

D.B. (.....) yesterday - even yesterday when I was speaking at the Board of Trustees meeting, and today's May 29th. - this was yesterday, which had its (?) own interest in this kind of tangent for him (?) but I was introduced by the chairman of the Board of Trustees, who doesn't like me at all of course, knowing we're on opposite sides of the fence, but treats me with a certain amount of deference because they see me as an international figure etc.

In fact the secretary of education for the state of Pennsylvania is a new man who's just been appointed by the new governor - he came to me before the meeting and said that I was hoping to be able to meet you and I'd no idea that you would be speaking today - I'm really setting a kind of context, because he then goes on to say : Professor Brutus, who was a native of South Africa - and I always wince at that because in fact I'm very sensitive about language, and for me a native is someone who is born in a certain place - I'm not born in South Africa, but I'm born in Zimbabwe, which was then Rhodesia and was then Salisbury, and my father was the principal, as I understand it, of the missionary school on Pioneer Road, where now Dennis Jagers is the principal, you know, so very kind of ex - I think my father was the first principal there, and among other students he had Roy Welensky as a student in his class, which really is a quite amusing twist.

So let me remind you that I'm not born in South Africa - even when people say I am - and I - I was about six months old, I think, when I came to South Africa, my parents being South Africans, so that I grew up there, and of course my best qualification for being a South African was that I was imprisoned there, and when the matter was raised in the British House of Commons by Harold Wilson, who argued that I had been born in a British colony and I was entitled to the protection of the British government, and Verwoerd or Vorster - probably Vorster at that time - ja, I think so - I'm not sure if Vorster was prime minister then, he might have been, but his response was, you know, that Brutus has always been a South African, and he have him in prison and we intend to keep him in prison - we have no doubt about our rights, that he is a South African, so in fact I have the most explicit declaration of my being a South African coming from the apartheid government.

Amusingly of course the - the - the Rhodesian government was asked by the British government whether there was any record of my birth in - in Rhodesia because I had been travelling on a Rhodesian passport and I had a Rhodesian birth certificate, having been baptised in the cathedral in Salisbury, and in fact my name, Dennis, was the name of the bishop who baptised me, so just one of those little twists - but the Rhodesian government insisted that there was no record whatever of my being born in Rhodesia, so that was just one more complication.

So I was introduced, as I say, as a native of South Africa, but I'm not - grew up in South Africa - I went to prison there, and regard myself still as a South African - I refused to apply for American citizenship because - so I mean I'm a resident alien.

J.F. And what passport do you hold?

D.B. A refugee travel document issued by the US government under the UN convention of 1980 - what else do you want to know - that's biographical and it should be sufficient, unless you want some more.

J.F. So you were born in Salisbury in what year?

D.B. 1924, 28th. November.

- J.F. Your parents' background - were they at all political - did they have an awareness....
- D.B. This is very interesting - this is very interesting, because if you read Jack Simons you'll find that my father was one of the founders of the teachers league of South Africa, TLISA (Tape off) - I think you can dig up elsewhere.
- J.F. That's why I'm going to say you just pull out in a succinct way if it's relevant - what is relevant when I ask you were your parents political..
- D.B. Oh, yes, both of them were in a surprising way, but which my father did not tell me, so I discovered it reading Jack Simons' book, but more importantly he's quoted in the Simons book as saying something that's just light years ahead of his time, because he contends (?) as a Coloured that what is needed is a teachers' organisation of Africans and Coloureds together, and this is way ahead of his time - now - so that's a very - and you can check the quote - you'll find him being quoted.
- J.F. So in fact you grew up with a sense that Africans and Coloureds should work together or did he not let that pass on to you?
- D.B. He didn't articulate that, but I - he had no prejudice, you know, which in a way was fortunate - we'll get into that later - but (?) as you know, many Coloureds grow up with an African prejudice.
- J.F. But you didn't have that?
- D.B. Not really - I may have had a little because we did grow up in a Coloured ghetto - it is, I'm told, the first segregated township in the Union of South Africa for Coloureds, Port Elizabeth, built in, I understand, round about 1926 - it was named after a missionary called the Reverend Dower, and it was called Dowerville - it was a hundred houses in a little circle - that's where I grew up - Dower is also the man after whom the major teacher training college for Coloureds was named, the Dower Memorial Teacher Training College, first in Uitenhage, then now in Port Elizabeth.
- J.F. So that - in that area that you grew up in Dowerville....
- D.B. Was segregated, heavily segregated, and outside us was the African township, or in those days we would have called it a native township - the word Bantu had not yet come into use - but we saw Africans going to work in the factories and on the docks had to pass through our area on the way to work and on the way home, but there was a certain sense of superiority among the Coloureds towards these people who were out there, and worse, rather like Zimbabwe, Coloureds and Asians could hire African servants for a few shillings a day to do the washing or the cleaning, you know, and so one was actually stratifying the society - there was whites, who were above us and lived in their own townships, there was us, and outside us on the outskirts of the city - we were on the edges - it would be the African townships, and of course as the Group Areas Act developed those Africans who lived in the city were forced out into these locations or, as they were called - Coloureds lived in townships, Africans lived in locations.
- But that's the important thing about my father - the other thing which I also discovered much later was that when he was in Rhodesia he organised a soccer team which then went on a tour and played matches at Gwelo and Umtali and you name it - of course I didn't know this, but I would say that easily my most important work in South Africa was in the field of sport, and so in a sense I was following in his footsteps, and this is where we get into your theme, because I made a very bold statement earlier this year at a symposium on post-apartheid South Africa.

D.B. Now we have them and I'll give you the material, but what is important about them is we bring in the ANC and the PAC and they confront each other - now this is really the kind of thing that doesn't happen in Africa, doesn't happen in Britain - may in a very, very tangential way take place at the UN - but we have people like Aggrey Mberere, coming from Boston who's ANC - we've had Godfrey Sithole, who's the ANC rep in Philadelphia, and we had people like Khan (?) Peterson, who is attached to the PAC mission at the UN, and so suddenly not in a malicious way, which can always occur, where you can generate conflict between ANC and PAC by simply raising the issue, but I - I contend that because in post-apartheid South Africa those elements will be in the society, you had better recognise their existence now, and of course this is contentious, so you may not agree with me - we can argue about it afterwards.

But I'm really digressing because what I said both last year at symposium one in November and this year at symposium two in March was that the conflict between the ANC and PAC must be confronted now, which is in itself rather ambitious, but then I went further and I - I don't want to go into too many of the aspects of it now - I'll touch on a couple - I contend that the conflict between the ANC and PAC is now reflected in UDF and AZAPO - and as I say, I contended the ANC/PAC....

J.F. Let me (.....) back because I think it - if we are interrupted, and I'm really worried about it, I think I should make sure that we really get into Malmesbury mainly because I think that that's the area - I think that that's the most important thing that we talk about Malmesbury, so let me just ask briefly what did politicise you to take us up to Malmesbury - (.....) asking about sport, but again in a concise way because of course it's (.....) and I've read a lot of files (?) on you.

D.B. I'm going to disappoint you because it was sport that politicised me....

J.F. I'm not disappointed (.....) I think (.....) are real important.

D.B. Oh, no, this is purist (?) but that's really the way it went, so I'll return to that, but let me just pursue this line because I think you'll actually find it - it answers some of your other questions - my contention is also that the differences between the ANC and the PAC are of course ideological, you know, and one can trace that in different ways, and you may want to come back to it, but one other interesting that (?) particularly in the contemporary debate the attack on the ANC from the PAC is on the basis that the PAC is a racialist organisation and they - they use that term because they contend that as long as you accept a multiracial structure you are accepting the racial categories...

J.F. Who says the....

D.B. The PAC.

J.F. The PAC says....

D.B. Attack on the ANC (?) - and they very proudly claim for themselves a non-racial position - I bet this might interest you (?) - but in fact long before either the ANC or the PAC took a position on that issue - as far as I know, the first national organisation in the country to adopt the label non-racial was SANROC, so it was the South African Non-racial Olympic Committee which rejected at that time the PAC's racialism, and the PAC was racist - it excluded whites.

D.B. It included Coloureds because it accepted Coloureds within a definition of African, but it excluded whites - they only in exile updated their position to permit white membership - the first white member of course was Patrick Duncan, who deliberately joined them to challenge their structure, and this is way back in the '60s - but in exile the PAC is more insistently non-racial than the ANC....

J.F. Theoretically.

D.B. Right, and the ANC in - is to some degree embarrassed by the allegation that they are hanging onto racial categories and racial structures - now we're not really into a debate about ANC/PAC, but I - what I'm saying is that I have pursued the line that in fact SANROC may have been the first to adopt the label non-racial at a time when the ANC was talking of a four-pillared congress alliance - COD, SAIC, the Coloured People's Congress and the ANC, Congress of Democrats (.....)....

J.F. Four nations.

D.B. O.K., so in - how did SANROC arrive at a non-racial position....

J.F. And tell me when this all was - I want to get the dates right.

D.B. 1958 onwards - why '58 - because in October, 1958 SASA was formed, the South African Sports Association, which in 1963 becomes SANROC, the South African Non-racial Olympic Committee was formed in '63 and grew out of SASA, and it's worth noting why - because as long as it was the South African Sports Association the World Olympic Committee would not answer a single letter we wrote, and I could not figure this out, you know, why we were pouring out these letters, documents, letters, appeals, but never getting a reply - and then somehow I discovered that they had taken a legalistic position and said : We are an olympic committee, we answer no letters from anything other than an olympic organisation - so I then moved to change SASA into an olympic committee, but there was already one, a white one, and so we then adopted the clear label of a non-racial olympic committee, but we could have said an all races committee, in which case we would have been stuck with the racial categories.

