The South West Africa People's Organization), and also with the South African defense force fighting SWAPO and also going into Angola and this where the Cubans were assisting the Angolan liberation movement. That is another part of our political history, how the Cubans got onto the continent and specifically to Angola.

Q: The Angola War is sometimes called the Vietnam of South Africa.

JOYI: The Continent, .

Q: So, you met Mbulelo Mzamane and Phyllis Jordan in the U.S. –

JOYI: And Peter Molotsi –

Q: And again, these were people whose names you knew but you met when you came here, is that correct?

JOYI: I met them when I came here, there were many others too, and this conference was hosted by Henry Isaacs, who lived in Washington.

Q: Okay, then the subject of the conference was?

JOYI: Was just to discuss current political issues in South Africa.

Q: So was it your visit at that time that paved for the way for your future stay at Brandeis?

JOYI: Paved the way because Mbulelo Mzamane had recognized my name, as many South African Fulbright students, specifically the ones in Cape Town, had come through and met with South Africans in exile, my name would come up, that I helped them, whether it was with the logistics or referring them to an American friend in the US.

Q: Talking about the other side –

JOYI: Yes. And it was also at the time where he had told me there were possibilities for South Africans to study at Le Moyne in upstate New York. At that time, had reached a turning point in my own life where I was telling myself I know all of this work but there was no balance – a little piece of paper that said I know this work because I have this piece of paper to validate what I know and what I am doing; so there was no proof that I could walk into a place and say I have an undergraduate, or I have a degree so therefore I can say all of the things I know, or developed, or learned as this piece of paper is my 'passport' to a world of this knowledge.

Q: So you reached the maximum utility of your 10 years at USIS and you needed to take the next step?

JOYI: Well, it came long before I actually quit, I was still mulling that over and decided – but also what happened is I also had reached a point in my life at USIA or perhaps with the U.S. Government, where officials were closer in age and there was a level of - I enjoyed when I started in 1974, there were these older sophisticated and refined men and women and so as the age kept closing in, I felt I was dealing with a rough group of individuals, who were obnoxious and arrogant and downright rude. In particular, a person from the West Coast, who used profanity and yes, I use profanity but I am very stylish about it, and I believe there is a time and a place…but this person just used it randomly and I knew it was time for me to leave.

Q: I'm sorry, was this a colleague or a grantee?

JOYI: A colleague, a woman, who felt that she needed to micro-manage me and I do not…

Q: An American?

JOYI: Yes, and I do not react kindly to micro-management nonsense. Since I reported to the BPAO, I did not take kindly to that and this was only the assistant director. One morning, on my way to work, I decided this is it, I am getting out of here. It coincided with my returning from one of my jaunts to Zimbabwe and getting back to the office, I was met at the door by the JOT (Junior Trainee Officer), who told me that British Airways had been trying to get a hold of me as I had a ticket waiting for me to go to Washington, and I looked at my director and he said, 'sure you can go.' (I did say that

that Samir Kouttab was a gem). Samir called Gene Friedman in Pretoria, and Gene suggested that I could go for consultation while in Washington. I had just returned from leave…, and was off again to Washington.

Q: That was 1988 when you went to the Henry Isaacson thing?

JOYI: Yes when I came to D.C. for a week.

Q: So it was time.

JOYI: Yes, but then to have my senior colleagues just approve of it like that…

Q: So it was meant to be.

JOYI: It was meant to be and when I was approached about recruiting individuals for Le Moyne College and with my beginning to feel restless after 15 years, I decided I am going to consider applying to attend university in the US. I have to admit I never knew I was university material but I decided let me do this, I am steeped in knowledge of the Fulbright program, working with university officials in Cape Town. So I quietly, we didn't have internet, consulted the directory with the student counselor, I would come into the library on a Saturday morning, and pour over the many directories and I identified about 40 schools that I just sent enquiry letters to, asking for preliminary information. I finally applied to six schools, including Le Moyne, and Brandeis offered me the better deal. Once more, I took a trip to Zimbabwe to discuss the Brandeis, Lawrence Wien Scholarship offer with my comrades, and I was told rather than Radcliffe or Le Moyne, Brandeis would be the better choice; they mentioned Herbert Marcuse, who taught at Brandeis, Angela Davis, who was a student, and so those were the big attractions, amongst many other, including that it is a small private institution with well-respected academics and that it would be a good transition from work to absorbing the academic life.

Q: So on Bastille Day, 1989 you made the break.

JOYI: I made the break and a month later I was on the plane heading for Brandeis.

Q: On the plane for Brandeis for a bachelor's degree - ?

JOYI: For an undergraduate degree and four wonderful years later; I met wonderful individuals and I am still in touch with some of them. Unfortunately the person, who was my main advisor, Irv Zola passed, and Gordie Fellman is still my contact. In fact I saw him in April last year and Joyce Antler was my host family, I met with her as well. And as I said to you on Tuesday, that the women in the international office, Faire Goldstein, Linda Nathanson, Pamela Pettengill, would always invite me to the faculty lounge for lunch at least twice a month, which was so good; they treated me as an adult.

Q: You were an adult; you are an adult.

JOYI: No but because I was mindful, here I was a student, I was 10 years older than the undergrads but I must admit that there were times when I got tired of looking scruffy, scruffy in a sense I missed wearing stockings and a dress so I made the conscious decision that every Wednesday I would dress up, just to make me feel in touch with the outside world.

Q: And adulthood.

JOYI: Yes and adulthood.

Q: Okay, your major at Brandeis?

JOYI: Sociology and anthropology and graduated in May 1993 and, by chance, I wrote to the American Sociological Association and said I am graduating in May could they recommend any organizations where I could do an internship; part of the Fulbright travel grant meant I could stay on for 18 months after graduation.

I must tell you an interesting incident though. Because I received a full scholarship from Brandeis I left South Africa on the then IAP:66 issued by Brandeis, two months into my stay there I was summoned to the international office because the officials there were surprised to learn that I am a partial Fulbright student, which meant that my visa status changed. My visa status had to be transferred and administered by IIE (Institute for International Education), I was considered a U.S. Government grantee. While my visa status changed with Brandeis I was still very much a Wien Scholar.

Q: I think that the two visas, that didn't mean any difference –

JOYI: No they were still J visas, but all of my life would then be controlled by IIE in New York and specifically by the regional Northeast representative.

Q: IIE stands for Institute for International Education.

JOYI: Yes.

Q: Okay.

JOYI: And every year I would complete my application to renew my status so that IIE could keep a record of how I was progressing.

Q: But this was a formality I think.

JOYI: It was a formality but it became, well let me continue further with my story. So after the first year I was encouraged to apply for the seminar program and I was turned down. And I would apply every year and I was turned down every year. Just before I graduated –

Q: Sorry, is this like an honors program or something? What's a seminar?

JOYI: It is an enrichment seminar program, administered by IIE, and each year they select a topic, and invite Fulbright students from all over the world. I think they held it twice a year but you could only attend one and I thought let me try my luck by applying but I got turned down every time.

Just before graduation, the IIE representative came to Brandeis in March-April of 1993. I had the first appointment to meet her because I had a class to go to, and during the meeting, she insisted that I complete the application forms to attend the enrichment seminar and the more I told her I was graduating and therefore did not qualify, she insisted that I submit an application. She promised that she would process my application and approve it. I told her that I had tried for the past three years and she turned it down each time. In the end I did not apply. Another South African, had an appointment with her and after his meeting he calls me and says that the representative thought that I was some rich white from South Africa? And I said what? And it turns out that on the IAP: 66 document I sent each March to IIE to renew my visa status, under personal funds appeared an amount of $26,000 (the scholarship money) and she thought I am this rich white spoiled brat from South Africa.

Q: And that's why you didn't to the seminar.

JOYI: And that is why I was turned down. Also since I had worked with the Fulbright program, I knew how the system works I did not grovel, I would write to her and inform her when the semester ends on a certain date in May; that I would need a letter of permission to work during the summer and the address where she has to send the letter. I suspect because I was direct, I, so she might have thought I was this cheeky woman, and cheeky white woman to boot.

