

- J.F. With everyone I always start with where were you born and when and what your background was, so if that's O.K. that's how I'll start - where were you born and what year?
- C.C. '57 in Wentworth, Durban.
- J.F. What kind of community is Wentworth - tell me a bit about it?
- C.C. Ja, O.K., it's a - a Coloured area as such - it mainly has working class people in it largely - it's made up of flats and sub-economic houses largely - although it has some middle class sections, but the people living in the middle class sections would be people who were also actually belonging to the working class but are artisans as such - that would be - in fact show the difference between say, the working class who - in the Coloured area as different from say, the working class in the African area, where the working class would be the artisans getting better pay and so on amongst Coloureds and able to build better houses, relatively speaking, but it's surrounded by the oil (?) refinery at the one end complete, and the other end, industries, factories, the - separated by a road from the Indian area and then a huge buffer zone between Wentworth and the white area - it's a - ja, I was born in Wentworth - that's all my 30 years I've spent there in Wentworth - I never actually seen it developed or what it is now.
- J.F. And what did - what's your parents' background - what work did they do?
- C.C. My father was a - an operator, normal working class operator - that means he wasn't a qualified artisan, he didn't get much pay - my mother just worked from time to time in factories, wherever - we have - we were eight children, four boys, four girls - we down to seven now - my eldest brother died - there still three children at high - no, at home.
- J.F. And were your parents very political, did they....
- C.C. Not in the least - my father might have been more concerned but not political as such.
- J.F. Was he in a union?
- C.C. No, not - in fact generally amongst the Coloureds in Natal, if I might just put this now, there are few Coloureds who actually belong to the progressive unions as such - most of them belong to (.....) trade unions by virtue of the fact that they are there within the - within the firms they start working with.
- J.F. So what kind of politics did you come out of - what was your understanding - do you come out of a sense of your identity as a Coloured person in South Africa, very specifically of that community - can you just tell me a bit about how - when you came from the home....
- C.C. How did I get in - I think the first time I became or wanted to do anything political was in '76, when the - when things began happening more in Soweto - of course you know a lot about that - and generally throughout the country - because there was no clamp down on the press as such and the - the newspapers were covering a lot of it, and in Natal there was very little - no response from it - and I had been reading the papers every day - I was in matric, I remember, and I went to school that one day and I spoke to two friends of mine who - who I just said to them : You know, it doesn't seem correct that there's so many people in the country dying, being killed by the - the police, and yet here in Natal there's nothing taking place.

C.C. I don't know what made done it - maybe it's because I - I was involved in youth clubs, Christian Life group - I was an altar boy for ten years of my life, involved in the church, but by that time when - when I was in matric I'd already stopped going to church (Laugh) created a lot (?) for reasons I'm not too sure myself - and then I was concerned that the fact that, you know, people are actually dying in that particular - I was always - I suppose also my - whilst I was (?) I was - my mother worked - I was brought up by the - the African maids who lived quite near us, and became attached to them in a big way, and a whole lot of - they became more family friends as such, you know, and we didn't - because at that stage they didn't live too far from us, we knew quite a few African people.

Ja, I also think that the other thing is like my - my family's background is like Mauritian as such, you see, and the Mauritians always think they are a little better than most other Coloured people (Laugh) and I suppose the rebelliousness in myself rebelled against that whole thing, about thinking yourself better and ja, it's a build up of all these different things, I think, that actually brought me to that particular stage in school.

And then with some friends - getting back to it - at school, two - two female friends of mine, we approached the principal and said that we are going to look at some protest action at the school, a very raw - I mean I knew nothing - I didn't know what I was getting myself into - and then I just went out into the grounds and called a meeting and spoke to some of the students, and the word just started spreading so fast and unvented (?) and it was greater than I expected, and the type of reaction I couldn't handle in fact - in fact the principal eventually allowed me to talk at assembly, and I was picked up that very night by a special branch and I - I was bewildered by the whole thing (Laugh) - I really was quite innocently getting involved and they were wanting - they were pushing like there was someone behind me and forcing me and that sort of thing, and they just gave me a clout, you know, and I'll never forget it, because somehow I felt that maybe I would've just stopped everything, and that clout just affected me a great deal - I never ever forgot it, with the light shining in my eyes, but I backed down on that - on that whole thing, with the advice of some of the - the school teachers, and with the knowledge of the fact that I knew very little and I didn't know what - what clearly I was getting into.

J.F. You're saying what affected you was they actually hit you?

C.C. Ja, the - in my mind I realised that I would under - I'd begin to understand more about what is going on now as a result of that clout, you know - I never liked getting clouted (Laugh) or hit in the face, but mostly because I felt I was innocent - you know, I really didn't - wasn't being pushed by someone, you know, or anything - I knew nothing about ANC, political organisations and all that sort of thing - I knew about the Labour Party in the area, who now and again asked me to distribute pamphlets and that type of thing for them - I knew a little about those things, but I mean as far - that's as far as it went.

And then I eventually end up at Western Cape University....

J.F. When was this that this all happened?

C.C. '76.

J.F. And this was the '76 - this was right after June 16th.?

C.C. That's right.