You know, you would have said : Join us, but join us on a racial basis - instead we opted for non-racial - the other consideration to bear in mind is that when I started the olympic issue and I discovered that the Olympic Charter, which is the basic document, says in its - what you call (?) - Fundamental Principle One, that any country that discriminates on the basis of race or religion or colour or politics must be excluded from the Olympics - I then not only used that against the white organisation but I began to use it against the black organisations.

At that time the black sports structure was very compartmentalised - there was a national Bantu football union, there was a national Coloured football union, there was a national Indian football union, and so I went to them and said : Look, if we are hoping to oust the white racial body, the first thing we are going to do is to dissolve our own racial categories - and I encountered the most incredible resistance, because in each of these organisations there wasn't a man who could say : I am the South African president.

J.F. The South African what?

D.B. President - I am the president of the Coloured Football Association - there were even the Muslims - I am the president of the Malay Cricket Association, the national (?)

D.B. So when you appeal to them to dissolve these structures they were just appalled, because in a country where nobody's identity counts for much, because we were all treated as sub-humans, to be able to achieve that pinnacle of distinction to be the national Malay president, even if there were maybe 50 people in the organisation, who cares, you know, the status of the title was the most profound resistance I had to the idea of dissolving the racial categories.

Interestingly, the members, the rank and file didn't care a damn, you know - they were willing to have Coloured, Malay, African play together, but these dear old presidents who were entrenched - but I can't claim credit for the solution - someone else offered it to me at (?) a crisis point when we were attempting to form this body and dissolve all the other bodies - this is SASA now, South African Sports Association, which should (would) become the parent body coordinating all of these so they wouldn't - they wouldn't dissolve, but the labels would be broken down.

The solution was a brilliant one - it was to take all of them and make them all vice presidents and to find some nonentity to be president so that none of them would feel that their prestige was diminished, and in fact in their capacity as vice presidents they could be ordering this guy around, whoever it might be - at some point, interestingly, I was offered the presidency, but it was not a genuine offer - it was more a kind of training (?) offer that was being (Interruption)

So ultimately we ended up with someone from Port Elizabeth, a weight-lifter, as president of SASA, South African Sports Association, and 20 vice presidents, so the Malay Cricket Association and the Indian Athletic Association and the African Football Association - Vincent Qunta and Big Boy Hafezy (?) and George Singh, the whole range, they were all vice presidents, and in that way no-one's prestige was diminished, but we had actually established the first genuinely non-racial organisation and then began to demand that they remove the racial labels from their own national bodies and merge them, and this is way ahead of the ANC.

When we were doing this in '58, October '58 in East London and Durban January '59 when we formally elected the officials, one of the vice presidents was Patrick Duncan, so - Alan Paton was a vice president - and Nelson Mandela, who was then comparatively unknown, because everybody knew Lutuli - Chief was up there and Nelson was a young man, prominent in the Transvaal but not elsewhere - his name was put forward as one of the vice presidents - he was not in fact accepted, but had he been it would have created a lot of problems because he would not have been coming out as (?) a sporting organisation, you know, whereas all the others were (Tape off) - been a boxing champion....

J.F. He had been a boxing....

D.B. Right, so he had credentials as a sportsperson - anyway Patrick Duncan was there, coming from the Liberal Party, Alan Paton was there....

J.F. (.....)

D.B. I think they were already patrons of fairly major white things - whether these were golf, whatever, cricket or....

J.F. They came from white organisations?

D.B. Ja, but they didn't come in their capacity as representing white or - the only white person who joined SANROC and did a great deal of work was a man called Chris de Broglio - you may have heard of him.

D.B. He was on SANROC with me - d e Broglio.

J.F. And tell me the other one, Witson Gundu was....

D.B. Vincent Qunta.

J.F. Big Boy or....

D.B. Big Boy Hafegy - H a f f e j e e - George Singh you may have heard of, a lawyer and activist, S.L. Singh, advocate, Christopher....

J.F. Let me just make sure I've got the content to this and the motivation behind it - what were you - where were you coming out of politically, because I kind of asked you what politicised you - what led you to '58 - had you had contact with the ANC or CPC or any of those....

D.B. Yes, but that was not where I received my political training - as a schoolboy at high school my teachers had been members of the Teachers League of South Africa, TLSA, which, as you know, had an anti-CP bias and was Trotskyite but had great political clarity - in many ways their political analysis was a lot more sophisticated and rigorous than anything coming out of either the CP or the ANC, and they had taken a non-racial position.

J.F. Why was it that the Teachers League or really the non-European Unity Movement had found such affinity and such a response from the Coloured community from the teacher or professionals level - you always think of a Unity Movement and you think of Coloured teachers - can you say why that - why the attraction and why not - there was what's his name who I interviewed in Harare, the African member who's married to Jane Gool, Tabata - he's African but he's very much an exception, and I guess Honono was African, but those are two big exceptions, but mainly we're talking about Coloureds, often teachers - why is that - why did that Trotskyist analysis that was anti-CP and non-ANC have a - an appeal to Coloureds?

D.B. That's a (.....) self-evident - a most powerful formative influence in the Coloured community was the teacher, so you really have to ask how did the teachers get to be Trotskyist, but once they were, particularly at high school level, it was inevitable that they would produce generation after generation....

J.F. So how did they get to be Trotskyist?

D.B. Contact with people at UCT, Cape Town University, who were Marxists but had formed the breakaway organisation called the Spartacus Club, which consisted mainly of people at UCT and who took a pro-Trotsky position, and this is interesting, sent their thesis to Trotsky in Mexico to adjudicate the debate which was going on at the University of Cape Town and which led to a split, I think - I'm not sure of my details here - I think the Spartacus Club itself split and then formed two separate groups, one of which was called the NLL, National Liberation League, and another one which was called the Forum Club, maybe.

But the debate was a fascinating one because it was of the relative importance in the revolutionary struggle of the peasantry versus the proletariat - whether the revolution would take its energy from the urban workers in Cape Town or whether it would take it from the peasantry in the Transkei, and this was the thesis that was sent to Trotsky to adjudicate.

J.F. Did he answer?

- D.B. He did - it never really solved the problem, because once the reply came, as far as I know, on the side of the peasantry, it was then alleged that the courier had doctored the document in transmission, so you don't really know the answer even now, you know, but that is a fundamental difference between the CP and the force international and this - this has run through the ANC and the Unity Movement, you know - this is the - this is the difference between Tabatha and Lutuli, Tabatha and Mahabane, you know, but you have a profound ideological difference.
- J.F. But how were you describing that difference - you said this is the difference between the CP and the force international.
- D.B. Oh, yes, in terms - well, it's also based on personalities obviously - the CP contended that Stalin was illegitimate heir when the Trotskyites were of course contending that Trotsky was the legitimate heir, but as you know, there's a difference - a difference in the reading of world revolution if you take a Trotskyite position or a Stalinist position.
- J.F. To get back to South Africa, do you think that there's a kind of an irony or a contradiction in all this concern for the peasantry and the proletariat when the Coloured teachers represented neither?
- D.B. I guess so - if they were to define themselves they would've said that they belong to the intelligentsia out of whom a vanguard party would come - but you're right in that sense, and it is quite true that the TLSA and the anti-CAD and the Unity Movement tended to draw its support from educated Coloureds and professionals, the teachers - when the CPC came on the scene it was able to capture the Coloured working class - Coloured People's Congress with George Peak and Barney Desai and people like that, they were able to capture a significant numerical number, so that when you came to say a - a rally on the parade at Cape Town outside the City Hall or whatever, the CPC could muster a significant amount of support numerically - the fishermen, the dock workers, the railway workers, the bus drivers, you know - these were people who would read the Guardian as opposed to the Torch (?) you know - who'd had that distinction and who would not be in the TLSA or the anti-CAD, but it's not to say that the anti-CAD was not able to draw a working class group as well, because the issue they raised of course, the creation of a Coloured Affairs Department, which would have virtually created a Coloured bantustan, you know, with a Coloured administration, was sufficient to threaten all Coloureds, not just the professionals, but the professionals were ones that took it on.
- But you know, this picture is incomplete, because there was always in addition to your radical TLSA your CPC mass following always - there was a Coloured petty bourgeoisie, the Nicky Kearns and the - the Dick van der Moss who - and as you know, van der Moss is now a rector of the Bush College (in the) Western Cape, but his father had been a major Coloured political leader, van der Moss senior.
- J.F. And who was the other, Nicky Mean - what was it?
- D.B. Nicky Kearns - K e a r n s, whose own base, interestingly, was the Coloured ex-servicemen, the military who had served in the 1914-'18 war, had come back and formed the British Empire Coloured ex-Servicemens League, and now - this is the fascinating thing - all these Coloured forces, right, left, centre and far left come together at Malmesbury, so that Malmesbury was the most representative meeting of Coloured people in the history of South Africa.

J.F. Malmesbury was when again?

D.B. October, '61.

J.F. Just let me make sure I understand where you're coming from - you were exposed to Teachers League and yet you didn't go in that direction....

D.B. Oh, I joined them.

J.F. You joined Teachers League....

D.B. I am (was) the vice president of the local branch....

J.F. When was that?