Q: Cheeky maybe, but white perhaps not.

JOYI: Definitely not.

Q: Cheeky, that's a question of interpretation.

JOYI: Yes. But so yes that was quite an interesting –

Q: And so did you in fact do the seminar in 1993?

JOYI: No because on principle I was not eligible.

Q: Because you were no longer a student.

JOYI: Exactly. So she was going to break the rules because she found that I look like her.

Q: Well, we can draw our own conclusions about IIE.

JOYI: I have wonderful ex-colleagues at IIE because when I got to work at Fulbright. Again, I met wonderful individuals, and in particular Sarah Ilchman, who is the director for Africa programs.

Q: No relation to –

JOYI: Alice?

Q: Alice Ilchman.

JOYI: Yes, her daughter.

Q: Really?

JOYI: Yes. I met Alice in 2005 and she passed the following year.

Q: Now you say you have, so you still to this day you maintain contact with IIE?

JOYI: With Sarah yes and I came to her wedding in 2005. So, as I said Brandeis was wonderful. A week before graduation in May 1993, I wrote to the ASA, the American Sociological Association and I received a phone call the day before my graduation inviting me to work for them, which I accepted and spent 18 months at ASA.

Q: Where is ASA?

JOYI: They are here in Washington; they were on M Street but they have since moved to a bigger office. I was there from May 1993 until September 1994 and my job was to develop the media office. And I was just thinking, about the Tiger Woods issue, if I were at ASA, and a journalist or a writer called me wanting an opinion, I would be able to identify some sociologist with an interpretation of his behavior.

Q: Of the event?

JOYI: No they would give a theoretical perspective and define what actually is going on; why this would happen; why the affairs; the role his wealth plays and why he has all these women…

Q: You mean the ASA would have had the expertise to interpret sort of scientifically –

JOYI: Well yes, from a sociological perspective.

Q: - what appears to be happening?

JOYI: Yes. Because the year I was at ASA there was the caning of the young American

in Singapore and the OJ Simpson incident and I would have journalists, writers, call me wanting to speak with sociologists and get their perspectives.

Q: So you were the communications person, you say –

JOYI: I was the media intern, and starting up with office.

Q: The media interlocutor; fascinating. So 18 months – At this point Washington became your home for 18 months.

JOYI: Well I fell in love with Washington when I came in 1977. I have always loved D.C.

Q: Well after the 18 months, did it feel like there was a -

JOYI: I felt cheated because April 1994 I went to Judiciary Square and voted for the very first time at one of the courts and it was very unexciting and cold; I was the only person there and it was very pedestrian because I went there, showed my ID, actually my passport, I voted and that was it.

Q: Right, to vote in South African elections –

JOYI: Yes. I went to Judiciary Square.

Q: Oh, cheated of the experience -

JOYI: Of the experience –

Q: - of that historic moment.

JOYI: Exactly.

Q: The elections of 1994.

JOYI: Which was the very first time that blacks in South Africa could vote, so I felt cheated and I felt also that I am missing out. So September 1994 time to go home, and I returned to Cape Town. The following year I was at Stellenbosch University and worked in the Department of Sociology but also registered as a student. That did not go well.

Q: Stellenbosch is sometimes though of one of the bastions of Afrikaans education –

JOYI: Yes it is.

Q: Did that have something to do with –

JOYI: I think also this was 1995, April 27, 1994 it happened and, but also they did not

consider me a good student and I am thinking I passed with honors at Brandeis and Stellenbosch University does not consider me a good student –

Q: Well I have to add, was there a bias?

JOYI: No, I just guess also in retrospective it is the rigidness of the South African education system.

Q: Stellenbosch, I think the courses are conducted in English, is that correct?

JOYI: At graduate level, yes.

Q: Right.

JOYII: But now there are English and Afrikaans at undergraduate level.

Q: But you are yourself perfectly bilingual, I think?

JOYI: Well, that is debatable because I chose on principle not to speak Afrikaans and that helped me because I used it as a, frankly I used it as a weapon to be able to perhaps out think and pre-empt because if anything was discussed in Afrikaans in front of me I listened so I could, formulate a response when the English translation was…we speak Xhosa, English and a mix of Afrikaans in our home.

Q: Ah, you were one step ahead.

JOYI: Yeah, I used it as a weapon.

Q: You used the English language, you used your knowledge of Afrikaans –

JOYI: Of Afrikaans –

Q: - as a weapon.

JOYI: - as a weapon yes.

Q: I understand, so that nothing would go past you; you would understand everything that's going on in the room so that, okay, I understand. Now was that the case at Stellenbosch? You say that English was –

JOYI: I did not speak Afrikaans at Stellenbosch.

Q: Neither did they at the graduate level you said.

JOYI: No, they spoke English, they spoke Afrikaans amongst themselves.

Q: I see. Now you were there in 1995, was this for a year or two?

JOYI: I was there for a year and saw the advertisement for a position at the TRC (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) and got in touch with the recruiter and –

Q: When did you see the ad, 1995?

JOYI: Yes it was September-October 1995. And I went for interviews in November-December –

Q: Where, in Cape Town?

JOYI: In Cape Town, yes. And I started in February 1996. I started in February 1996 and because of my media experience here in Washington I got assigned to the media office to be the administrator of the media office.

Q: Well this is historically very important. You actually joined the TRC in February of 1996. Let's dwell on this for a while and tell us your first impression, the TRC was a new concept.

JOYI: It was new, the late and our first Minister of Justice Dullah Omar, it was under his Ministry of Justice –

Q: Whose idea was it?

JOYI: I guess it must have been a collective coming from the President –

Q: Tutu and Omar - ?

JOYI: No I think more the President, President Mandela and his cabinet –

Q: It didn't just come out of nowhere, there was; they didn't invent it did they? They drew from sources, some precedents, how did this idea come into being?

JOYI: Well from my understanding it was more to show the rest of the world, which was waiting for the other shoe to drop because this 'new' South Africa was perceived as impossible, this whole transfer of power had gone over so peaceably that something else was expected to happen.

And the other shoe has never dropped, thank God and Allah and Jah, and so far, it has not happened. And I think this was also to appease the fears of white South Africans; but at the same time, in my view, to give answers to those many mothers, who had lost their children and their loved ones through the atrocities of *apartheid*. And if you look at the whole notion of amnesty, how the perpetrators, (some of them were granted amnesty) and you begin to wonder what a forgiving nation black South Africans are specifically.

Q: I want to give Therese an opportunity to ask a question anytime she wants but I have one which is just a technical side; if I understand it, the TRC called for the perpetrators to come, they'd never promised them amnesty in advance, so there was some risk by perpetrators who went to those sessions, I believe they went voluntarily hoping to get amnesty but it was never guaranteed.

JOYI: But as.., the Archbishop Desmond Tutu was also the chairperson, he saw it more as a catharsis for the nation so that post-1994 you have this cleansing process for the nation. But the whole process of the Truth Commission was developed as part of the reconciliation and national unity act to redress the atrocities of the past, including violations of human rights, and more importantly, to restore a level of dignity to the majority of South Africans, who lived under the draconian laws of *apartheid.* I believe, it was the first of its kind in the world.

Q: Right. What was it that convinced the perpetrators to be present in a process that could likely turn against them?

JOYI: I think, there is something about one's conscience, which eats at you and it is almost like somebody, a motorist, for instance, who knocks over a pedestrian and a day later he or she would read in the papers that person died –

Q: Wants to make clean.

JOYI: - - and they want to come clean and, give themselves up as the expression goes. And so to me all of those perpetrators, I want to believe, did not sleep peacefully at night and so they wanted to, if there's something troubling you, you want to get it off your chest.

Q: Now, -

JOYI: Sorry, and I don't think there is anything complicated about that. If something is bothering you, you want to get it off your chest. And to me the whole TRC process was a chance to do it.

Q: Did they understand form the very start that the purpose was catharsism? Because at the beginning I imagine before Tutu left his mark on this process there must have been some questions about where this would go because again amnesty was never promised –

JOYI: I do not think anyone knew where it was going to go.