J.F. And when they hit you - this was the security branch interrogating you?

C.C. That's right.

J.F. And what were they asking that made them?

C.C. They were more interested in who was actually making me do what I wanted to do, and I was telling them that I - I simply saw all these things in the newspapers - they say I'm talking nonsense and they kept on insisting - they hardly kept me for a while - I think that my fear was oh, I was so scared in their presence, they must have seen it there after a while that - that I probably was telling the truth - they had just released me by - by - with a whole lot of threats, you know, that they really will mess me up if I think I'm so clever and that sort of thing.

J.F. So how long did they hold you?

C.C. About three quarter of an hour only - just a short period in the night.

J.F. And then you went in '76 to UWC?

C.C. No, in '77 I went to University of Western Cape, ja, and of course there more so the type of activity that takes place there, you know, it's very - the - that's a bush college as such, you know, and people are very politically involved - we had boycotts and that type of thing taking place there - again I went through all that with very little - knowing very little still - beginning to learn slowly - but everything was just like plain action that one has now (?) - no political education, political development, personal development within that, you know, so it is like you can go through that and go away and never ever worry about politics again (Laugh) - there - so that was the situation at Western Cape.

Then I actually went to Natal - University of Natal the following year.

J.F. So you just gave up on Bush?

C.C. Ja, I gave up on Bush.

J.F. Why had you gone to Bush though - was it anything to do with being Coloured that you wanted to find more out, or was it just that that was the option or?

C.C. You know, I think that the - what happened is some guys had come down from Western Cape to sell (?) should I say, Western Cape, that we should attend it and so on - it's cheaper than the other universities, you know, so I just decided, no, I needed to go down there - I made a mistake, mostly because that most of my lectures, for instance, like chemistry was like in Afrikaans totally, and I don't understand Afrikaans, not - however I did through school I don't know, but it was just a waste of time.

J.F. So was - I just wanted to stop to ask if your identity then was such that you felt well, you're Coloured, you should go there, or you're so-called Coloured, let's go see what the kind of Coloured environment is there - was that not a factor at all?

C.C. I don't think too much - I think that O.K., I realised that is a Coloured - Western Cape in a Coloured university - I knew that you had to apply and all this nonsense, if you needed to go to say, the University of Natal or something like that, but I - I actually wanted to get away from home, or from Natal as such.

- C.C. I wanted to go out to Western Cape and - but to get some experience of Coloured people in the sense in the large majorities.
- J.F. And what about where your own head was at that stage - were you anti-Coloured - did you used to say so-called Coloured by then?
- C.C. No, it was very much Coloured then - I am a Coloured (Laugh) - that one is an Indian and that one is an African and that sort of thing.
- J.F. Was it out of the motivation of saying you're not as low as the Africans or that you somehow had a special niche in South African society or?
- C.C. No, I - I - I don't think I've ever seen that is one fortunate thing, and in fact I can relate an incident, you know, where I've never seen African people lower, in that when I was in Standard Five or Six I remember getting into trouble with my - my mother in fact when the - there was a white guy, an African (?) guy who had been laying down the sewerage in our yard, and my mother had specifically said : Don't forget that guy must get sugar aside from the thing when you make them tea and all that - but she didn't say it for (?) the African guy, and I did the reverse instead - I gave the African guy that one and I put sugar in the white man's tea (Laugh) - I deliberately did that - so I'd never seen African people lower - I've always just seen people generally as people.
- J.F. Why do you think that was, because a lot of people don't escape it, most people don't escape it - they've gone through a phase of being told : Look, this is us, we are....
- C.C. Coloured - Coloureds, ja - no, the other thing is that my granny was a commissioner of guides, you see, and she mixed with all guides as - as such, and I lived with her quite a lot, and in fact I used to even go to those girl guide meetings with her and so on, and it was always like mixed to - to a large degree, but I went with her that time when I - for the first few years of my life, I remember, had Coloureds, Indians, whites and Africans living together, and particularly the section where I was we were all living together very closely - it became more defined, I think, in my - in my life around the '60s late - later - late '60s and '70s, but I think that throughout my political activit - political involvement the - it's one thing to say : O.K., I accept everyone as equal - but to accept that you not looking at him and saying that he's an African, or you not looking at him because - and saying he's an Indian or - or white, whatever, that is the longer thing that takes a - a hell of a process, and it only struck me about after I'd been involved almost full time politics three years before I - I was in the company of say, about six African comrades, and after talking for quite a while, and then it just struck me, you know - you know, this is actually - I'm beginning to approach some stage in my life where I'm not identifying people and think no, although I'm saying equal, I'm not seeing him as an African any more, and that was like important to me, but I think that a lot of people will have to be involved a very long period in - in their lives before they actually begin to see it that way - that's - it's quite difficult to look at it like that.

But definitely what hasn't changed in me is - is my trust for whites - I don't know why - I - I just find it difficult - I think it's natural (Laugh) with a lot of people - I find it difficult to trust a white person (.....) - there is - there are - definitely there are a lot of white comrades that I know, that I - I trust implicitly, but it's just not easy.