D.B. Port Elizabeth - 1950 - I then become editor of the teachers journal, which was called the E.N., my (?) catchy (.....) educational news, but everybody referred it - to it as the E.N., and I wrote the editorials and feature pieces and so on and got others to contribute, and on the whole I stayed out of the Marxist debate and the Trotskyite debate, primarily I think because I was smart enough to know I didn't know enough to really get into it and take sides - my - my usefulness politically was on day to day issues - you know, the threat of the Group Areas Act and people losing their homes, of Coloured education, the Eiselen Commission, the de Vos-Malan Commission and the creation of a - the ghettoisation of Coloured education, which comes also round about 1960, you know, with the de Vos-Malan Commission.

J.F. De Vos-Malan?

D.B. D e V o s-M a l a n, which runs parallel to the one which was set up for Africans and which created bantu education, the Eiselen Commission, you know, and they - they ran parallel - and of course there's the de Villiers Commission, which said, you know, white education must prepare white children for a dominant place in society, and bantu education must prepare blacks for a subordinate place in society, so they were defining it, and when they defined Coloured education we organised a protest and the boycotts and the demonstrations, and this became a great recruiter, energising people who had been politically apathetic.

It was the major issue of the time, as in 1956 you'd had the Coloured vote thing, you remember - you know, the legislation to remove the Coloureds from the vote, which comes in various ways, and where a man like George Golding, who was at that time easily the most prominent Coloured in the country, representing Coloured petty bourgeois aspirations, wanting to be as close to the whites as possible and as far away from the Africans as possible.

But back to my theme - Dick van der Moss (Sounds like Ross) representing this petty bourgeois aspiration, the whole collaboration thing, and coming out of a thing called TEPA, the Teachers Educational and Professional Association, which was the - the reactionary twin of the TLSA, you know, which was the radical wing, but Dick van der Moss is at Malmesbury representing this whole reactionary segment of the Coloured population, and George Peak is there representing the CPC and the whole radical working class element, and I'm there together with others representing, if you like, something like the TLSA - although by then I had broken with the TLSA, and when we broke we broke over Malmesbury - Malmesbury was the catalyst, because when Nelson issued the call for a national convention to respond to the white referendum, which would take South Africa out of the Commonwealth and make it a republic - this is 1960, '61 - I became involved with him and met with him and met with Walter, you know, talking about the need for three or four national conventions, which would then ultimately peak in a single national convention.

- D.B. So there would be a national convention of the Africans, which took place in Pietermaritzburg - Nelson appeared there....
- J.F. (.....) Africa.
- D.B. Right, then we had the - the national convention of the Coloureds, which took place at Malmesbury....
- J.F. In what month again was?
- D.B. October, '61 - and there would have been a national convention of the Asians, sponsored by the South African Indian Congress - then there would be one sponsored by the Congress of Democrats and the Liberals and the churches, and out of that would have come something equivalent to the Congress of the People, 1952 - '55 at Kliptown - so we were very conscious of where we were going....
- J.F. Like a second Congress of the People?
- D.B. Right, and this one would have adopted a new constitution, and then we would have had a - a national stay-at-home, you know, to bring the apartheid government to its knees and all the rest of it - it was thought out very carefully, but of course it was destroyed - the Indian congress didn't take place, the white congress didn't take place, and the key to it was that the 11 of us who ran the Malmesbury Convention were all banned - within a week of the convention we were all served with banning orders....
- J.F. Who was that?
- D.B. I was banned for the first time in October of '61 immediately after the Malmesbury Convention, so there's a clear connection there - there are people who think I was banned for sport, and they're wrong, or for my poetry, and they're wrong, or for my work in education, and they're wrong - it was the convention, and the apartheid government saw it as a very threatening move - they had tolerated me and the others for a long time - I can't recall all the people who were banned with me at the time, but George Peak was one, Frank Landman was another....
- J.F. Landman?
- D.B. L a n d m a n - don't worry (?) he had been one of the officials of the Teachers League in Port Elizabeth who broke with them when I broke with them, because we could not stay in the Teachers League once we had moved into the national convention.
- J.F. And who was - Reg September, John Gomez?
- D.B. Well, September and Gomez both came out of the CP, so their....
- J.F. But were they....
- D.B. September may have been banned then, or earlier, I'm not sure, but 11 of us were banned in October.
- J.F. Let me just make sure I can focus on the bigger issues because it - and being world history I want to get some good quotes in your own words on some of these quite important issues - the - what came out of Malmesbury - just tell me a bit about - I'm still a bit worried that I'm confused about your politics - you kind of from high school, almost from the home it was Teachers League - there wasn't anything else.

J.F. You watched the ANC and you watched the ANC youth league and you watched SACPO - was SACPO before CPC - you didn't move towards them - why was that - was there a feeling that the Coloureds had a place in the Teachers League and that was your place or what was it?

D.B. (.....) - the Teachers League in Port Elizabeth, partly because of Frank Landman's influence and mine and others, was more open than most Teachers League branches across the country, therefore we would invite ANC speakers to address our meetings, and we would go and speak to their meetings, and so we had a far greater flow of ideas and debate and argument instead of name-calling - Govan Mbeki was a good friend, and of course I ended up on Robben Island with him - but in fact at one stage the president and the vice president of the TLSA travelled down to Port Elizabeth to reprimand us because we were having too many exchanges with the ANC, and then along came Tabatha to criticise us from the other end for being too friendly with the ANC, you know, coming out of anywhere (?)

So we had both the TLSA and the NEUM (?) saying to us, you know, those guys are into stance (?) and political adventurism and that kind of thing - this was the classic label that would be applied, but I....

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

D.B. I - I disagreed, you know - I would look at - at positions on their merits, so that sometimes we accepted them, sometimes we didn't - I had a very serious quarrel with the ANC when they decided to put up Coloured reps for a Coloured, you know - a Coloured Representative Council because, as you know, these were going to be whites who would stand as reps for Coloureds, and when the one came along to PE to ask for the vote I just ruined his meeting - it was a total mess - it's a wonderful story, so you might want to go and look it up in the Johannesburg papers which wrote it up - there's - the Sunday Express did a particularly good job....

J.F. Which candidate was it?

D.B. His name was Voegel (?) - Piet Voegel (?) - V o g e l - and he was a member of the Congress of Democrats, and the CP had decided that they would put up a candidate for this election because they would cash in on their support among the Coloureds, but I said it was dishonest because people should be represented by themselves, and this was totally wrong (?) - well, we can get into that again, I - I'm trying to answer some of your questions, so what I would say is, one, because of a certain amount of independence, and two - and integrity, I think - no one (?) didn't accept things because you were told they were so - and two, because of our exchanges with the ANC and our willingness to debate issues with them, we were more open and less locked into a particular ideological framework, but I have no idea (?) that for me the catalyst was at a time when I was already debating what to do and I was being pressured (?) by the TLSA and others, March, '61 - no, March, '60 Sharpeville - I listened to the reports on the radio as they were happening - I - we were in a meeting and we'd just broken up a meeting of teachers and I was satisfied, you know, that - well, I misread it of course, but I don't think I was too far out.

I saw Sharpeville and the uprising that followed it, when they had to suspend the pass laws and all the rest of it, as the first time that there was a serious challenge to apartheid that could have led to its collapse, and I was convinced that the way to go was not the kind of armchair theoretics of the TLSA but that the ANC and the CPC and the others - this was where people power would count.

D.B. You would need mass action, you know, and that - that committed me, so between March of '60 and October of '61, that's really my period of association with the ANC and the convention because then I'm banned - my association thereafter is all underground - I worked with Nelson when he went underground - he hid in my home when he was underground, you know, so did Oliver - Oliver used my place when he was on the way out, when he had - when he was being instructed by the ANC to leave South Africa and go into exile - he came to Port Elizabeth and slept over at my place and shook the cops off that way.

J.F. Is that an example of how non-racialism can work, the fact that he could stop off in a Coloured township and not being sought after?

D.B. Yes, in the sense that he would be far more vulnerable in the African township.

J.F. And did you also have to protect his identity from Coloured neighbours who would have been not (.....)

D.B. Oh, yes, he just didn't come out of the house, but Oliver was only there one night - Nelson was there a couple of days and had to just stay in the bedroom and pass the time teaching my kids to box because it would have been very boring otherwise, and (.....) I guess so - so we made it.....

END OF SIDE ONE.

D.B. You have to press me and I'll try and keep the answers short, but I hope you can see a picture coming out of it.

J.F. Absolutely.

D.B. I must add one thing - what is important about Malmesbury is that we adopted a declaration which is easily the most representative - it's also the most important because it said explicitly that the Coloured people are resolved never to accept the franchise until it is extended to the Africans - now an interesting thing is the man who signed it with me was Allan Hendrickse, who ended up, you know, being in the cabinet - I mean this is the most total sell-out you can imagine, that the man who signed with me and with Dick Kearns, with van der Moss, with George Peak, all of us, you know, and it's really worth recreating what happened.

You know, on the day we arrived in Cape Town the magistrate issued a banning order - all meetings were banned in the magisterial district of Cape Town, so everybody had arrived there from Cradock, from Somerset East, from Johannesburg, across the country, so we were the whole spectrum geographically as well as politically, and on the day of arrival the meeting is banned - all meetings - and a woman offers us her barn on a wheat farm at Malmesbury, and so we meet in the barn, but then the military arrive in armoured cars and armoured trucks and they surround the barn, and this man, the head of the special branch comes in - his name was, I believe, van der Westhuizen, and he's wearing a black leather jacket, a peak cap, riding breeches, carrying a horse whip, the classic (.....) coming out of nazi Germany, you know.