Q: And yet people came freely.

JOYI: People came because it was part of that as I would see it, that euphoria, that liberating process, where you were in an environment where the majority of our people were under this law of *apartheid* and it gets dismantled and I still maintain that whole process started in 1976 when our youth decided enough was enough. They were tired I

guess as the late ANC President Oliver Tambo once said, '*...we have no more cheeks to turn*.' And so, here you are with peace-loving communities and a people, who have had this liberation start for them for the first time; many of them voted, who now look back at those long lines on the 27th of April 1994, and so it is almost that the TRC had to happen and I think that period must have given those individuals a way to come clean, regardless what would happen at the end.

Q: Number one, Therese may have some questions; number two we haven't talked about the victims yet. But since we're on that subject of the perpetrators, what you've just described as the liberating, psychological process, do you think this was universal among the perpetrators? I understand the principle; do you think almost all of them had the same mechanism?

JOYI: I do not think so, no. There are others, who… there are some perpetrators, who felt there were other perpetrators within the black communities as well and it was just not all white. And if you step back, yes if you look at the incident with Amy Biehl, the Fulbright student, who was murdered in one of our townships in Cape Town, and, whatever happened with that process is how her parents embraced these men, these perpetrators, responsible for the death of their daughter and you begin to see how cathartic that process was, listening to the parents, and how these young men went to meet with Amy's parents and asking forgiveness and instead of her parents turning their backs on these young men, they embraced them.

Q: So in fact they created their own TRC –

JOYI: With the foundation –

Q: Biehl's parents, yeah.

JOYI: Yes, but again you see; for me that epitomizes what the TRC process was all about, to me the purpose of the TRC was started as a path leading to forgiveness.

Q: Were there instances of perpetrators who resisted or refused to be part of the process?

JOYI: Yes, there were and again I would add that while they do exist there was not any real focus on them, there was more focus on the individuals, who came and the example I gave earlier with Amy Biehl, and also there were other individuals, white former security policemen, who appeared before the amnesty committee and again I would think that their conscious drove them to appear before the committees.

Q: The force of personality of Desmond Tutu, tell us how that's a factor in the success of the TRC.

JOYI: Well as Desmond Tutu is an icon, he is a Nobel Peace Prize winner and he was also the former Archbishop of the Anglican Church in South Africa, he also participated

in the marches and demonstrations, also led them with other religious leaders. I think he had the right fit to lead such a process. Although I have my own views and I do not think it would be proper for me to discuss it in this forum and I want to add also that I was with the TRC for about a year and a half, I did not stay because parts of me…I never went to any of the hearings; I did not go for personal reasons, and I guess on principle; I saw it as wounds, which had partly healed were reopened, and I did not understand; I thought of the parents, especially the mothers, how their wounds would be reopened and I was always concerned about the aftermath, who goes home with these mothers, who goes homes with these parents, and was there a support system in place once these families returned to their communities. If there was, I was not aware of it, but personally I was just critical about that particular aspect of the process.

Q: Sorry, I'm not sure I understand. You are saying that the process opened wounds but did not have a structure to take care of them once they were opened?

JOYI: I was concerned about that. That it is a cathartic experience, I accepted that but the realty for me is here you are appearing before the commission, you talk about your loss a son, a husband, a wife, a daughter, and you bare your soul and you cry your eyes out, and you leave the confines of that meeting, and you return home... What happens to that individual…who holds his or her hand…who is there to console them…? Personally that bothered me.

Therese: Do you not think that, looking at the TRC, I think the main idea from what just simple research shows that it's kind of searching; giving these mothers a chance to kind of say this was done to my family and I?

JOYI: I agree with that.

Therese: But do you not think it was a sense of closure that they got?

JOYI: I do not know. By the time I left the TRC I detached myself because I just felt that here you are as a mother you are talking about your son and in the confines of your home would you see it as closure or do you start having to heal all over again, can you go for counseling.

Therese: Kind of what's the aftermath after you say everything that's happened? That's true.

JOYI: Yes.

Therese: Yeah.

JOYI: That is what I thought, and these are what some of my concerns were at the time.

Therese: So nothing was set up?

JOYI: I do not know.

Therese: Yeah.

JOYI: Because once I left the TRC I relocated to another city and a new life started. I tried to keep in touch with ex-colleagues and I am still friends with many of them, but we never…it was a topic we never raised.

Q: How would you have structured the TRC differently? It was an experiment I think.

JOYI: It was more a case of the new government 'testing' the new democracy, I think.

Q: There was no precedence –

JOYI: Definitely there was, and so I am trying to be very careful because there are others, who might think differently; but as I said these are my personal views and observations, and again, I saw things that was not happy about at the time.

Q: Now you said you did not attend the hearings –

JOYI: No.

Q: Tell us why.

JOYI: I was not emotionally ready to do so… in fact, I would watch television and see how mothers would breakdown and my tears would be flowing and so emotionally I did not feel I would be strong enough to be sitting there and go to a hearing. Some of the hearings were held in our building and I just did not go… –

Q: Shifting a little bit, tell us your role in that work, what type of work, what was your function?

JOYI: Well, as I said I worked in the media office, I was the Administrator; and I would receive local and foreign journalists, and if they wanted to meet and interview the Archbishop, I would arrange the meetings; on occasion I would also sit in, when the Archbishop invited me. I also worked with the journalists, who worked for the TRC; they were based in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, in Johannesburg, Gauteng and in East London, Eastern Cape. Occasionally they would all travel to Cape Town.

Q: Can you tell us, now you must have worked closely with the archbishop –

JOYI: As I said I arranged interviews for him especially with international media and on some occasions I would sit in on interviews. I sat in on several Dutch newspaper interviews , but I did not sit in on the Riz Khan interview.

Q: Is there anything about the archbishop that you would like to tell us?

JOYI: Well everybody knows he is a charismatic leader, very affable and I thought at the time easy accessible, for instance, a group of friends from a church I attend, the Church of Redeemer in Northeast; they came to visit me at the TRC. I arranged for them to meet with the Archbishop and it was a moment, in their lives, they later remarked that they would not forget. I also recall an interview in one of our local newspapers, where the Archbishop said that he loves the rum and raisin ice cream and the very next day, a large box of ice cream was delivered to the TRC (laughter). On another occasion, he shared with a reporter that he likes rum and Coke, and again, he received a delivery of rum and Coke.

Q: Well he's a man that many people love and he's a jokester.

JOYI: Yes, he is a fun person; he is a clown; but there is also a serious side to him too.

Q: So his public image from what you see is the real thing?

JOYI: Oh absolutely, and he also insisted on hugging all the women each day; and if he passed you in the corridor, he would ask, *'...did I hug you today?* And what is further interesting is that I left the TRC in mid-1997, and relocated to another city; in 2005 almost 10 years later I was invited to a breakfast by one of the representatives of the Desmond Tutu Trust, and there was the Arch (as he is affectionately known) …I was waiting in the foyer for a colleague I had invited along from the U.S. Embassy.

Q: Oh yeah.

JOYI: …as I was standing the Arch walks towards me, pointing a finger and, '…*where have you been I haven't seen you in ages*?' (I was surprised because I mean I left the TRC in 1997…)

Q: Eight years before.

JOYI: Yes.

Q: I must say I would never forget you. (laughter)

JOYI: And then…in November 2007, I saw him at the National Cathedral is right across the street from my apartment; I regularly go to the 9 o'clock service where they have a forum and on that particular Sunday, Desmond Tutu was the guest: there were too many people in front of me to shake his hand so I just left.

Q: Right here across the street.

JOYI: Right across the street, yes. And Easter Sunday this year I attended the St. Mary's Anglican Church, which is at Foggy Bottom, a black church, and his daughter was the officiating priest for the morning service. She lives out in Alexandria, so I met her too.