- C.C. I - I've only dealt with mostly white security branch, and almost every white person that I see looks like a security (Laugh) branch to me, you know, in that particular sense, you know, so that is the only problem I - I - I think I'd be facing - I don't think I can be (Laugh) blamed for that entirely.
- J.F. What is your ethnic background- I'm always interested in how people from the Coloured community, especially mainly the more conservative elements describe their background?
- C.C. O.K. - maybe I should just tell you about like in some of the work that I'm doing, you know, I'm seeing (?) - we've just started moving out to say, the 'Maritzburg, Midlands area - we starting out organisations there - now in the - in the late '70s in - in the Durban areas, the difference between Coloured and Indian was very sharp (?) - there - what I saw was that if you saw an Indian guy with a Coloured girl or vice versa, you know, there was like battles that would take place - there would be lots of fights taking place, so there was reservations between each other there, and that went on for a long period where - whereas now recently - I mean in the '80s now it's not so much the - the case, but when I go to - started work in 'Maritzburg, 'Maritzburg seems to be back in that stage still where that difference is, and I - I talked to them - even though some of them are activists, and I asked them, you know - you know, I mean seriously what is it new - you find that sometimes you can't blame them too much, but it's the system that exploits the differences between people - they might give more to Indians, and which they do, particularly in education - they spend more on Indians than they do on Coloureds, and they - Natal being, you know, more Indian orientated as such, and very few - only just about two, three percent of the Coloureds of South Africa are in - in - in Natal, they see them - they - they see themselves being exploited by - by - by Indian people.

Now the problem would be like they - they exposed only to say, the Indian who's like the Grey Street Indian person who owns the businesses in Grey Street, or they exposed to the Indian who owns the Mercedes, or they exposed to the Indians who come to their discos all flashy, their wonderful cars and so on, well dressed and all that sort of thing, and not exposed to people with - deep within say, like Phoenix or - or - or not (.....) in 'Maritzburg or Chatsworth, and to some of the Indians who are - are - are suffering, and they pick up anti-Indian vibes all the time, and it's very clear - you can actually see it all the time, and you actually have to fight with people to say: Now just hang on now, you - you have to explain to people how apartheid is ensuring that these differences exist between the Coloureds and - and - and the Indian people within those - in - in different areas

Now the other thing is of course like in education specifically, because Coloured - Coloured areas are so - there's only a few Coloureds in - in Natal, that even the department, which is based like in Cape Town, would look more after - look after the Coloureds more in - in Cape Town and in P.E., Jo'burg, then Natal, so we have even less than - than the other groupings like as such, so the - which makes the difference even more between the Coloureds and the Indians having less, you know, and then you can compare as an area like Lamontville, which is an African townships, the - the - how it looks very similar to like an area like Wentworth - you know, the type of housing, the - the shortage of schools, drastic shortage of schools, and so on, you see, so the result is definite that the - the Coloured people see white people - Indian people better off.

C.C. They get up every day, they can see the bluff nearby with this wonderful looking area and - and see themselves quite repressed, but how they - how they re - how they reflect the - the - the repression is not in the form of politics (Laugh) or - or challenging the system or getting involved in organisations or civics etc., but more towards each other sometimes and drinking, gangsterism very rife, and that sort of thing and - and then of course now to what has happened like since say, '83, the formation of the UDF - later in that year the formation of the UCC organisation, affiliated to the UDF, and that people are become now involved in - in political organisation, they're becoming involved in progressive organisations and - and a lot has happened in - in a few years I mean with - with people like Robert MacBride coming from our area, Wentworth, Greta Applegreen and 55 detentions in - in our - in - in - in Wentworth alone, including gangsters being detained.

So - so people are becoming - it - it - the failure might have been that no-one was there to start the organisation, to vent people's feelings, to educate people why in fact they are perhaps turning towards alcohol and so on, you know - and just to make the point also, I think that like even with this - this conference which is taking place now the - the - the avenue that might be looked at more is like detentions of children affected by apartheid, and it also might look at children who are - are hit by police and all that sort of thing, but then there's the - also the other part which - where children are affected indirectly by apartheid in - indirectly, should I say, but maybe I should explain this - in that there's a shortage of housing, unemployment - the children get affected all the time - there might be divorces, there might be drinking, there might be fighting, they may turn to gangsterism - lack of proper education facilities, so no education, so children are affected in that big way, and I think that's how a lot of our children are being affected in our areas as such.

J.F. You just said a whole lot - I want to ask a lot of questions, but let me just make sure I've got the time frame - you left Bush and went to University of Natal in '78?

C.C. That's right, as - and then I left half way through to go and work because that was the repression period around which a lot of people were unemployed and so on, and I didn't have money to continue studies and my parents were battling at the time, so I left to help the family out, and I worked in Sasol for three years, and then I worked and in - in Durban, then Botswana, and then back in Durban again.

J.F. So you worked in Sasol from '78 to?

C.C. '81.

J.F. So you were there when it got hit?

C.C. Ja, I was in fact part of the delegation that went forward (Laugh)

J.F. What's that?

C.C. You were talking about when it got hit with those things, ja, that's right.

J.F. With the MK attack?