D.B. And he comes in with men behind him with guns, and he stands there tapping his whip, you know, with these guys behind him with guns, and I said : Mr. Chairman, we have this item on the agenda - and I proceeded as if they weren't there, and it really was important because people were ready to pack (?) - you had the army virtually - and this man, you know, looking like military - they weren't in those days as much into military uniforms as they are now, paramilitary, but this was the most threatening kind of episode, you know, just the impact of it, but the fact that we could go on debating a declaration in their presence that we would not accept the franchise, and the document is so important you should try and dig it up if you can - the only pla -

There were two places where it was published - I wrote a very, I think, lively piece about it for Fighting Talk, and then I wrote a - the actual declaration itself was published in Contact, which was Patrick Duncan's journal, so you can get the full text of the declaration as adopted.

J.F. Was it a barn or a tobacco shed....

D.B. Well, to me it looked like a barn.

J.F. But the stuff I've read is it's (.....) convention in a tobacco shed.

D.B. It could well be - it really was that kind of place which you didn't - I think they had animals in it as well, so it - but it was a huge structure when (and) we were there and - but I think what was so important was the declaration and the fact that we continued in spite of them, but then of course we were banned thereafter.

J.F. The declaration should be in (.....) Carter - it's around....

D.B. I think (.....) it ought to be - I haven't seen it there.

J.F. I guess what I'm interested in was what you feel that out of that, if the government hadn't moved to smash the resistance with - after - especially with the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe being announced (?) etc., that you would have had a unity among progressive forces in the Coloured community that would've - you were kind of poised to have a true congress alliance militant co-operation - does that mean you - you could say SACPO and CPC already existed, why did you need....

D.B. Right....

J.F. But you're saying : Look, TLSA was strong - you'd had to get all the Coloureds together?

D.B. Anne Kearns and the TEPA people, you know, your bourgeois, your petty bourgeois....

J.F. So you wanted to deal with them....

D.B. Right, the whole broad spectrum....

J.F. Because today people would say : Forget it, you just don't deal with Hendrickse, those people have been marginalised.

D.B. By now, but you must remember Hendrickse was actually part of it at that point.

- D.B. Also, and I may be thinking too far ahead, but you know, in a free South Africa they are not going to disappear - they will still be elements in a very polyglot society, and either you want to end up with a Renamo or a Unita, the potential enemies of the state within the ranks of the people, or you're going to recognise them and accommodate in some way - if necessary, by re-education or whatever it takes, but you must remember we had brought your Coloured reactionaries to a very progressive position.
- J.F. They had moved, you're saying?
- D.B. Right, to the point where we could come up with such a really progressive declaration, knowing that they could go back and report to - in fact about a week - no, maybe two days after that - immediately after the convention we had a report-back meeting in one of the Coloured suburbs of Cape Town, very working class, Salt River, and when we reported on what had happened at Malmesbury to the meeting at Salt River, and we had a tape of it, people stood up in the audience and gave us a standing ovation that went on and on and on and on, so that it was a genuine expression of their will, you know - we'd actually moved them that far.
- J.F. And you hadn't been in CPC or SACPO before that?
- D.B. I'd been - I'd left the TLSA to become a member of CPC in Port Elizabeth - in Port Elizabeth branch....
- J.F. You had made that decision that....
- D.B. Oh, yes.
- J.F. And yet you didn't feel - was the initiative from you or did other CPC people also say : No, we need Malmesbury, we can't just continue on our own - what did the - I don't know who it was, Reg September or - people who were - saw - say the CPC - did they say : Ja, let's do it - or did you go to the CPC and say : Look, let's do a Malmesbury to get TLSA....
- D.B. The call - the call came from Mandela and the ANC, so I mean Reg and co. would have no hesitation in working along those lines - for them it was consistent with their previous position - what I was bringing in was the two elements that they did not have, one of which was your radicals, who saw themselves as being left of CPC, and your Coloured working class in the sense of the home-owners, the people who were in the PTA, the parents who were worried about what was happening to their homes and their kids, but they were coming in in addition to - I guess the CPC always had some of the masses, and of course your members of the CP or fellow travellers (?) - we were bringing in whole new segments that they had not yet reached.
- J.F. Why is it that you had the SAIC, which really coming from Gandhi and through all its permutations, captured the imagination of the Indian people to a great degree and mounted things like resistance - you - even - you obviously had the ANC's with the Africans - you even had in a sense a disproportionately active COD, even though it was tiny, but you did kind of have some verve, but the CPC the way I understand it, and correct me if I'm wrong, really didn't seem to - even - a lot of people - Coloureds would say : Look, the CPC never amounted to much, it never really got that far - do you agree with that and if so why - why were the Coloureds difficult to organise in that way?

- D.B. A whole range of things, but one was the history of the Coloureds, which was totally different from the African and the Asians - they had the franchise - they only lost the franchise in '56 - the Africans had lost it in '36 - too, you must remember that the Cape was always seen as a kind of liberal place - it was certainly where a lot of the intermarriages took place between sailors who came into the port and so on - you had an enormously mixed population racially, genetically, culturally, and you'd had a history of liberal city councils that were much slower to enforce apartheid than elsewhere, Transvaal or the Free State - and as I say, the teachers were the most powerful influences in the society, the formative ones of the young - churches were less important - and of course they were activated by the loss of their franchise - they then were galvanised into action, but prior to that they had been comparatively well off compared to - to the Africans.
- J.F. You didn't have a tradition of militance?
- D.B. Well, it was a different kind of militance - it was about constitutional fights, the franchise, you know, or - or the rights of where to stay and so on, rather than the kind of desperate deprivation that African migrant labour - Coloureds never knew migrant labour in the mines.
- J.F. What about an analysis that talks about the Coloured position as one that also brings in kind of insecurity of the oppressed minority - that the Africans are oppressed but they're a majority, and the Indians maybe had a cultural identity to cling to - do you think that that oppressed minority without (?)
- D.B. No, I think that's important, but there is something more important - there was always the (.....) of the white dominant group, that the Coloureds would be treated as an appendage - they are our step-children, you know, our half children, our bastard children, and so there was - and in a sense they were given that kind of crumbs from the white man's table thing, which gave them more hope, especially the retention of the - of the franchise when it was being lost all over the country - as you know, that's simply historical that when the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910, there was the insistence that those in the Cape who had the franchise would not be deprived of the franchise, so they come into the Union of South Africa with something which the Asians didn't have and the Africans didn't have - gave them some privileged status, however illusory, and so out of that comes a certain reluctance, one, to take on the system and two, the hope that there are crumbs for you in the system.
- J.F. How would you explain the fact that there's a section of the Coloured community that just accepts and uses the Coloured definition - it says we're better than the Africans, we're worse than the whites, O.K., I don't want to get involved, I don't want to get hurt - and yet you have, by the same token, a fierce non-racialism, a fierce anti-racialism from TLSA that the ANC line would say denies race in a way that's not realistic - there is a Colouredness - you can't say nothing matters would be their response, so it's a very unique position - I'm just....
- D.B. Fascinating - fascinating - I don't think I have the answer, but it's worth looking at the debate in the columns of Sichaba, for instance, and also in the columns of the African Communist (?)....
- J.F. Recent or?
- D.B. Oh, over the last three years, say - periodically there are letters - Alex Laguma, for instance, felt very strongly that there was a Coloured culture and maybe a Coloured race, or at least maybe a Coloured nation.

D.B. But as you point out, and I'm very pleased about it, there is also a very strong insistence by other Coloureds that the race categories are irrelevant, you know, and that one ought to transcend them, which is my position - but it seems to me - if you've been through Cape Town you must know that there were suburbs where Coloureds could own homes, very attractive little homes - they weren't exactly mansions, but I used to be so amused when I heard Coloured Cape Townians talk about their homes that they owned, and one of the classic lines would be (?) mine is the one with the red tiles, you know, so that in a row of similar little modest homes you'd have the prestige of having red tiles instead of grey tiles - I mean it made the whole question of distinction so trifling, but you realise how people were hung up on these distinctions.

But the fact that for many years Coloureds could own property, could become petty bourgeois to some degree, meant that all that was clearly a barrier against fusing both with the Africans in Nyanga and Langa but also with the Coloured working class - you know, they were contemptuous of the Coloureds who were hawking fish, you know, vendors out (?) there selling fish or vegetables in the street, rather mocking of them, and they saw them as a kind of lumpen as opposed to themselves, so this stratification is very strong, and there's no point in disputing it.

I also think that I saw it in an even uglier degree in Rhodesia - the Coloureds and Asians when I visited Rhodesia, and this is roughly in the pre-Smith era, so it was early in the '50s - the contempt that Coloureds expressed for the munts, you know, for Africans - I said to them : This is very dangerous - this is the root of your own destruction - you've got this white racist arrogance towards Coloureds and Africans and you're going to be in trouble - and I don't think many of them have outlived it yet - I think there's still a lot of it there, although I haven't been to Zimbabwe recently, so I can't tell.

J.F. Did you feel that there was a difference between the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape in that the Eastern Cape there were so many Coloureds - they were the black majority in fact, and I don't know what it was like - did you sense when you came to the Western Cape that there was a different feeling to being a Coloured....

D.B. Yes - oh, yes....

J.F. What was the difference?

D.B. Port Elizabeth the application - the Eastern Cape the application of the segregation of the races was a slower process - people lived together for much longer, borrowed a cup of sugar or coffee from your neighbour, did their washing together, gossiped together, so there was more contact, more exchange and less of the social divisions.

J.F. And what language did you speak in the home?

D.B. Well, we spoke English - both my parents taught - they were teachers....