Q: I feel there is such an enormous thing, your involvement with the TRC, I want to get more information I don't know the questions that will get it. You told us that emotions were so deep that actually you needed to have a certain distance from the proceedings, you were helpful in arranging press coverage of this, the world needed to know what was happening at the TRC so this is very important function you had in facilitating information about the process. When you saw, in following years this was imitated in other countries, I think in Argentina and Chile –

JOYI: Liberia –

Q: Do you have any sense of the –

JOYI: In fact I just saw that there will be hearings on the Solomon Islands this year.

Q: Yes. What's your sense of the degree of the success of the concept outside of South Africa? Did this whole thing depend on the personalities and the circumstances of South Africa or is it a concept that could be transferred to other situations of strife –

JOYI: Of conflict?

Q: - and conflicts?

JOYI: Well I do know that Desmond Tutu was involved in all of the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions (TRCs) outside of South Africa including the ones for the Solomon Islands so I think his expertise in the aspects of forming the TRCs were put into good use. And then I think it is a collective of the country, a coming together…coming to address what is hurting the country. And if you think back, I also want to say that I started at the TRC in February 1996 and left in July 1997; so I am just speaking of my own experience during that period. But I think it is a collective for a country to be able to confront what is hurting, what things went bad or badly in the country and to me this is a forum for anybody to come together and it is almost the families coming tighter around the table to discuss a dispute. However and again I still maintain that whenever any one of us leave this room and we have gone through this process, I further maintain it is a good process, but what about the aftermath of it? When you are in your room or in a dark corner do you go back into that dark corner and, who is there to hold your hand? That was my only criticism about it.

Q: That criticism aside, do you feel that the model can work in almost any country?

JOYI: I think so. And also to me human beings are no different from each other, we all breathe, we all smile, we all hurt, so that level of hurt may be intensified in some cases but the basic traits of human beings exist and if there is somehow your hand can be held or if you can be hugged I think the response would be the same. I guess Margaret Mead would disagree with me when she talks about the Balinese and how men do not cry outwardly but they cry in their hearts.

But allow me to add: this, reminds me of dear friend, Yaliwe Jiya, who taught at the University of Fort Hare; her husband, Zin, was in the United Kingdom and a white colleague of his died. Yaliwe went to represent her husband at the funeral; she told me that she saw the widow and her two children standing there in sorrow at the funeral, all alone, and all she did was to walk over and hug her and that is all, this woman needed. And so that picture is always in my mind; reaching out to someone can sometimes be very clinical but it can also be very emotional and all she did was to touch this person and nobody around her, not even her close family or other family and friends-no one thought of that and Yaliwe added, '*... you know in our tradition, we reach out'*. And then if you think back to Desmond Tutu, he was forever hugging everybody and I think at several of the hearings where he would break down and cry and I thought if the Chairperson can breakdown and he is right there and he has to listen to this that says a lot.

Q: Editorial comment: I think South Africa has a lot to teach us, including things you just said about the way strong emotions are dealt with in some cultures they are set aside, repressed –

JOYI: And distance –

Q: - but they are there.

Therese: Overall it sounds like kind of when you had said a family coming together at the table but then at the same time what do you do afterwards, would looking back at the TRC would you say it was successful for South Africa, do you think it allowed people to go on easier after something like the apartheid happened?

JOYI: Well, there are many critics, South African critics of the process, but I would say even though I have my own criticisms, I would say at least something was done. And I think South Africa needs to be recognized for taking that step. Because it just did not leave anything just there…the 27th April 1994 just did not happen, there was a process…

Q: The election.

JOYI: Yes, the election that happened but then the government also saw it fit to form the TRC so that any expectations that could have set in on the day of the election…here was another way to deal with some aspects. Because too many people died, too many families were broken up, too many of our people died in exile. I remember coming here for the first time in 1977 and I met this man, who took me to meet a South African woman; she was in her 70s and she looked at me and said, '*…my child all I want to do is go home and lay down my weary bones*.' Of course that opened the floodgate of tears, we hugged each other and the tears just flowed. Sadly, I do not think she ever made it home.

Therese: But it wasn't neglected, they didn't just kind of say something was done, they didn't just neglect the whole, like the feelings that everyone had. And one of the things I'm looking at is the difference between how you take, you go through a criminal justice

system and you look at the perpetrator, you say you did something wrong so you have to pay for it, and so you then have to do this but then what do you do about the victim. And in a way it sounds like something was done but also you criticism that but what kind of in the long term was done?

JOYI: No …at that moment here you go as a mother and you are appearing before the TRC and you talk about your son, who disappeared or you talk about your son, who you found shot or, who died in detention; and to a certain degree, if you were able to retrieve your son's body and bury him at least you were able to do that honor as a parent to bury your son, and years later while you had a son, you coped with it over the years. So now the TRC happens and you appear and you recall all of those experiences and the memories and you start that whole process of mourning again, then after the hearing you return home. Who is there to comfort you? That is where I am coming from…

Q: Playing with fire doing this, perhaps.

JOYI: Not playing with fire but at least to have somebody there…

Q: We haven't mentioned I think a very important part of this which is amnesty. Do you, the mother who goes home after this process, traumatized or goes for a catharsis, what goes through this person's mind knowing that the perpetrator receives amnesty?

JOYI: Therese mentioned about amnesty in passing and in order to be granted amnesty you had to fully disclose the truth and again you ask, how is fully disclosing the truth measured? How would you disclose the truth and are you telling the entire truth and also that is…and to me, that is open to interpretation. And so you are only granted amnesty if you have fully disclosed the truth.

Therese: Was there any level of like, because I know in Amy Beale's parents' situation that they met with –

JOYI: The perpetrators.

Therese: Exactly. Because that wasn't part of, you didn't have to meet with the families of the people you killed to be granted amnesty you just had to –

JOYI: …to fully disclose the truth at the hearing…, yes.

Therese: Right. Well and I think, yeah –

JOYI: But you see if you look at the Biehl family, to me they epitomize what truth is all about. Because they opened themselves up to having these perpetrators disclose the truth, and in my view, this happened because the Biehl family was open and accessible; it gives the perpetrators the opportunity to 'come clean'. That to me is a human reaction. Because if I see that Dan is allowing me to come to him; that he is embracing me to have a conversation and to talk about what truly happened, a lot would depend on how Dan

accepts me. That is what my understanding would be. Because my belief is always that you respond to somebody as that person responds to you and if you open yourself up you are allowing me to open myself up as well so there is almost like a meeting of minds. And I think only then, the Biehls and the three young men were able to successfully, in my view, see it through and to truly understand. They are the examples of having taken full advantage, quote unquote, of that catharsis. I think Peter Biehl has since passed on, and the mother, Linda Biehl, started a foundation, and these men are working there. It is almost as if they are all one family.

Q: Now the Biehls are notable because their example is so striking, in some ways maybe it is also an exception. What about the people who cannot open themselves in that way, again I am curious your opinion about amnesty to people who could not rise to the level of the Beale family. Not everybody reacts the same way.

JOYI: No, no, no, I agree with you.

Q: Let's just say we're in conjecture here, do you have any experience put it that way, do you have any experience with the parents of the victims, or the relatives of the victims unable to open themselves, did they accept amnesty?

JOYI: I do not have direct experience but I do know there were some perpetrators granted amnesty even although some members of the family did not think they warranted it because they did not disclose the truth. And of course there are also perpetrators, who were denied amnesty and so it goes back to what I said earlier about one's conscience, so they would forever carry that burden in their hearts or in their minds.

Therese: Do you think most of the families who spoke were prepared to forgive? Or was it more kind of they wanted to just tell the story?

JOYI: I think anybody, who… I want to believe, anyone, who was prepared to appear before the commission and to speak, I would want to believe it is with the idea of closure you referred to earlier. But again I still maintain that aftermath has been my concern. So I think if you are, prepared to confront an issue it is to…to start a clean slate, but human beings are fallible individuals so there might have been many, who went there with anger and left with anger, but to me I was more concerned with the majority, who broke down and did not leave with anger but left with a wound wide open. So it is difficult to gauge an individual's psyche but you want to believe as a human being there are traits we all have in common and some of us would use it as a weapon and others of us would use it, and again I think of the Biehls, and how that helped them deal with their daughter's death.