C.C. Mmm - ja, I was there at the time.

J.F. You were part of what delegation?

C.C. There was like a - a strike organised and they organised delegation to go and talk to the management, and I was - I was invited (?)

J.F. So what was the strike about?

C.C. No, it was because Christmas was on the Sunday and they were letting us off on the Friday, and there's a lot of people, particularly from Western Cape, who needed to travel all the way down with their wages - they needed to spend some money on their families, and they wouldn't get home in time for Christmas, and we wanted to go home as early as Wednesday, and they were refusing - and then they had to - by Wednesday we went home.

J.F. And when was the strike, before or after the attack?

C.C. It was after, I think, ja - it was some time during the year - it wasn't related to that at all.

J.F. So you left university and what were your politics like those years you worked at Sasol, what - were you political at all?

C.C. Political, yes, but again I would say no political education as such - as is a lot of people within the communities and in - in South Africa, but I think only now I realise - I didn't realise it then obviously - no political education, no understanding of the different ideologies and - and - and why the ANC's there - I mean I support, sympathise with the ANC, but why and that type of thing, no, very limited.

J.F. And what was the reaction - if you can tell me a bit about what the response was?

C.C. (.....)

J.F. To the Sasol attack?

C.C. What is my?

J.F. Was the general response - was your own response beware (?) or did people - did the workers say - I've never heard from a worker who was there - were you - it happened the night in January....

C.C. That's right - in fact it - some of us felt it was a (Laugh) - a bit foolish in - in - in the way it was attacked - it was like (.....) in the toilets I mean (Laugh) and why the toilets - why did it blow up - a lot of people were saying it was foolish and that sort of thing - ja - I don't think it - it sort of brought up too much reaction from people - somehow it didn't.

J.F. Because that photograph on the front page of the paper, a huge burning fire....

C.C. Ja, I know, near those whatsanames, those other things, drums - there was like some - a number of explosions, and one of them was over by the toilet in the section I was working in fact, but I don't know, they didn't seem to pick up too much reaction - people just continued work (Laugh)

J.F. Didn't make people think there is an army or anything like that?

C.C. I don't think so - maybe it - I - I - well, I don't know, let's put it this way - I didn't canvass it too much, you know, with - with people - I don't think there was too much talk about it also.

J.F. So through '81 you weren't involved in any organisation?

C.C. No.

J.F. And after '81 where did you work?

C.C. '81 I worked at (... ..) Engineering Shipbuilding in (?) Durban for six months, and then I went for - to work at a gold mine - a diamond mine in Botswana for six weeks, and returned to work at the oil refinery, Shell refinery at - in Durban, and I worked there until I left and I went to ~~Beche~~ (?) College.

J.F. To which college?

C.C. Teachers [^]Beche~~v~~ - Teachers training college.

J.F. What's it called?

C.C. Beche^t

J.F. How do you spell that?

C.C. B [^] e c h e t.

J.F. And when was it that you went to the teacher training college - what year was it?

C.C. I started in '84.

J.F. And what made you leave working and going to teachers college?

C.C. Well, all the while while I was working I tried to study and I just couldn't get to it - by then of course I was already married, and I said : If I don't chuck up now and go and study I never will - I never will - so I - I chucked it up and I decided I'm going to teach and I went to teachers training college.

J.F. And how long was that?

C.C. '84 I finished my first year - second year we had a whole lot of trouble, boycotts - we walked out of college for a couple of weeks - we boycotted the examinations - I was kicked out the following year.

J.F. You were kicked out?

C.C. Ja, eventually.....

END OF SIDE ONE.

J.F. So does that mean that by then you'd become more politically involved?

C.C. Oh, ja (?) from '83 onwards I was very seriously involved in politics.

J.F. So what was '83, what....

C.C. The formation of the UDF, and the formation of our own political organisation in our area, UCC.

- J.F. Tell me about that - here you hadn't been involved politically all those years - you were working - what - how did you, coming out of a workplace situation, decide in '83 this was the time to get involved - tell me what the formation of UDF meant and - I don't know anything about UCC really, so if you tell me what - first just tell me - I'm just interested because you've obviously had awareness but why that triggered it - what did it mean?
- C.C. Ja, I think that all the time, even at work, there was always a discussion on politics - when I say I (?) wasn't involved I mean in organisation as such.
- J.F. You weren't in the union?
- C.C. No, no, no, we didn't have a union there - ja, so there was no that type of involvement, but in - in - in - in '83 - prior to '83 we had LAC elections in Wentworth, which I had monitored like, you know, with my - say, my in-laws, who had at some stage been involved in LAC elections, which is actually a local affairs committee, advisory body to the city councils - it's like a council - councillors in the Coloured areas.
- J.F. They succeeded the management committee or something, these LACs?
- C.C. No, they (?) only advisory body to the - even the management councils, so they....
- J.F. You were opposed to them?
- C.C. Ja, ja, and - and we used to always have discussions, just talking generally about those particular things - I remember that my brother in law and myself actually tried to form some organisation - of course to form an organisation takes some sort of skill, and we failed - that was just before '83, around '82 or so - and then in '83 some of the NIC people, the Natal Indian Congress - some of them like living down in Alan Taylor Residence - I don't know if you know - Alan Taylor Residence it's right in Wentworth in fact, where the medical students all are staying - from this started working with some people they identified in our areas - social workers like Greta Applegreen, and identified other people and began to get people involved, and along the line I became involved with them, but I was known by the virtue of the fact that I had been involved in youth clubs and that type of thing.
- J.F. In what?
- C.C. Youth clubs - ja, and it was that, and I wasn't there at the - in fact when the launching of the UDF took place in Cape Town - I was actually still working at the time, but I was there to assist in the campaign of the anti-election campaign and the formation and launch of the United Committee of Concern (?)
- J.F. So did that happen simultaneous with the launch of the UDF or?
- C.C. Well, we were building up to the launch whilst the UDF was launched, and we - we launched outself say - August, September, October - they launched in August, we launched in December.
- J.F. And what attracted you about UDF?
- C.C. Ja, the - the whole thing of non-racialism, ja, the - the - the whole question of non-racialism more than - and I think that even though I didn't understand the ideologies I - I knew about BC and - and say, that which is non-racial - I knew the difference - although very minutely, but I understood it and I - I saw that you practicing apartheid in reverse is actually wrong.