J.F. Were both your parents teachers?

D.B. Ja, we can go into that if you like - but the nuns who taught me did not speak Afrikaans themselves, so they couldn't teach me....

J.F. Didn't speak what?

D.B. I mean I talked (?) Afrikaans.

J.F. They didn't speak Afrikaans?

- D.B. No, they were Irish or English nuns, Catholic missionaries - but of course one spoke Afrikaans every day, Xhosa very little, but I actually made an effort to learn Xhosa once I was a teacher, because it seemed to me part of this process of breaking down racial barriers it was important to be able.
- J.F. Did you learn Xhosa?
- D.B. A little - not enough but enough to get by - it's like my French or my German - I mean I know enough to get by (.....)
- J.F. And how did you get into the sports - you'd been - were you an active TLISA person from your high school to your teacher....
- D.B. No, in fact I was hostile to the TLISA at high school level, so I got....
- J.F. Why?
- D.B.into the more on the basis of debate rather than membership - I would be quarrelling with them - I'd come out of a Catholic high school, Catholic training - the nuns see me as seminary material, potential priest - and violently anti-communist, as everybody who comes out of a Catholic school inevitably is - anti-Christ, you know, atheists - so I begin by debating and disputing, and it takes years, and even when I joined the TLISA it's because I satisfy myself that you could be a member without being a Marxist.
- J.F. You were anti-Marxist?
- D.B. Ja.
- J.F. And did that change?
- D.B. Yes, the more I studied it (?) you know, the more it became rational, and I went through an atheistic phase as well at university, which helped when I rejected all the religious beliefs, but studied - but I guess (Interruption)
- J.F. The sports part, was that - are you a big sports fan - were you coming out of your own experience or....
- D.B. It's very puzzling - the answer is yes and no - I'm a great sports fan but I'm not a great sportsman, if you know (?) the difference - I'm a performer - I mean I've taken part in sport, but always with more enthusiasm than skill, so that's not - that's not my - I didn't have a vested interest in organising sport because I was myself going to benefit from it - what happened, I think, that I was articulate, I had secretarial skills and I was willing to study constitutions and make sure that meetings were conducted constitutionally, and so people developed confidence in me and also, I think, in my impartiality, and so I begin by being an organiser of school at (?) high school sports level, sport at high school - then adult sport in the city and then in the province and then nationally, nearly always in a secretarial capacity.
- That's why when I was offered the presidency of SASA I turned it down to take the secretaryship instead, because I knew that that was where the real organisational power was - you got things done if you were the secretary - and so I begin as say, a coach of a table-tennis club or a baseball club or a softball club or a cricket club at high school level, and then the high school team joins the - the city league, so I become an official of the city league - then when the city joins the provincial, Natal, Eastern Province or whatever, I represent it at that level, and then when a national organisation is formed I will serve on the national body.

D.B. So it's a set of steps up really, not even so much on the basis of ambition as skill and the absence of other people with skills or people that were busy (?) and now it gets - the fascinating thing is that almost like with the Malmesbury thing, eventually I serve on eight national sports bodies in eight different codes (?) - athletics, swimming, football, tennis, table-tennis, weightlifting, baseball, softball, so that when I convene a meeting of those organisations I have a finger in each one of them, and it's very easy for me, knowing people in each of them, to convene a meeting which represents them all, and to set up SASA, the Sports Association.

It could not have been formed, I think, if I did not have at least half a dozen connections in half a dozen different sports, so it comes together in the way that Malmesbury came together, representing a very broad spectrum - and then I insisted on becoming secretary until I was banned from belonging to sports organisation - I get a letter from Vorster, who was then minister of justice, saying you are - under the banning order you are forbidden to belong to all organisations, so I write him a letter asking whether this includes honorary positions, whether I am banned from those as well, and I get a letter from his secretary saying the minister of justice does not dispense free legal advice (Laugh) - but the interesting consequence is, since I am banned from holding a position by election, when SANROC is formed they elect me president in my absence, and as far as I'm concerned that's legal because I was not a party to the election and it's really a figurehead position and I will not have to attend meetings - it's purely a - a ceremonial, but when I leave South Africa and go to England in 1966 and we revive SANROC, I have the authority to do it because I happen to have been elected president in South Africa by SANROC - I (.....) - I really don't have anything to pursue, so it's up to you to decide what you think....

J.F. I hope I've got the bio (?) and that I can just ask questions around it, so if I can just kind of jump ahead - did you basically after you were banned - were you an Umkhonto we Sizwe member or were you working just with the AN - in - not just but with the ANC underground?

D.B. Well, that's complicated too - nothing is (?) I'm afraid (?) - but the ANC was banned - they set up immediately a new organisation called the NAC, which was the National Action Council, which functioned underground and on which Nelson and Walter and the others served, and I was approached by Walter and asked if I would do work for the NAC, and I agreed, so I was never a member of the ANC and I never paid dues or anything, but I was performing important work.

Interestingly, one of my couriers - since Walter was banned, I was banned, Nelson was banned, every group was banned, I did a lot of work with Ruth First - I was writing for Fighting Talk even after we were both banned - she was editing a journal although she was banned, and I was writing (.....) although I was banned (?) but my courier was Winnie Mandela, you know, who then was not politically active but would drop off stuff for me at a coffee shop and I would pick it up there and so on.

Now this is rather interesting because I did something that very few other people did in the ANC or the NAC - I created a totally mythical personality, who got correspondence, had his own address and everything, and wrote articles under his name, and did all the memos for the NAC whenever they asked for memos or (.....) papers or position papers - they'd (?) always be under that name, and when stuff was delivered to me by Winnie or whoever, it was always by that name, and it was never blown - my cover was never blown.

- D.B. Before she died Ruth was interrogated by the - by the special branch now about who this person was, and she said : Oh, he left the country long ago - and that was that, you know, and the only pers - when I arrived in Robben Island and I went to have a shower with Walter, he greeted me by my pseudonym and - and he was one of the few people - but to this day the cops don't know who that person was....
- J.F. So you don't want to say the name?
- D.B. No point - but it was never uncovered and I - I deliberately just created a separate identity.
- J.F. So you were in the NAC structures?
- D.B. Right, and I worked with them.
- J.F. That wasn't actually illegal in fact?
- D.B. No, because they hadn't been banned, because their existence had never been acknowledged, although I'm quite sure that the special branch knew of it and in fact managed to infiltrate it, just as they infiltrated SANROC - the man who sat with me in some of the meetings was called Gerald Ludi, who ended up going to Moscow, you know, with Bram Fischer's daughter and all that - he was on the SANROC committee when I was serving on the committee illegally, and the only reason I think he did not turn me in was that he knew that I was into bigger things than SANROC and was hoping to get a lead to those as well - that's my guess.
- J.F. And so just - we don't have to go through it exactly because I can find it in the book, but then you were - you left the country and you were arrested in Mozambique?
- D.B. Ja, by the PIDE, and then they turned me back to the same cops who had arrested me in Johannesburg, special branch, at Nkomati, you know - it was just one of those things.
- J.F. And what were you - what did you do your prison time for - what were you charged with?
- D.B. Well, I'd been arrested in the offices of the South African Olympic Committee, and that's a marvellous coincidence again - I mean when I finally was arrested it was over sport, and my crime was contravening my banning order, but then of course I escaped, and then I was brought back - I escaped a second time and I was shot in Johannesburg - then went to Robben Island after that.
- J.F. Did you have any knowledge of Coloured people who were in Umkhonto we Sizwe?
- D.B. Ja, just as I knew there were Coloureds on Robben Island - George Peak, others, who were part of either CPC or ANC or Umkhonto.
- J.F. Because I had the interesting experience of interviewing a young woman who I ran into in North Carolina on the Africa peace tour, who's the niece of James April, and her whole life no-one told her what happened to her uncle until she was in the States and she kind of read a newspaper article, and this was before it was released - now it's been released.
- D.B. Well, I - I met women occasionally who knew their husbands were somewhere and they were usually with Umkhonto, but the ANC had forbidden them, their husbands, to communicate with their wives.

- J.F. But this is a situation where the - where James April had been arrested and tried and was on Robben Island, but in the African community you would have had a great deal of pride, but in the Coloured community it seems there were areas of the Coloured community and people who would be embarrassed and they were not - there was not that feeling of pride and support....
- D.B. Are you saying that the woman you met had not been told by her family?
- J.F. No, the family didn't even tell her - she said she remembers when he was arrested that the people said he was involved in things he shouldn't have been, but here he was doing this courageous thing and on Robben Island all those years....
- D.B. That you would have been proud of....
- J.F. And his own family was hushing it up, but I'm just wondering if you can give some insight as to what the motivation in the Coloured community is....
- D.B. Well, it's hard to tell - you know, at one time - this is really something I shouldn't tell you - I mean it's so personal and so intimate - there was a time before my political involvement when, for an emotional reason I was preparing to leave South Africa, for a woman, and I remember going into a shebeen one night to drink, utterly miserable just thinking about it, and nerving myself to leave the country, and there were some drunks drinking there, and one of them began to kiss my hands, and he was maudlin of course, drunk and weeping, but he was thanking me for what I was doing for the Coloured people....
- J.F. He was Coloured?
- D.B. He was Coloured - in my willingness to go out there and stick my neck out, which so many of them were not, but they saw me as doing it for them, and the point of the story is that it's what turned me around that night, you know, when I was getting ready to leave the country - it was this man talking to me that persuaded me not to leave the country.
- J.F. Because he thought you were going to join the guerillas?
- D.B. Whatever - no, because he appreciated what I was doing, whatever it was - as someone who was known by then and banned and hunted by the cops and all kinds of things that happened to me, but this was prior to my (.....) - I may have been banned already, but I mean this is before I was shot and Robben Island and all that, but that was - ja, that would have been earlier, but there was a point when I was prepared to leave the country for reasons which were not political, and I abandoned (.....)
- J.F. Why do you think it is that you could - in the African....
- D.B. Well, I had a letter - this is funny, and just to complete on that - the point you raised earlier - I had a letter about a week ago from a young man who's from Port Elizabeth - I've never met him - he says - he writes and says : I believe you knew my father and I would like to meet you while I'm in the States because you are still legendary - I'm using his word - in South Africa - now he's Coloured, and so it means there is this stratum of the Coloured community, you know, to whom I represent something of a fighter who took a stand on the issue of apartheid and oppression, so you must not be misled by the notion that there - I think a lot of them are afraid to act, but it's not that they are unappreciative of those who act, and I suspect this is true of many Africans, you know.