And also if you look at those young men, how they could go deep into themselves to say as an individual, who has been anti-white, and who, again go deep into themselves, to embrace this white family or the parents of this white girl, who they murdered. So that in itself is a whole study in how the Biehls reacted to these individuals- these young men, who murdered their daughter, and how, in turn, they opened themselves up to respond to

the Biehls and to meet them halfway and to continue and/or commit to a meaningful relationship. That is huge. I never thought about it for the longest time but the more I am speaking to you now, the more I think of the numerous possibilities of studying the Amy Biehl case itself, and how it could lead to so many ways of looking at this notion of reconciliation.

Q: Very striking, this whole story. We're getting to the end of your tale of your 18 months approximately at the TRC, before we leave the subject let's make sure we've gotten all of your wisdom and experiences. Anything to add on any subject related to the TRC before we move on?

JOYI: Well just three interesting things, which are just anecdotal and light. I met a woman, who was at elementary school with me and she was also my junior and, we ended up working at the TRC and, thus formed a friendship; the CEO of the TRC, a Fulbright alum; I met when he was teaching at the University of Cape Town (UCT), an later he applied for a Fulbright Scholarship; we became good friends while he was teaching at UCT. And the third thing is I met a community activist while I was in Stellenbosch, and his brother, who is now a judge, headed the investigative unit, at the TRC.

Q: This is a whole personal thing, your –

JOYI: Well that is personal but one of the things that some of my colleagues mentioned was so many people at the TRC knew each other; one colleague described the TRC community as incestuous.

Q: Did this possibly ease the functioning of the TRC, the fact that people knew one another from long before, did this actually –

JOYI: Oh there's a fourth thing too. Well I think it helped to do the work that needed to be done. There were other political dynamics of how individuals interacted (since their political leanings were not the same) but again I do not think this is the forum for it. But I think people were concerned that this was unique and it had to be done and so it was a case of, let us stick to the business at hand.

Q: Sorry, you said there was a fourth thing?

JOYI: Oh no the fourth thing was nothing, I must have mentioned it on Tuesday about the Director of Research and this young man, who was in exile, and completed his PhD in Political Science, which he completed in Russian.

Q: Oh yes, yeah in the Ukraine.

JOYI: - in the Ukraine, but his Ph.D. was in Russian. Frank Sassman called me about him and through Director of Research we were able to get him.

Q: Oh so that's in your capacity previously as being involved with the Fulbright program?

JOYI: No, it was while I was at the TRC, Frank Sassman told me that he knew this young man, who has been a member of the Library at USIS, prior to going into exile. Upon his return from exile, he visited Frank at USIS, looking for a job, and Frank sent him to me…and two weeks later, he was hired.

Q: I forgot that it was the TRC that hired him.

JOYI: Yes.

Q: Yeah.

JOYI: But he is now in the Ministry of Science and Technology, although he is a social scientist,

Q: Well the whole use of the Fulbright program to advance all sorts of causes and expertise is a major part of the story.
Anything to add about that before we go to the next phase?

JOYI: No, I think that is it then.

Q: Okay, onward to the next phase then.

JOYI: Okay then, the next phase then is relocation to Pretoria. Now all of this is after 1994. In 1997 I relocated to Pretoria to work at IIE (Institute for International Education), worked there for about a year and a half. Another very indifferent character, and I found myself in Polokwane Limpopo in the Northern Province, the former Northern Province, after July 1998.

Q: How did you happen to be there?

JOYI: How did I happen to be there? In 1998 after resigning from IIE I was in Cape Town and my friends were all saying, '*…nowadays it is who you know if you want to find a job…'* So I returned to Pretoria and I called somebody, whom I had never met but we had been speaking on the phone for almost 15 years, a lawyer, who is now a judge in Pretoria – he was the lawyer and friend of the CEO at the Truth Commission-all this was long before the TRC and prior to the CEO leaving for the US on the Fulbright Program.

In September 1998, the lawyer called me and said, *'I am heading a Commission of Inquiry at the then University of the North, I need you to report to the University at 7 o'clock tomorrow morning.* I had never been to the University of the North (now called the University of Limpopo); I had never been to the Limpopo Province. I found my way there; we were mandated to stay for three months, ended up staying six months there. I had also just bought an apartment in Pretoria and, fortunately, I returned to Pretoria twice

a month.

Q: Commission of inquiry?

JOYI: Yes.

Q: Is what?

JOYI: It was a Commission of Inquiry investigating the into finances at the university, affectionately known as Turfloop, it was formerly called the University of the North, it is now called the University of Limpopo, and it merged with the Medical University of South Africa (Medunsa) and I'm sure you are familiar with Medunsa.

Q: I have, yes.

JOYI: I spent six months there (September 1998 to end March 1999), and returned to Pretoria. I did several temporary assignments between April and September (1999). In between, my mother took ill in August 1998 and I left for Cape Town; sadly she passed in June 1999. Back in Pretoria, I worked for the Ministry of Social Development and during that time I submitted an application to the Fulbright Commission. I was successful and started there in September 1999 and our offices were in the Ministry of Education building…

Q: Sorry, started at the Commission?

JOYI: Started at the Commission.

Q: Okay.

JOYI: At the Fulbright Commission.

Q: Right. Okay, this is a very important part of this story, since there is a Fulbright element throughout. So you –

JOYI: Yes, in terms of my own experience, yes, because I think…I mentioned earlier that I worked with Ron Hendrickse and got to know many Fulbrighters. When I came to Brandeis in 1989, I came on a Fulbright travel grant, as I received a full scholarship from Brandeis.

Q: Okay, so was it Tom Hull who actually hired – there was a Board of Directors –

JOYI: Yes.

Q: And so the board, some American, some South African, right?

JOYI: Six, six.

Q: Six, six chose you?

JOYI: No, actually I was…the interview was with two Board members, Donna Roginski was the Cultural Affairs Officer and Christa Kuljian, the Charles Mott Foundation, and the executive director, the person missing was the South African government representative, weeks later we had a telephone interview. And September 20 I started … –

Q: Now just to make it, if I understand, the CAO would normally chair the commission, is that correct?

JOYI: No.

Q: Just as a member?

JOYI: Yes, there is a Chairperson of the Board and if the Chairperson was an American Government official, actually not necessarily because the first chairperson of the board was Dick Fehnel, who was the head of Ford Foundation, I may have his last name incorrectly, Fehnel, he has since passed. And so there were…and in fact, another chairperson of the Board was an academic at…and also a Fulbright alumnus an American citizen living in South Africa, a lawyer...

Q: So, you started on September 20, 1999 –

JOYI: And then the Commission closed March 31, 2006. I thought that was my dream job, I really enjoyed it, I enjoyed the students, I am still in touch with many of them and in fact my master's thesis is on ten students, with whom I worked with and talking about their successes with the Fulbright program and also the big question is, how did they do it coming from rural South Africa, where, 40% of our population live; some of these students had to walk three hours one-way to a nearby school, no electricity, no running water, no text books, no desks, and so the big question was how did they do it? And I used as my theoretical framework, the British sociologist, Anthony Giddens', theory of structuration, where structure and agency plays a role in how for instance with these students excelled and overcame in answering the question, how did they do it. .In my findings, the *structure* is the Fulbright program or the *structure* is the environment, but it is the *agency* emanating from either them or in this case also their mothers, who provided this catalyst for them to pursue their studies, and in some cases the mentoring of teachers also played a role.

Q: When you say how did they do it, how did they adapt to institutions in North America?

JOYI: No, how did they do it? What pushed them to not only thrive in an environment where there was a lack of all sorts of amenities, which would make studying comfortable so to speak. They went through primary school, then high school, they went through their first degree, others did a second degree and a third degree because with the South African

higher education system ***if you wish to do a third degree, that is, if you wish to continue on to a master's degree you have to do the honors, which is that fourth year in terms of the American system.