- C.C. And the other thing is like a lot of (Laugh) friends of mine were also involved - that - that's a important factor, I think - also a lot of my friends, ja.
- J.F. When you say that the non-racialism attracted you, just tell me a bit more - you're saying that you'd been anti-BC and....
- C.C. Not entirely - I say I just minutely understood that the BCs didn't like white people getting involved, and I understood also (?) that the - and that was wrong, and that the organisations should in fact aim to get people to live together, and not to be fighting against a people, even if they are wrong - and then the UDF was formed and I - I had seen there immediately that there were like whites, Indians, Africans and all involved, and I thought (?) now this might be a better opportunity for people to try and learn to live together, and that was important, so it wasn't seen like in my mind that time as like non-racialism as such (Laugh) - it might - it was more like - although in a crude way it was that I saw different group - different race groups coming together in some form.
- J.F. And did - had you had any knowledge of the history of political organisations in South Africa, the Unity Movement....
- C.C. Nothing, nothing at all at that stage, nothing.
- J.F. So UDF was being formed - that was known about from the beginning of '83, there was the momentum, and then as a response to that you wanted to organise UCC as a kind of joint?
- C.C. Ja, no, but I won't say I wanted to....
- J.F. The people that were getting involved (?)
- C.C. Right.
- J.F. But you of the people who wanted to get involved, why UCC - just tell me what the motivation was - why not push for just UDF affiliation of - why was it that you said in the Coloured community you want to form something - what is UCC - tell me a bit about it - what does it stand for?
- C.C. United Committee of Concern - I think it - it was formed mostly to fight the elections - it was formed because there was no opposition to say, the Labour Party or the tricameral parliament within our own areas - it was formed to educate people about the whole tricam - why people agree that it is wrong - and at that stage I never saw it as important or why, you know, it was formed, why an (?) organisation - I mean why are you forming one in the (?) UCC here for Coloureds only and not as NIC - it became more pronounced later on in - in my involvement, where there wasn't time to actually settle down and debate those particular issues - it was a - a campaign we were taking - we were involved in and the campaign that we had to resolve as quickly as possible - it was only after the elections when - when we started sitting down and debating, when we started getting involved in political education and sub-debating (?) things and understanding more about like the Freedom Charter and - and beginning to find out why form - why a Coloured organisation as such I mean - why is there the NIC an Indian - then it became a bit clearer as to those differences, why is that the case.
- J.F. Why do you support the idea of forming a separate Coloured organisation?

C.C. Ja, I think that if the UDF wasn't there we'd have problems in defending our stand, because we always argue that the UDF in fact is the - our front - we are all UDF - it's a non-racial, it's today (?) Characterist and etc., and we support that, and that is how we relate to all organisations - and in fact also the - the - we practice that because the UCC in Wentworth had Indians, Coloureds and Africans - well, no whites were living in - in - in - in or near around in our area - involved in our organisation, so we didn't have a problem there, but the very clearly was to identify where - where people are - the Coloured community largely are - identify themselves as Coloureds, and don't see themselves at this stage relating too much to say, the Indians and even Africans, although there might be lots of Africans living in our area, and lots of our - our people having African backgrounds, but we thought that it - it - it's important that we take people from where they are to a stage of understanding that there is - why we need to practice non-racialism.

Then like the conditions between the Indians and Coloureds, as I had spoken about earlier on, is very clear, ja, so the types of struggles we get involved in some ways is very different - some of the campaigns that we in - how do we organise them is quite different - people's reactions in the two diff - in different communities is quite different also, as - as opposed to like the Africans - African people are almost naturally conscientised by virtue of - of their repression - it's not the same with like Coloureds and Indians, not indeed - definitely not - the degree is - is - is very clear how of - a degree of - of - of - of repression is very clear, and so that is why you can't actually have one organisation for say, the Africans and the Coloureds - there's - again you would have contrasts, like the Africans have the whole problem with Inkatha and so on.