- D.B. I remember my wife's friend - she had many African friends who would visit her, and then I would be visited by Govan Mbeki or someone from the ANC, and the woman who were talking to her would get very nervous, you know, because she would say : Oh, he's from congress, you know - and congress for them was something very dangerous, which meant you were likely to end up in prison, so even - and you must expect this in any community - they're not - everybody's not going to stick their necks out.
- J.F. It's not the sticking the necks out, because there're lots of Africans who don't, but it seems like there's more feeling in the African community (?) that everyone knows Mandela and supports him, whereas in the Coloured community there aren't very many James Aprils or.....
- D.B. Yes, but of course that's partly the problem - you need those visible people, and they don't always exist, and the record of the Coloureds, unfortunately, is of having thrown up so many quislings, you know, the van der Mosses and the Kearnses and the Goldings, the collaborators - there were so many of them - but you must also have heard of people like Ben Kies and Dicky Dudley and Frank Gramma (?).
- J.F. Frank?
- D.B. Gramma - G r a m m e r, who were Coloureds who were banned and hounded by the cops and all the rest of it, so they had their own heroes.
- J.F. Did you ever come back to Catholicism - you said you went - when you went through an atheistic period, did you come back to religion?
- D.B. I can't remem - oh, yes, certainly in prison.
- J.F. You did - did you come back to Catholicism?
- D.B. Yes, I think I kind of passed through it, but I had another phase of it, which is very bad actually, because once I was put in solitary I began to have religious hallucinations, and I ended up twice trying to commit suicide, and realised what was happening and asked for a psychiatrist, so they flew one down from Pretoria to Robben Island for me, and ironically the same man who was interrogating me or supposedly treating me was also treating John Harris, who was then facing the death sentence, and of course we had been friends, close friends - he had been my vice president when I was president of SANROC, so you see, SANROC had a white vice president when I was being very active.
- J.F. One of the many vice presidents?
- D.B. No, he was the working vice president and my right hand as opposed to those (.....) - but when he was arrested of course it was for the explosives, and they then tried to connect me with him and they were convinced that there was a connection - so this man who was supposed to be treating me had someone concealed behind a curtain with a tape recorder, and I saw this by accident - I happened to see, so I realised that they weren't really treating me, you know, they were interrogating me, but what it did was to snap me out of this whole mystical experience, which - I had about five months in isolation and that's bound, I think, to just - just damage your mind.
- J.F. But you wouldn't - would you describe yourself as a Catholic now?
- D.B. Not really - perhaps theistic (?) but certainly not Catholic.

J.F. And then viz-a-viz the ANC right now are you a member, are you not a member....

D.B. It's kind of ambivalent too (.....) - I wish anything was simple but it never is - when I was in London I paid subs....

J.F. You what?

D.B. I paid subscriptions - you can pay a monthly subscription and be a member and carry a card - it's one way to do it, and I did that when I was in London - I don't do it now, so that's the short answer - but the reasons were that I found what they had established in London was an ANC branch or chapter which really had no power at all - it was a place where you would be told what had been decided, you know, and if you raised any questions you would be told : We're refer it to Lusaka or Morogoro - so what was happening was that it really was at best perhaps a rubber stamp for decisions that had already been taken - there was no attempt at serious discussion or debate or analysis.

So when I came here, as I said, we invited Godfrey Sithole and Aggrey Mbere to the symposia - I'm in touch with the ANC office - I send them material, they send me material - I get Sichaba - I think we have a good working relationship, but I am not a card-carrying member with the kinds of obligations that would entail, and I honestly believe that I am more useful as I am than I would be that way, so it's not out of hostility or disloyalty, and Nelson and I were very good friends outside prison and inside prison - I had known him before he went to Robben Island - we were in the same section on Robben Island - but I was always closer to Walter Sisulu than I was to Nelson, because often the discussions would come to me through Walter and my opinions would be conveyed through him.

J.F. When the Malmesbury happened, the convention, would you say that there was non-racialism on the agenda, was it - what did the bulk of the Coloured people feel - what was the consensus on that - did they support non-racialism, did they prefer multiracialism, were they not into having whites or?

D.B. Non-racialism overwhelmingly, both in the people who were working to put it together and being elected in Cradock or Queenstown or King Williamstown or East London, to go to Malmesbury, the mandate they were being given was a mandate for non-racialism, and the document we adopted, the manifesto, was a manifesto based squarely on non-racialism - that was very important - that's why I'm so glad that you are focusing on it, because I think it was a historic moment, you know - it was the rare occasion when we had the broadest spectrum of the Coloured people assembled in one place in the history of South Africa, and what they adopted was itself a historic stance, when they said : We reject racism, we will never be bribed into accepting a vote for ourselves unless that vote is extended to all the people South Africa - it was a clear alliance with the Africans in their struggle for the franchise.

J.F. And did you feel that with those black-rooted (?) Coloureds assembled at that historic meeting, that they if it - there hadn't been the bannings, would have moved right into an allegiance, an alliance with the ANC as a group which would have been a broader (?) than CPC?

D.B. Yes, not only do I feel it but I'll tell you of something which I don't think has ever been recorded elsewhere - the most important Coloured in the entire Coloured community in Port Elizabeth, the man who was respected and always listened to was an old man called Harry Erasmus.

D.B. He was a typical middle class Coloured who owned his own home and had been able to buy homes for his sons and his daughters as they married, you know, typical prosperous - I believe he had been a baker - he has learned the trade of being a baker, and then he'd either worked for a prosperous baking firm or even set up his own little business, I'm not sure - but we all rather laughed at him, because we were the young turks and he was 70 when we were in our 20s, you know, but he was a man with a track record - over all the years whenever the Coloureds had had to protest something or argue, or the mayor wanted to know what the Coloured people thought, you know, or when they were coming around cadging votes, they would go to Harry Erasmus - Oom Krag was our nickname for him - O o m K r a g, which we - was power - you know, he was this powerful old man.

And round about the time of the convention, when we were planning it, he, I believe, had two strokes, so he was a very sick man.....

END OF SIDE TWO.

D.B. I think he'd had heart attacks or he'd had strokes, I can't remember, but he was at the end of his power still very much respected - and I arranged for Walter Sisulu to see him and Walter went and talked to him in his sickbed, and that was such a historic conjunction because everybody knew what Sisulu stood for - with Nelson underground Sisulu was the ANC, you know, and when I could arrange for Oom Krag to meet with Sisulu and Oom Krag would say: I am pleased that what is happening, and can I give my blessing to this whole movement to have a Coloured convention to declare the Coloured position in alliance with the Africans - now that was a major event.

J.F. Did that mean that they were prepared to move into an organisation whereby Africans would lead, that they would be involved - would that have been - could all the Coloureds in that group say Mandela, Sisulu and Mbeki are our leaders?

D.B. I'm not sure, and of course I want to be honest, so I'm not sure I could say yes to that - what I could see is all of them joining the same organisation, and you must remember that the OAPO, of which Oom Krag had been a member maybe 30 years ago, under people like Abdurahman, you know - it was called the African People's Organisation - African People's Organisation, and I am quite sure it had Asians, Cape Malays, Coloureds and Africans in the membership there, so that for some of them the notion of a non-racial or multiracial organisation was not necessarily entirely new, you know - they could envisage, but I don't think they'd got around to picking leaders, but they were ready to go into the same organisation and have a shared membership.

J.F. But surely they would know that when they got around to picking those leaders they would have to be largely....

D.B. I just don't know - they may have done so, I don't know - I'm just saying I can't recall them having thought that far - I of course was very comfortable with Lutuli and Mandela - I mean I had no difficulty in saying these are going to be our leaders, but I can't say that for others.

D.B. But you must remember I was working with Rusty Bernstein, with Joe Slovo with Ruth (?) so for me the problem of race again didn't arise, you know we served on the board of Fighting Talk together.

J.F. But in your experience - I'm really interested because I like the way you give honest answers and I think I don't want to paint such a rosy picture of non-racialism that we don't see the problematic as it happens - I'm just wondering if there's anything you can tell me - obviously this is supposed to be a constructive project (.....) but if you have any sense that you could give me of any time when you felt that the non-racialism had some flaws or where you saw certain whites who you felt weren't an asset or whether you felt there were any areas - people might talk now about the need for affirmative action to say : O.K., non-racialism's right but these whites get in there and you'll never see African leadership, you'll never see working class leadership, you'll never - there's domination, this or that - I'm just wondering if you can think back to (.....) to be honest about....