And so any South African student completes most courses in three years and the fourth year which is the honors program; however, there are some courses in the South African system, which are four years and you are eligible from there apply for a master's degree, and you come out of your undergraduate program with one degree and there are other undergraduates who come out of the undergrad program with two degrees: the first three years and the honors degree. So here were these talented men and women and the big question is how did they do it? And my thesis is centered on these 10 wonderful individuals, whom I worked with and as I said I used Anthony Giddens' theory of structuration.

Q: Now I want to ask in a moment about the structure, the politics, and the dynamics of the commission and how it worked and what happened in 2006, but let's pursue for a moment any particular individuals that stand out, you had 10 in particular that you were tracing?

JOYI: All of 10 of them, in fact there are others too, but I worked closely with these individuals; and while I was able to probe and speak to them about their lives, they were keen to work with me because over the years what happens is from the time that any individual's application appears on my desk there are individuals, who tend to stand out. And it is not that you are favoring them whether an applicant is either black or white, they are individuals, who stand out, and whose applications are just outstanding. For instance, it is now 2009, December, about two weeks ago a former Afrikaner policeman from Cape Town, who applied for Fulbright arrived in Washington and he spent a whole day in my apartment, I was not home; he came here to use my internet. Prior to 1994, I would not have had any contact with him; he applied in 2003 for the Fulbright grant and was successful, the second policeman, who was successful…and six years later, he was visiting me here.

Q: Ah, yes, yes.

JOYI: …that said many things to me because there was a time that I would get phone calls from young white men, sometimes asking or sometimes accusing the Commission that the program was only open to blacks only. I recall some of my colleagues in former years would remark that while there were many black students on the program in the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s, I would also receive calls from black students asking if the program was only open to whites

Q: Ah, interesting, so both –

JOYI: From both quarters.

Q: Both groups felt that it was not for them.

JOYI: Yes, they thought so...

Q: Interesting. Now, very general question: What do you think the Fulbright program did for South Africa? When you think of the changes the country has been through.

JOYI: Right. My stay with the Fulbright program even though I worked with Ron Hendrickse on the program in Cape Town. and as I said earlier go to know many Fulbrighters, there's a longevity with folks like Ron and Frank and Gill and Deva and the late Pat from USIS Johannesburg, they worked longer with the program, so I think they would be the ones, who would be in a better position to make this assessment. But what I can talk about is the period between September 1999, and March 2006. I would visit all the universities and other academic institutions, to meet with academics and students to promote the student program, and other Fulbright programs. I mentioned earlier that there were about five universities where the Vice Chancellors were all Fulbright alumni and so I could speak about that in my presentations, and it is uncanny that a Fulbrighter is the CEO of the Premier Soccer League. I would tell the students when I did my presentation and they would remark, *'...what is he doing there with his Ph.D.*'? (laughter) I would mention names of government officials, senior academics, play writers and several other personalities, who were many Fulbright alumni, including a woman presenting the 'weather', who is a scientist by profession, and she completed her PhD at UC Davis.

Q: Okay, so this enhanced the personal development of a number of individuals who later became –

JOYI: Prominent officials.

Q: - prominent officials –

JOYI: In all spheres, yes.

Q: Is it possible to generalize, they were touched by the program, were they touched in a similar way, did it create more confidence, did it create more openness to other systems, other ways of thought? Is it possible to generalize how this touched those individuals?

JOYI: Many of them would say it is a life changing experience, but I also want to believe the foundation was already set in South Africa and the opportunity to become a Fulbright grantee opened itself and lent itself to them, thus not only developing but the program served as a catalyst for many individuals to have a proverbial out-of-body-experience, where access to their professors is never a chore; access to all kinds of journals is not difficult and it is a further liberating experience where the system is not rigid. Moreover, I think the basis has always been there. I have some friends, who believe that if you studied at an American university that it opens up some doors.

Q: So do you think that acquiring a Fulbright is not so much a cause, perhaps more an effect of someone's development?

JOYI: Yes, the post- Fulbright experience. But I also want to believe, and if I speak about the 10 I interviewed, if I think back to the day I received their applications on my desk, I would think back to the day and/or time when I visited their institutions and meeting this quiet, almost introverted person. And you go through the application process and that individual is invited for the interview, and you meet again post-interview, and the letters are sent out with the good news that the application was a success and then almost a year later, you work with this person to prepare him or her for the departure. I would see these individuals a year later, when they come to Pretoria for the orientation and you see these different adults, the maturity, you can almost pin point the progression of their growth, and I think also it is a realization… that it is a realization *that I am going to America on this prestigious program and so if I am an individual in my corner I need to slowly come out of that corner…because I am leaving the shores of South Africa and going into another world*. And so I want to believe all of that changes the psyche and also the opportunity for these individuals to interact with others from all corners of the world; that alone in itself is an experience.

Q: The particular individuals who became chancellors, ministers and such, do you think they were probably bound to get those positions with or without the Fulbright experience?

JOYI: In some instances yes, but as I said that just the whole experience of leaving South Africa and, even with me, I have been coming to the U.S. for over 32 years and having studied here on both times, just the idea you are away from home…that you can be yourself, you almost become *free spirited*. I was telling friends two days ago that you reach a point also where you miss the familiar. I see children here but I miss the shrieks of children, the dogs barking, the sand, you really miss the familiar sounds; however, there is another dynamic that kicks in where you almost pinch yourself, I am here, I am here for a purpose, I have realized it and I am on my way back to go to the familiar. So experiencing both the familiar and unfamiliar does something to you as an individual; I think so….

Q: Okay, later I want to talk about some of the individuals who are or have been minister. But first may I ask, if you want to discuss the politics of the commission? Because this was the first commission in Sub-Saharan Africa, can you reflect on why was it possible in South Africa, not in other countries, something went wrong in 2006 –

JOYI: No, 2005, but there are some individuals, who feel that something went wrong in the beginning. It was a decision made in haste –

Q: A decision to create the commission you mean?

JOYI: Yes, it was…we opened in June 1999, five years after 1994, in some quarters it was a hasty decision, I am not even going to speak of the merits or the demerits of the Executive Director, who was appointed, and as this is not the platform…

Q: Sorry, your position was?

JOYI: As the Program Manager for South Africa, working on South African programs. And I worked on about eight or nine programs.

Q: Sorry, did you report to the executive director?

JOYI: I reported to the executive director.

Q: Okay, enough said about that.

JOYI: And so, but my major gripe, Dan, is the fact that our offices were housed in the Ministry of Education building, and also having individuals in my opinion, on the Board with no passion and/or an understanding of what the Fulbright program is all about. I remember one incident, as I said I worked on all the South African programs and the student program, the South African student program, which is the flagship of the Fulbright in South Africa. I remember one year I was in my office, still at the beginning stages, when someone appeared at my door and said, '*...the Director General said I must bring you these applications…',* I said , *'...applications for what'*? He said, *'...for the student program.'* and I said *'...the deadline was three weeks ago'* and he tells me *'...but I was told to bring this.'*, I said, *'... but I cannot accept it, the deadline was the 20th of April.*

Q: The director general of the ministry of education.

JOYI: Yes.

Q: So the ministry sort of thought of this as something it was running whereas it really only provided the office space.

JOYI: Exactly and another gripe was that they acted as if we are a sub-directorate of some unit in the Ministry. And two days later I saw the Director-General in Durbin and he did not even look at me. But I felt that on principle too many individuals worked hard to submit applications on time and there was no way that I was going to accept the late ones.

Q: And you did that on the authority of the board, right, the Fulbright commission?

JOYI: Well there are regulations and so, as the administrator of that particular program I acted on the fact that the 20th of April was three weeks ago and the regulations were very clear that we do not accept late applications.

Q: And you had plenty of good ones –

JOYI: Oh, too many of them, we did not need any of those.

Q: So the ministry was –

JOYI: I thought it was a hindrance. Look sometimes it was not as blatant they were a hindrance but I recall after the Executive Director was fired and one of the Ministry's representatives was on the Board and the admin person went downstairs to ask her as a Board member, [it had nothing to do with the Ministry of South African government but merely as a Board member] to sign a request for me to travel, now this request would go to the travel agent. She sent the individual back and said, *'...tell Monica she must, this must be a submission '*and I said to my colleague, *'I apologize but you tell that person, we are not a sub-directorate of this Ministry and we are not a government body and if she refuses to sign it there would be no students to interview, there would be no students to participate a pre-orientation departure and there would be no students going to the U.S. to start their academic program, the following year'*.