So that is why in fact the UCC because it was - it's not a principle, it's more a tactic, that why it has to at this stage exist (?) but the - of course the - the whole relationship to UDF is very important to making it quite clear to people we have a relationship with all organisations affiliated to the front, and in fact most people don't see us as - as - as the United Committee of Concern - they see us straight as UDF - I would say the UDF is more popular than UCC - if you go to our communities now and ask them about UCC, many of them won't tell you about UCC, but they will tell you that, ja, no, we are people involved in UDF.

J.F. The UCC isn't just Wentworth, it's also?

C.C. Oh, ja, it's not, it's ~~Sydenham~~ ^{Sydenham} (?) a poor - the major part of this period - it's ~~Sydenham~~ ^{Sydenham} and Newlands is included - it has been from the very beginning.

J.F. ~~Sydenham~~ ^{Sydenham} and?

C.C. Newlands East.

J.F. Is there anything - the UCC's just in Durban though....

C.C. No, no, now recently I've just been employed as the (.....) organiser....

J.F. As the which?

C.C. Full time organiser in the last - ja, I've been employed now something like five months by them, and in the last three months now we have an organisation in Marion Ridge and in 'Maritzburg - in the three areas in 'Maritzburg - that would be Town, Woodlands and Eastwood.

J.F. But it doesn't relate to anything nationally?

C.C. The - the....

J.F. UCC - (.....) UDF (.....) UCC in Transvaal?

C.C. No, no, no - here in Transvaal you get anti-PC.

J.F. And in Cape Town what - in the Cape what would be the?

C.C. Cape would disagree very seriously with how we operate, but I - I - although I always meet with them and I always argue it and I say you can never - I - I spend time in Cape Town, I know - you can never relate the conditions from Western Cape as it is in Natal or - or the Transvaal - it's very different, and you can't compare the two.

J.F. Because?

C.C. Like Cape Town is largely Coloured - millions (Laugh) - over two million Coloureds there and - and everywhere you look is just Coloureds and they - the Indians are in the minority there, absolute minority - there are a few whites, and of course there's the Africans - even they are in the minority to the - to the Coloured people, you know, and they have these organisations being run around, and it's easier for them to organise that way - the Coloureds don't see too much differences between themselves and say, the Africans, because they don't come in too much contact, but in - in our areas, where there's been no historical political involvement, particularly in Natal - Western Cape has (Laugh) years and years of political experience, and we don't have it in Natal.

Now those people are very conservative - they meet Africans every day - the only type of Africans there they meet is the one who pick pockets then the one who stand - stands and fights, you see what I'm saying - but don't understand why Africans do those things.

J.F. This is the people where?

C.C. In Natal, for instance, and they might be in fact quite racist, you see, as a result of those things.

J.F. So it's the Natal Coloureds who are worried about the Africans, you were just saying - the ones who are worried about the pickpocket you were referring to?

C.C. Ja, I would say that - I'm not saying that they're definitely all totally racist, but I would say they're more - might be more fearful than maybe the Western Cape Coloured would be, because they don't have the same experiences because of different conditions in which we operating, very different.

J.F. So how do you argue to the Cape people as to why there should be UCC?

C.C. Because of those conditions - in fact I had arguing to one chap last night (?) (Laugh) (.....) because those conditions very - very much the case - because of the historical political experience of Western Cape as against our areas, it's very different in that, as I say, we do relate to all organisations - a area like Wentworth, for instance, where there's - people would have no problem in relating to most African organisations, and Wentworth would be different from (.....) Newlands East - Sydnium being a more middle class area - it's difficult to build organisations in middle class areas, although there is one there - in Wentworth people have no problems in relating to African people.

- C.C. We've had all the African comrades from res (?) coming to help us on major campaigns in their areas, doing house visits and so on and - and there were not - not any - at any time could anyone relate the fact that they were kicked out because they were African in some of their experiences, so they don't have problems with relating to African people in Wentworth.
- J.F. That was Africans from where?
- C.C. From the Alan Taylor Residence, the students.
- J.F. What about on a ideological level if you're arguing with the Cape view, and they say - I'm just playing devil's advocate, but if they say why don't you just have a UDF Wentworth area committee, why a separate organisation, how can you call yourself non-racial - how do you answer those things?
- C.C. O.K., I think that first of all the - there - you can't have an area committee because UDF is a front, and only organisation affiliate to the front, and that is the one thing - the other thing is that there is different committees as such, area committees, which will be relating say, to the south and north, central Durban and Midlands, UDF committees which is in actually - in formation at the moment, where like Wentworth will relate a lot to Lamontville and Meadowbank (?) but also maintaining the fact that UCC has to exist, that sort of thing, and that information would have to - one must be very careful (?) I think at this stage.
- J.F. What's that (Tape off) - you left the teacher training college in about what, '8?
- C.C. Ja, whilst at teachers training college we formed an AZASO - I was chairperson of the AZASO, the organisation, and we started a - and we - we had - three quarters of the students belonged to that organisation, and being only 350 students but three quarters belonged to our thing, and we called a boycott there - we had no-one attending college at all and that sort of thing, and then what was happening in the end of - was it '84 or '85 - where the entire country, the schools weren't writing exams, particularly in the Western Cape - all the colleges - we had a national college organisation and decided to stand united and we stopped writing examinations, and then the following year they allowed us to write the exams in March, but by then I think I'd received a telegraph from Western Cape and telling me well (Laugh) that's the end of me and my teachers training.
- J.F. From Western Cape?
- C.C. Well, the - or the house of reps - house of reps - that is in the end of '85 (?) - '86 in fact - by then it was '86, March, '86.
- J.F. But the teacher training college is in Natal.
- C.C. That's right, we're under the department of the house of reps - department of education's in the Western Cape - I received it from the director of education.
- J.F. The Coloured education department?
- C.C. That's right.
- J.F. And they had kicked you out?
- C.C. That's right, so that was the end of me there.