D.B. Sure, I - your - I think you're really asking two questions - the one is about my own perceptions and the other is how I perceived other people's perceptions - well, I mentioned earlier that just as in Rhodesia, there has and is among the Coloureds a very serious streak of arrogance towards Africans, you know, where they see themselves as a cut above them, even if they below the whites so - and as I say, I warned people about this, whether in South Africa or Rhodesia - I warned them about this danger of adopting a white racist arrogance towards Africans.

When I worked with people my most intimate contact with the mass of the people came through education and came through the PTAs - we set up about five in Port Elizabeth in five different areas of the city where there were Coloured townships - Southend, Port (.....) Northend, Galvendale, wherever, you see, and there you would meet the classic, I think, Coloured person, you know - not very well educated, hard working, church-going, wanting to do the best for their children, and I think that that's the classic locas (?) as far as you can for what the Coloured community was about, and I would say that within that you would always find both strands, those who would say : We don't want to mix with kaffirs - and which was the - the extreme term of contempt which established the Coloured superiority, but you also always found those Coloureds who said : You know (?) when anything if we don't work with the Africans - and so that both strands were there, and therefore - and this question of white leadership was never more strongly stated than by the PAC, and when the PAC stated it it was not really even an attack on whites - it was an attack on the CP which they equated with whites, so they would say : We're going to have white domination, whites running the show and white communists running the show.

They were very comfortable with the Patrick Duncans, you know - white liberals were O.K. - they would collaborate with them, even when they wouldn't let them join the organisation, but the Slovos and the Bernsteins, the Firsts, people like that - when the PAC broke with the ANC in '59 - if you go back and read the documents of the time, there's a very clear ideological stance by the PAC which was pro-capitalist, so there's that anta - and you know, the paper that in a sense made the PAC was the Bantu World, as it was then called, which was of course owned by the mines - Anglo American owned it - and I still believe that however much some people in the PAC were genuinely opposed for a variety of reasons, to the mining bosses, who also owned the media, they saw the PAC as a black movement which they could espouse because it was challenging apartheid on capitalist terms, in terms of a more rational economy, better wages, abolition of migrant labour and so on.

D.B. The mine - mining bosses at that time were willing to accept that, what they did (?) not one was (?) any whisper of socialism, communism, you know, a red takeover, so that they would inflate the importance of the PAC in order to use it as a battering ram to attack the ANC - I think that was central to the whole issue.

J.F. Do you think that still holds, that there is a....

D.B. No, because the PAC has changed its position so much externally, but it's very interesting that - remember the ANC wrote to me after the symposium asking that his paper should not be published - we were planning to publish the papers - if it was going to appear in the same volume as the paper by a contra (?) and he used the term contra, and of course he was referring to the PAC, so I wrote back and said: You know, this is a very serious charge, would you like to give me some more information - but it is true that in some ANC circles they talk of the PAC becoming the Renamo or the Unita of the future after the success of the liberation struggle.

It would be the PAC, if not Buthelezi, who of course is the better candidate, but they actually see the PAC in ANC circles as a candidate for the position of a Renamo or a Unita.

J.F. Do you see that?

D.B. I don't know - that's why I was quite willing to take up Godfrey Sithole, you know, when he said PAC equals contra - I said: O.K., tell me more - I wasn't going to dispute it, but I wasn't accepting it either, and of course you must concede that it's a possibility.

J.F. Did the PAC ever hold any attraction for Coloureds - is there....

D.B. Oh, yes - oh, yes, and when I was classified in prison I was classified as (.....).....

J.F. As what?

D.B. Poqo, which is the - the armed wing of PAC, and I was put in the same cell with what the jailers called the Poqos, you know.

J.F. You were put with them?

D.B. Right.

J.F. Did they think you were that - you weren't that though.

D.B. Well, there were two possibilities - either they honestly thought I was, or alternatively they put me in there to test me, you know, because the young PAC poqo types were known to - to kill off people they thought were collaborators or whatever, so I could have gone through hell going in there, and bearing in mind that I'd worked with Nelson and Walter, to put me in a cell with 35 young men from PAC who were being charged with murders, you know, it's a very interesting choice, and yet I got on very well with the young PAC people, you know, and - and I was comfortable with them and I found out that other Coloureds were comfortable with the PAC - in fact I suspect even now if you were to go to some of the rural areas you would find more Coloureds pro-PAC than ANC..

J.F. Why?

D.B. Say in places like Cradock, Queenstown, whatever, one....

J.F. Why?

- D.B. the - the communist bogey on the one hand, and the other is that in some ways the PAC approach is a much more simplistic approach - you go out and kill a few whites, you know, that'll solve everything and - and it works for people who want a simple solution.
- J.F. The people at the Malmesbury convention, would they all have been happy to call themselves Coloured - that was what they....
- D.B. Well, what else would they be?
- J.F. There was no idea that that - sure in the - in '50, '60....
- D.B. No, I'm wondering whether you suggest they had choices.
- J.F. Was there any feeling that they should be called black?
- D.B. We may have started it - from that time onwards people began to say : Really we're all oppressed, we're all black - but prior to that I think not - if there were there must have been very few, even - and you see, the curious thing is that if you were in the CP or in SACPO you were very insistent on your Colouredness, because you had to preserve a Coloured spoke, you know - the wheel had four spokes, a white spoke, Asian spoke, African spoke and a Coloured spoke, and the CP was insistent, and the congress was insisting on the congress alliance, which would have four pillars, so hence you better know which category you were in so that you could go and join up with that category.
- We were really breaking with that by our insistence on non-racialism, and I still think that SANROC was the first national organisation in the country to make so explicit the rejection of any racial categories, even those adopted by congress.
- J.F. Did you make a distinction between non-racialism and multiracialism?
- D.B. Oh, yes - oh, yes, we were the first to do it - for us it became a debating issue, you know - should you call yourself multiracial, should you call yourself non-racial, and we would say we cannot be multiracial, because when you do that you're accepting all the racial categories which make up the multiracial structure.
- J.F. And was that to you different from the ANC?
- D.B. I guess so - for me I think - I think it was my - my training in the use of terms coming out of the Unity Movement, anti-CAD, TLSA - now the interesting thing is, as you know, that the non-European Unity Movement also con - was a federal structure consisting of different components, and some of them would happen to be Coloureds and others would happen to be African, but there was no insistence on the separation - there was an African teachers organisation called CATA, Cape African Teachers Association, which was all African - no Coloureds belonged to - and this is a Trotskyite organisation, O.K., but observe our organisation, though it had a Coloured membership, it was not called a Coloured teachers organisation - called the Teachers League of South Africa, and my father apparently was one of the founders of that, you know, but I think it was a happy accident that they didn't use a racial tag.
- The anti-CAD was Coloured, but observe that what it was declaring in its name was that it was opposed to Coloured (.....) - now....
- J.F. Was a what Coloured?

D.B. By saying it was anti-CAD it was saying it was anti-Coloured Affairs Department, so it was rejecting the department but built into the name was hostility to the tag.

J.F. We've talked a lot about the relationship between the different groups and your specific co-operation with whites, with Africans - what about Indians - you haven't talked about that.

D.B. Oh, wonderful - I mean (?) self-evident, so I don't really have to go into it, but if I were to look back on my work in South Africa I would have to say that no-one assisted me more than Indians, no-one - more than any Africans, more than any Coloureds - my strongest allies in sport were Indians, and even when I worked with the convention one of my strongest allies was also my doctor, who was Indian - his name was Mashla, and Mashla was my doctor but he was also my sidekick - he was also my sidekick in building the convention, you know, in our area.

I mean he was my biggest supporter, together with people like Frank Landman - the man who probably did more than anybody else to get the convention off the ground was neither anti-CAD nor TLSA nor SACPO nor ANC, curious (?) - he was a Coloured called Joe Daniels, who was a member of the Liberal Party....

J.F. Joe, not Eddie?

D.B. No, this is Joe Daniels.

J.F. Is that related to Eddie?

D.B. Not at all - Eddie Daniels ended up on Robben Island of course - Joe Daniels was a Coloured who was secretary to the Liberal Party of South Africa, based in Cape Town, and Joe was a very decent kind of man, hard working, honest, politically not very clear, but did an enormous amount of work, and he was really the kingpin around whom we all operated - but in terms of energising I probably did as much as anybody else, but he was the linchpin at the centre and put together the meetings and the planning and all the rest of it.

After that he kind of faded from - he was banned, I think, for - or may have been threatened with a banning order and got cold feet at that point - you want to check him - if he was banned he would have been banned at the time that I was banned, October, '61 - but he did an important job - now Alex la Guma was already banned at that time, so he couldn't participate, but his wife, Blanche, was very active, so she played an important role.

J.F. But you mentioned....

D.B. Joe Daniels....

J.F. Joe Daniels, but in connection with the Indians you were saying that....

D.B. I'm sorry - in - in SANROC and in SASA I would say of the people who put SASA together about 80 percent were Indian, and when it came to SANROC about 75 percent - the Coloureds had begun to increase a little by that time, but I would say 75 percent were still Indians, so most of my working day to day relationships were with Indians.

J.F. But that's you, Dennis Brutus, and you were an exception - what about - what is the kind of conventional relationship between....

D.B. Coloured and Indian - in Cape Town kind of distant, in Durban hostile, in Port Elizabeth friendly, and the Eastern Cape had a different quality.

J.F. Why?