Q: So of the various problems the commission encountered in South Africa, some of it if not most, could be traced to the mistake of being housed in the ministry of education?

JOYI: That is my firm belief that we should not have been housed there.

Q: Okay, now to just explain in a commission, to those, and I'm not very familiar myself, there are two countries involved, the U.S. –

JOYI: It was a bi-lateral agreement.

Q: In the bi-lateral agreement in some cases the other government will put in lots of money to augment the amount of scholarships, in other countries –

JOYI: While they are in the U.S.

Q: in-kind, which I guess was the idea –

JOYI: - of the office space.

Q: - of the office space, yes. It just was a gesture but those in that building didn't even really understand why you were there.

JOYI: I always defended our position in terms that we are independent, we are not part of this Ministry.

Q: Right, but it didn't register apparently to some people.

JOYI: No. I loved the Fulbright program and it helped many individuals, who might otherwise not have had the opportunity to experience interacting with peoples from all four corners of the globe and to me that was key to their overall experience. But here you get somebody from obscurity, and I am specifically speaking of the 10 students whom I worked with, who had never thought that they would one day be able to sit in Fargo,

North Dakota or in Colorado and Arizona or in College Station, Texas. Here are these talented and wonderful young men and women, who are completing their PhDs. And so in their defense, I think I was most times…my reaction or my gripes were in protecting the students because I always enjoyed working with them. I always felt that as our clients, we as a Commission undertook to accept them as grantees and so they needed to be protected regardless, and no matter what happened. If politics happened, it should not affect the grantees and that was my main purpose in my chauvinistic behaviour towards the government officials at the Ministry of Education...and it was also part of the enjoyment (since I loved the program). However, I was the saddest person when told on the 22nd of June 2005 that the commission was closing.

Q: Oh you knew a year before?

JOYI: June 2005, yes, and, that we were closing the end of March 2006.

Q: This was decided in Washington in _____, is that correct?

JOYI: I do not know. Because at one stage we were told that the South African government no longer wanted to support the Fulbright program, and then we would hear conflicting reasons that the South African government wanted more control…and I always thought that was crazy because as you said earlier some host governments give in-kind gestures or, like the office space, they make those kinds of gestures. But it was clear with the South African government; they paid our salaries, they provided the office space, and their money went into the running of the Commission, whereas clearly the funding for scholarships came from the U.S. Government.

Q: Right. The decision, you're not sure. I don't want to malign him, I think Tom Farrell decided, I think, the head of the, but I may be, I probably shouldn't even say, I really don't even know, but the extent that the decision was made in the United States, well let's say ultimately that was his program, he was in charge of all student exchanges. I'm not saying, let me change what I said. I don't know who decided but it did happen while Tom Farrell was head of the educational exchange.

JOYI: I was at a dinner on the 21st of November here, where I met several people, and this one individual, who commutes to South Africa told me that there are talks of reopening the Commission.

Q: Oh, right now?

JOYI: Yes.

Q: Oh, oh.

JOYI: I do not know this person, I met him for the first time and this is what he said.

Q: Do you think, now you have said you don't know who decided or why, do you think in

Washington there was a sense of a loss of control since this was the bursaries, the actual scholarships were provided by the U.S. Government. Do you think the U.S. Government felt then that the commission could no longer exist because the government provided the bursaries no longer controlled the program?

JOYI: No. I do not want to come across as naïve…

Q: You are not naive.

JOYI: No, no, no…in terms of what my thinking was at the time…but as I said and I will continue to say this, the mistake was that we were in the Ministry of Education building. We should not have been there, there may be other reasons others may have their views on why they think it failed but I thought we were doing fine.

Q: Now we should make clear that the program still exists but the commission does not.

JOYI: The program has been in South Africa since 1953 and so I think the foundation of the Fulbright program in South Africa to me, is cast in stone so whether you like the program or not I think it is going to continue to exist. It is just unfortunate that the demise of the Commission came so soon and since it was the only one Sub-Saharan Africa.

Q: Even in the rest of Africa I believe there are only two.

JOYI: Morocco and Egypt. But I still do not understand why, both Morocco…when I last looked, both Morocco and Egypt are on the continent of Africa and I do not understand why the division exists.

Q: It's a bureaucratic matter.

JOYI: Yes, and it is only in this country…here.

Q: Well in Great Britain used to have a different bureau for Sudan, it had its own bureau, I mean it's not exactly, our own military recognizes the _____ as Africa, so it's a bureaucratic matter, I am sure there are arguments pro and against this that I don't know. But I think the feeling was the Arabic language and culture –

JOYI: Except you see, both Morocco and Egypt are part of the African Union (AU)…

Q: Absolutely.

JOYI: And in fact, Hosni Mubarak was heading the AU at one stage. Algeria's President, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Abdoulaye Wade in Senegal and the former South African President Thabo Mbeki, formed an alliance…and so it always intrigues me why Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, Libya, are considered the Arab block.

Q: Well I think we have to call the so called Arabists in the State Department, this very

famous group of people, experts in that region, who have their reasons that I don't know and I am not here to –

JOYI: It is so silly, I think, because I had a Moroccan scholar visited here and he totally… I came away thinking this highly respected scholar is confused because he did not once mention I am African. He would lean more to wanting to embrace being French, a French-Arab and I looked at him and I said, '*…earlier on you told me you spent time in Senegal'...'oh, oh I was there with my African brothers',* and I said, '*…when you were in Senegal did you recognize yourself or regard yourself as African?'…, 'oh yes!'*…but outside of that context he has leanings towards France and I wanted to scream at him and say look how France is treating …

Q: Algerians.

JOYI: Well, yes…Muslims and…but unlike what I have seen and heard about the Ethiopians, who would never say I am African, they would say I am Ethiopian, and I believe the same holds for Eritrea, Sudan and Somalia, it is almost as if some Africans have split personalities but that is another… I guess that is another study. But as I said earlier, while I sat in Board meetings sometimes, it was annoying, and after a while I stopped going because…

Q: Very frustrating.

JOYI: Yes.

Q: But to just round out this study of Monica Joyi, can we briefly mention after 2006 is it at that time that you came to Washington to do your master's degree?

JOYI: I decided in September 2005; initially, I was not certain what I was going to do, I was very certain that I was not interested in applying for a Fulbright position at the American Embassy because for 15 years of my life I worked for the U.S. Government and as I said at the time it was not sexy to be working for the U.S. Government and…

Q: We're talking about eh early part of this century?

JOYI: This interview, the early part of this interview when I worked for the U.S. Government from 1974 to 1989.

Q: Oh yes.

JOYI: And so –

Q: Not sexy but I think you made it sexy, I think –

JOYI: No, Fulbright was great, oh no, no, Fulbright… my seven and one-half years at Fulbright was the best professionally…they were my best years.

Q: In Cape Town?

JOYI: In Pretoria.

Q: As the commission –

JOYI: Despite individuals, whom I worked with, who, again would remain nameless. But I have had good relations with some of my colleagues, as I said I felt that certain individuals…I do not know… I am very snobbish about Fulbright so I felt that certain individuals should not have been there and what helped me were my friendships with former colleagues that I maintained over the years. That I was away from that environment, and coming back to Fulbright was that I had gone full circle. The individuals I worked with from 1974 to 1989…I could reconnect in terms of working together with them on the Fulbright program. I do also remember saying that when I traveled to Durban I would not just walk into the city of Durban, but instead would liaise with my colleagues based there, especially Deva and the same with Ron in Cape Town.

By the time I joined the Fulbright Commission, a mega mistake was made just as the Commission was starting , where an individual marched into the Cape Town office and started speaking to my former colleagues there, without consulting with the then BPAO, who was extremely incensed… and I thought you do not ever do that as your early days at the Consulate General taught you what protocol is…but that individual thought that as someone in a high position that you have carte blanche and you can just do as you please…

Q: Bureaucracy at its best.