J.F. Why were you hoping it would go to court?

C.C. No, in fact I wasn't wanting it - more the others were wanting it to go to court (Laugh) - I don't know what it - what - what could be the outcome of this thing, you know, eventually - ja, because they felt that it'll give us the necessary publicity to expose Inkatha particularly and their role on - on - in that event, and how in fact they do operate, you see, but it seems the state might have been clever enough to realise that and - and - and the attorney general eventually just dropped it without it - even any case taking place at all.

J.F. So what had in fact happened at that conference as far as you were concerned - you were attending it?

C.C. No, no, I - in fact I was in charge of security and marshalling, as I had been at most rallies and conferences - it was generally my duty (?) to do that - I had owned a gun, which I'd bought before my political involvement, in '83, and the Labour Party in fact had backed that I get the gun - I know the Labour Party quite well - and they subsequently had regrets (Laugh) of that (?) so I - although I didn't use the gun much, we were attacked - I - in fact I didn't have the gun at all - we were attacked a number of times, and then I decided no, I needed to carry this thing, it looks like it's getting quite dangerous - and then during the - just after lunch there was a whole lot of ladies - should I say women and - and children and some crippled people around, you know, at this conference, when three busloads of Inkatha warriors (Laugh) came and they were going to attack us - they had - they had (.....) and spears and so on, and everybody scattered, and there must have been at first only five of us left, and I actually waited for most people to get clear, and people were shouting shoot, shoot and - and I realised that there was no choice because by then they were throwing - a spear was sort of passing at that stage, and I pulled out my gun and I shot at them, and in the battle to place (?) there was 20 of us eventually - about 20 of us and them, where they're attacking in two groups, and I had to run from this group to that group when they were approaching and shooting at them, and trying not to shoot at them inevitably - I was trying my best not to kill anyone, but it happened in the - in the whole incident I - it just turned out that way.

I - I - I - I think that at first when I - I didn't know that I'd killed somebody - I'd heard later on (.....) - it was a bit of a shock because I mean you don't just go around (Laugh) killing people, but I consoled myself with the fact that it was either, you know, them or us, I just had no choice in the matter - I wouldn't like to be in such a situation like that again, but as most people would have said, it's a good thing I was there with my - with the - with that particular gun - that actually saved a lot of people's lives - I think that more people would have died if - if - if I didn't have that gun at that time.

END OF SIDE TWO.

- J.F. So you hadn't actually been involved with NECC - you were just as a UDF person doing security?
- C.C. Pardon.
- J.F. You were doing security - you weren't actually an NECC person?
- C.C. No, no, I was handling security at the conference.
- J.F. And when had you gone to Jo'burg to work for UDF?
- C.C. About a week or two after that incident, about two - two weeks after that.
- J.F. Were the police looking for you at that stage?
- C.C. We weren't too sure, and I wasn't waiting around to find out whether they were going to try some sort of thing (.....) but it seems that - the way I understand it is that they left me quite deliberately, if they knew it was me, because they had this greater understanding of my MK - being involved in MK - somehow they got this thing, and they needed to find out more about that, you see, so that they weren't finding anything because there was nothing to find out obviously - I was not involved on that level at all.
- J.F. And then they linked you with MacBride in their minds?
- C.C. Ja - no, even before that, ja.
- J.F. Had you known MacBride?
- C.C. MacBride from a kid (Laugh) - from small - we were in school together for a while - we were in college for a while, Webster included - he was with us involved in the organising of some of the committees which was responsible for overall in the boycotts and things that we had at college - we....
- J.F. (.....)
- C.C. Ja, together - we had worked together at that level.
- J.F. And how did it - were you surprised when he - when did he finally get arrested, also July, '86....
- C.C. Ja, that's right.
- J.F. Were you surprised when all that came out at his trial?
- C.C. No, I don't want to answer that (Laugh)
- J.F. Maybe I can rather put in in the context that what was its affect on the Coloured community of Durban - to me - I followed that trial really, really closely - I think I must have every cutting I've seen because I thought it was such an interesting and important trial going back to the freeing in Maritzburg at the hospital, but even more importantly just the fact that it was in the Coloured community in Durban, that it had been thought to be not politically involved or acted (?) (.....)
- C.C. Not - no, in fact a lot of people don't seem to know that the - like particularly in Wentworth that the Coloureds are quite largely involved in political organisation there - I mean even - even if they not in progressive organisations, they would be involved with say, like Maurice Fynn, who's the - on the LACs or belongs to the PCP, and that is the opposition to the Labour Party.