D.B. I think it was because in the Cape Coloureds dominated - Indians were a very small mercantile minority - in Durban Indians dominated - they were about eight to one against the Coloureds, and the Coloureds were a very petty bourgeois little insular group, and the Coloureds despised the Indians - they referred to them as koelies and absolute contempt, which dismayed me, because when I would go to Durban and the people I would be working with would be about 99 percent Indians, so when I would meet Coloureds they would express amazement - you know, why are you associating with these koelies, aren't you a Coloured, you know, so I had to deal with that, you know, but we were fortunate.

Port Elizabeth there was a fairly even balance, and the relations were really very good - there was a separate Indian football union and a Coloured football union and an African football union - there was a separate Coloured cricket union and an Indian one and a Bantu one plus an African one - the Africans had a split (?) where the Africans would play against Coloureds and Indians, the Bantu refused to - you had already a strong nationalistic streak where they accepted the tag Bantu, for instance, in rugby, so you'd have a Bantu rugby union and an African rugby union, and the African rugby union would play matches against the Coloured rugby unions, but the Bantus were -

But these were the realities except, as I say, that there was generally more exchange and more intercourse in the Eastern Cape than you had in Natal or in Durban - Kimberley was really quite good - Kimberley was close to Port Elizabeth, and East London was close to Port Elizabeth, and they had pretty much similar relationships - as you went further east or further west it worsened, but I don't think it was geographical - it was more numerical, where the numbers changed.

J.F. Do you feel - you've really said this, but if I can just ask a question I ask everyone - is non-racialism important, is it central or is it peripheral?

D.B. O.K. - it's not peripheral - I - I don't know whether I can answer it that way, because my own preference is to answer it another way, and that's to say we will reach a time in South Africa where racial categories are irrelevant, and the first step towards that is the individual transcending racial categories so that one - well, when I was in Australia, which was very strange, I had to fill out a form before I could get into Australia on the airport in New Zealand, which said what is your race, so I wrote human and I turned it in, and the immigration people wouldn't accept it - they said : We don't accept it, you have to say what's your race - so I said : Look, I've just come from a country where I've been fighting that, why do I have to do it here - and the plane was held up while we debated the issue.

Eventually they let me on - I don't think I compromised, so they must have, but I honestly think one has to achieve that kind of individual transcendence where racial tags become irrelevant - now the funny thing is I speak at hundreds of meetings in the US, and invariably after it someone will come to me at the end and say : But by the way, what is your race - what would you be classified in South Africa - and I'd talked for two or three hours about the irrelevance of race, you know, and they still come back and - and that's because people have such hang-ups, you know, about racial categories and racial labels, and I honestly think we can transcend them.

D.B. We may have to be conscious - one of the interesting things that I omitted to tell you is that the little Catholic school I went to, run by these nuns, starting from scratch, started in competition to other mission schools which already existed, Dutch Reform or Congregational or Anglican or whatever - and the nuns, rightly or wrongly and consciously or otherwise, accepted everybody who wanted to come to school, so I actually started school in a school in which there were kids who would technically be called African and others who would have been called white, and who ended up passing for white and disappearing into white society, and others that sank like a stone into African society, and the middle core of course remained Coloured.

But I began in classrooms where you had Coloureds, Africans, Asians and whites sitting together, and it may be that that was my good fortune, you know, that I related to them as persons, and the racial categories came afterwards, but that may have been it.

J.F. What do you say when those people come up to the US - after your speeches in the States and say what are you classified?

D.B. I'm not sure, but it's usually something rude, you know (Laugh)

J.F. So you don't tell them or?

D.B. It varies - no, I say why are you wasting my time, you know, something like that, or why do you have this racial hang-up, you know - my response is usually to answer a question with a question, but of course I have no problem in saying : If you (?) want to know, in South Africa I'm called Coloured and I define myself as black, part of the oppressed - but usually I - I'm so irritated by this (.....)

J.F. But that's so interesting to me because the one thing that I refused to do when I went to South Africa was to learn how to quote (?) and (.....) tell the difference - because people in South Africa - somebody can be across the road and a South African white, black, so-called Coloured or Asian can tell you what that person's race (?) is - it's just so - and yet I to this day, I pride myself that I can speak Afrikaans because I'm Dutch and I can do a lot of things, but I still can't tell (.....)

D.B. And you're not going to learn?

J.F. And I just - I guess partly because I just refuse to learn, and I just think they must have some sick sixth sense that I don't have.

D.B. I know, and of course they grew up with it, they're imbued with it - that's the real handicap.

J.F. Because you don't have an accent any more either....

D.B. No, I guess not, but what is also very interesting is the way white South Africans meeting me here, and I meet many, surprising number, many of whom have left South Africa as hopeless, you know - they want to bring up their children in decent homes - others are doctors and lawyers who smuggled out their money and have settled here - they haven't really changed their attitude, and what is so striking is how they are not (?) discarded the racial arrogance that they would have had towards me in South Africa - you know, the patronising, the asking of intimate questions the way you can ask your servant, you know, are you pregnant again, you know, that kind of thing which you feel free to do with servants (?) - but I'm amazed at how hard it is for them to shed it.

D.B. But I would say that you are seizing on perhaps the most important theme to be studied in South Africa, and one has to look at its origin and one has to recognise that there was a time when non-racialism was not part of the vocabulary of the political debate in all sections, white and non-white, so that it's important to look at it, but it's not only important to look at it for historical reasons, but because if it does not become the dominant theme in the debate, then South Africa is in for deep trouble - even post-apartheid after the collapse of the apartheid regime, if this is not clearly articulated and made an important number one on the agenda, we're in trouble, and that's why I think it - it's very encouraging to know how many young people are themselves arguing about it and how for many of them black nationalism is discredited (?).

J.F. Is discredited?

D.B. Ja, notwithstanding a Steve Biko, who I think was a strong influence, and I think some of Biko's influence tended towards black nationalism, whether he intended it or not, because I'm sure his own thinking was more sophisticated, but his followers reduced it to something more simple (?) - but I think the survival of South African society is dependent on an agreement that (?) they're going to build a non-racial society, otherwise it'll end up chaotic - we've seen already Mugabe (?) is having a hard time dealing with Joshua Nkomo and tribal divisions which are developing.

I've just come back from Nigeria this month, and it's astonishing to see how the tensions are still there between Yoruba and Hausa and Ibo - it is scary that (?) in fact the tensions in Nigeria on ethnic lines are not diminishing - they're actually growing - we are going very much in the direction of the Biafran conflict, except that it will take a more complex form, I think, because it's being (been) thoroughly messed up by a kind of new Islamic resurgence which is being funded out of Saudi Arabia, and there's already an Imam who sees himself as an Ayotollah and who's making speeches about there will never be a Nigerian nation until there is an Islamic Nigeria, so you can see how the ethnic thing can be complicated with the religious.

But I - so if I were to go back to your question I would say yes, it is central to the whole South African political debate - it's going to have to be more to the forefront and kept at the forefront.

J.F. And do you think that there should be any compromising made on it, the nat - COSATU hasn't compromised in terms of not letting CUSA, AZACTU to dictate - the NUM embrace the Freedom Charter, so they're non-racial, but others say maybe you should let the Africanist PCP people, the minority come in and kind of not really push the non-racial line - do you think there'll be a point where you should not compromise - do you think it's important to embrace people who see blackness or nationalism as more important or do you think just kind of - it's almost a kind of militant non-racialism now.

D.B. On the one hand....

J.F. It seemed to be dominant....

D.B. I'm glad you say that, but it seems to me - well, I don't know - it seems to me Inkatha is doing two things - in the one it's clearly developing a black nationalism, although very - very cynical kind, very chauvinistic kind, but that has - one of the consequences is that where-as it develops black nationalism on the one hand, it generates the opposition to that among Africans, you know who can then see the dangers, particularly the episodes of Natal at the Gandhi Settlement and so on.

D.B. They see how black nationalism serves the interests of apartheid, of the army and the military - on the other hand your - your real question you're asking is harder to answer - I found that much of my success in South Africa was in not insisting on definitions of the things we disagreed on, but instead insisting on definitions of the things we agreed on and focusing on those and agreeing to postpone (?) the definitions on the things we disagreed on.

My father taught me one wonderful line when we arguing - you know, he would say : Well, let's agree to disagree - and we could leave it at that point and maybe come back to it - well, I'm not going to beat people over the head to compel them to accept my line, and I may even have to soft-pedal my line, but that's not the same as compromise, but not insist on those hard and fast definitions as a prerequisite to collaboration.

There's (it's) one other interesting kind of historic moment in my own thinking - at the time when I was debating as a young man whether I should join the Teachers League of South Africa, knowing that I was a very profoundly Catholic person and anti-communist, mark you, as all Catholics are supposed to be, and this was an organisation that (.... ..) Marxist analysis of the South African situation, and was doing a better job of a class analysis than the ANC were doing, you know, so for me it was important to make that decision, and I may have spent maybe three years trying to decide - took me a long time - I was a kind of a fellow-traveller, so I could not commit myself to joining.

J.F. (.....) teachers league?

D.B. Right, so I was working with it, going to their meetings, debating with them and never joining them - what turned me around was reading one of the papal encyclical, the pronouncement by the pope, who (which) said when your house is on fire you don't enquire about the political ideology of the person who's helping you carry the buckets, and it was enough for me to say : Well, I may disagree with these people and still work with them because we're interested in putting out the fire....

J.F. (.....) one of the good quotes (?)

D.B. I'm not certain (?) - ja, I think this was the one who did the good encyclical on labour as well (.....)

J.F. (.....)

D.B. No (.....) - well, this one....

J.F. (.....) Catholics or....

D.B. This one is CIA....

END OF INTERVIEW.