JOYI: Yes, but as I said I just, I know Durban, and I know Cape Town, but I was not going to…I am from Cape Town, but I still thought that the individuals, who worked in those areas, they should be part of this process.

Q: Let's see, I want to touch on what you have been doing for the last couple of years.

JOYI: After Fulbright?

Q: Yeah, you are here in Washington, but any other comments about Fulbright and how it well, you were there from 1974 to 1989 and again later –

JOYI: From 1999 to 2006.

Q: Did the program pretty much remain, keep its own practices and identity through all those years?

JOYI: I think so. Also when the Commission took over we stuck to what worked well. We were not going to change the grid, it would have been very stupid, and I know in

many environments the new broom wants to sweep clean but this would have been a stupid broom...

Q: When you say the grid, you mean the demographics of –

JOYI: No,, the programs did not change, the process… the only difference in terms of the Fulbright Student Program was we would bring in the grantees… the successful grantees… we would bring them all to Pretoria for the pre-departure orientation because we had the budget to do so, and we would have a two-day orientation where students would arrive on a Thursday and leave on a Saturday afternoon. Also in Pretoria, we were able to establish good relations with the universities, institutions in the area as we always held the pre-departure orientation at the Tshwane University of Technology (TUT) because the location was great…besides the best food… and , the setting lent itself to success because we always had good weather and students were able to spread out, we were able to have…I introduced parallel information sessions, led by an alum and where students could move from one session to another. And that always worked well.

Q: These were students about to leave?

JOYI: Yes, this was at the pre-departure orientation. Also we introduced certificates and so the students arrived on Thursday, Friday all day we would have the orientation, Friday evening we would have the reception hosted by the ambassador at the official residence and Saturday we would continue the orientation. But there was a PAO, who shall remain nameless, who felt that presenting the certificates on the Friday at the reception was premature because the student grantees did not complete their studies. I said they already were granted the award, and that was the only proof that they were Fulbright recipients... it was just a piece of paper…nothing illegal…

Q: Yeah, of course, yeah.

JOYI: And these certificates were from the Commission signed by the Chairperson of the Board and Executive Director –

Q: Yeah, it was an award.

JOYI: It was an award, they were not going to sell it, it was just a nice gesture; and of course we had to kill that idea. If you came up with a practical idea, which was cute and nice, there was always somebody, who would kill it. But Fulbright… the Commission…and, working at the commission was good. I got to travel, and I came to the U.S. for orientation meetings at IIE and CIES and came about two or three times business; I went to Israel for a Fulbright conference and met our colleagues from the near Middle Eastern countries of Morocco, Egypt…it still boggles the mind…Greece, Cypress, India, and Pakistan. South Africa was invited because, I guess, we were the only commission in Sub-Saharan Africa. Just yesterday one of my ex-colleagues from the Fulbright Commission in Morocco called me, and she has been twice to visit me here in Washington…we have remained good friends.

So back to your question about being here in Washington, I started saying that the CAO in Pretoria said to me, '*I would recommend that you apply for your position at the American Embassy*.' And I am pleased that she did not look up because I would have given her one of those poker-faced looks as I felt I could not do it…I worked with great ease and independence within the boundaries and regulations of the Fulbright program, and I started envisioning working in the embassy…would it mean that if I wanted to breathe I would need permission to so… if I wanted to contact my colleagues in D.C. or IIE or CIES, would I do so freely, would I be the secondary signature to all my communications with the grantees…I realized that I could not do that. And so, and things worked smoothly even after the executive director was fired…

Q: Did another one every come or were you acting - ?

JOYI: No, they had the CAO come over just to see what was happening and the SA government Board member, the one who did not want to sign my travel. They would pop in and check in to see what we were doing. I was not particularly interested in applying for the position. In hindsight, I figured that if I applied for the position they could do one of three things: (i) not invite me to an interview; (ii) invite me for the interview, and not offer the job; or (iii) I get the job, and I would not have the same latitude of working with the grantees as I had at the Commission. And while I didn't expect anyone to hand the job to me I had lost interest, my spirit was broken, and I wondered if our President, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, who signed the bi-lateral agreement with Al Gore (when they were both deputies) had really agreed to end the agreement, which government would take such an unearthly step, especially where educating young people was concerned. I still maintain, that not all the Board members had a clear understanding of the Fulbright programme.

Q: So you're saying that the president was not adequately informed –

JOYI: That is my opinion.

Q: - that things happened.

JOYI: Because I do not think, no, I do not believe, Dan, that you just terminate a bi-lateral agreement. I do not believe that if a bi-lateral agreement is working and it is not any frivolous program, for goodness sake, it is the Fulbright program you do not just end it. And so, whoever went to the Minister of Education at the time, and I would never know who, and I do not really want to know, but I surmise, from what I have pieced together, that two Board members went to the Minister of Education, and heaven knows what they told her…and God forbid what she told them and/or if she ever told the President, I would never know. This past current Minister of Science and Technology), I was thinking of going up to her, and asking her…*what were you thinking?...* but I just thought forget it, it is behind me. I grieved for a long time, grieved not because I lost my job but just grieved because some individual's whims and fancies were met, and also the fact that they do not have a clue and/or an appreciation for Fulbright. And yes, I took it personally because if I look back to how ten rural students, and several urban ones,

including many more senior academics, whom I worked with were successful in their pursuit of higher education and post-doctoral research…and I sincerely hope that many more would still benefit.
Returning to your post-Fulbright Commission period…after spending several months at American University, I tried to recall why I decided to attend AU…I recalled in the summer of 2001 I was with my colleague from Morocco, in a taxi, and as we passed Ward Circle, I saw the cement slab with the name, The American University, and for some unexplainable reason, I took a photograph.

Fast forward to September 2005, I was back in D.C., *en route* to a colleague's wedding in New York and, again I passed The American University and I thought, I could apply here, and upon my return to Pretoria, I submitted my application. I was scheduled to start the Fall of 2006, but after leaving Fulbright in March, 31, 2006, I had oral surgery on the 4th of April, and to add insult to injury I had rotator cuff surgery three weeks later – I had never had any surgery before; Unfortunately, I had to defer to the Fall of 2007 and started classes on 27 August 2007. And as I am speaking with you today, the 18th of December, 2009, I am moving out of my apartment tomorrow, and I leave for Cape Town on the 22nd of December.

Q: Next Tuesday.

JOYI: Next Tuesday I'll be on that 16-hour flight to Cape Town.

Q: So the next Monica Joyi chapter in adventure is to come. Any notion of what the next chapter is?

JOYI: No idea.

Q: No idea. But this is as you are, you are playing it as you have before –

JOYI: Yes.

Q: Leaping into the unknown –

JOYI: Just taking it as it comes…for instance, in 1997 when I relocated to Pretoria. I had no idea where I was going to, at least coming to D.C. I knew what I was coming to do here, but for now, I do not know what is going to happen. However, what I do know and what I have come away with is my work with the ten students, which is the topic of my thesis, and I would still like to work with students specifically in the rural area.

Q: Well, maybe not for me to say, but as a hyper-qualified person, who knows all the angles and all the geographic points of view, I can't imagine that a university, perhaps a rural university in South Africa would not take you as you come off the plane in Cape Town.

JOYI: Unfortunately it does not work that way.

Q: I know but I said I can't imagine.

JOYI: Yes.

Q: Yeah.

JOYI: But unfortunately, and again, it does not work that way.

Q: Well here we are very much in the present. Tomorrow is your last day in this apartment?

JOYI: Yes.

Q: My gosh.

JOYI: It has been a wonderful 28 months, I enjoyed this apartment. I did not expect to put up a household but I did, and so now I am slowly breaking it down and it is overwhelming, I did not realize it would be this overwhelming. But I am trying to keep calm and practice my *asanas*…

Q: Wonderful. I am very fortunate to get you at this time, the last moment you could have given this interview and the reader's of the text as well. So thank you Monica Joyi.

JOYI: Thank you very much.

Q: Remarkable interview.

End of interview