C.C. They belong to, or they might support the Labour Party, and then there's the UCC - like Wentworth had COSAS when COSAS was running there, it - and the political organisation - so it wasn't surprising to people, I would say, that these things actually happened, because a lot of those bombs that went off were right there in Wentworth like that - the - the electrical sub-station that's there and that sort of thing, were right there - it's not surprising at all - I mean we used to walk around Wentworth and some of the people would say : How's it, man, give us a machine gun, they give us those things - I mean ordinary activist people would ask - I don't think that it came as too much of a surprise, but the reaction of the community largely would have two effects, right - the one would be a overwhelming fear, right, of people or of - of our organisation at this stage, because people generally don't like violence right, especially when you get arrested and locked up, and the stories you hear about being locked up and the police and what they don't do to you, which is not - not to say it's not true but - the stories are true, but the people don't want those things to happen to them, so it scared off a lot of people to a hell of a - to a higher degree, and it caused problems for us in fact as - as an organisation in terms of organising people again - people just had a fear of us - but at the same time there was - because there was like a lot of gangsters who had been detained, some of the popular people in the community who had been detained, like some of the other comrades in the community, and a lot of us - community knowing us - it actually helped us in that way, that people knew that we weren't involved - they sympathised with us, right - then we had to actually work harder to make people realise why Robert had done what he had done - we had to educate people on that first before we changed their thoughts, right, so we took some campaign that we - we got involved in through the churches, through publicity in the form of pamphlets and that type of thing, of educating the community, and where the priests - some of the priests who had been against us before the state of emergency actually switched and moved towards us, and in recent months we have actually seen more support growing for our organisation - our organisation has been growing, and it's actually worrying in a sense that we have to begin to screen people more clearly, coming into our organisations, but we are growing - in fact growing again, and even stronger than we were prior to the - the state of emergency, so Robert - what Robert and them had done is - is he might have scared people off, and a lot of people still have that particular fear and might be anti-us, but it brought more politics to Wentworth in - in a sense, you know - it - it's a Coloured person who's actually done these particular things - it's a number of Coloureds, it's -

There was - oh, yes, then there's another Alan Pierce, who has been sentenced for two years, who also belonged to the same grouping - Kevin Curtis sentenced for five years, initially seven years - Vincent James sentenced for five years, also initially seven years - Greta for two years, and that type of thing, some of - and you know, those were students, those were like kids - there was (?) high school students who had been sentenced and all that sort of thing, so it actually brought politics more to Wentworth, but then Wentworth also had that history where at one stage when the - the oil refinery was bombed, you see, and - and people's (Laugh) you know - so they quite used to these blasts taking place all - all around them - it was beginning to grow on them more than anything else.

J.F. But the second Sasol attack - that was when Cliffy Brown was killed.

C.C. No, no, no, it was not a Sasol attack, it was a oil refinery attack....

J.F. Oil refinery?

C.C. In Wentworth the....

J.F. Was it in Wentworth?

C.C. In Wentworth.

J.F. So was Cliffy Brown from Wentworth?

C.C. No, he's in fact from East London, and he was killed there in Wentworth, ja - everybody could see that actually happening - I mean there it was - I mean you had (.....) and you came out, you just saw rockets flying, flares and things and things - machine guns and police all over the show - and for a long time we had like the army patrolling Wentworth - for a long, long time watching Wentworth and with Caspans and all that sort of thing - they do still now and again.

J.F. Was that an important situation, that it turned out that the MK cadre who was killed happened to be Coloured....

C.C. You're talking about the Cliffy Brown - no, in fact whether it was Coloured or not - ja, no, I just think of (.....) again, you know (Tape off) - the - what happened is that we decided no, we actually need to come out with some campaign to try and save his life, O.K., so we started this petition to save MacBride's life, and doing (?) that we went to the churches and asked the priests to talk about Robert, but - and so on, and one priest in fact gave this wonderful speech where he says that, you know, what Robert MacBride did is - and learned (?) is not what he had been taught, or what he thought was godd, but what he has been taught by the community at large, because in our community, when the wife does something wrong and the husband is disturbed, he clouts his wife, or you find the wife sometimes would be hitting her husband - when a child does something wrong, you hit the child - when the gangsters are cross with each other, they poke each other, and even in families they stab each other, they shoot each other, and there's a continuing violence in general (?)

Now they - their - their - their result of their anger is they reflect it in violence always, the Coloured people, and this is what you were saying, in our community - so his anger he had seen identified with this regime as such, the South African government - he expressed it in the way the community had taught him, that he must now express it in the violent fashion that he had been taught by the community, you see, so he joined the military wing, so who is in fact the - the fault - the community at large.

Now you can go into a greater discussion as to why the community reacts in that, you know, sort of thing, which is a result of apartheid and all those different things, but the point is that he was taught by the community to be violent, and it went down quite well with - with people and they signed that petition in overwhelming numbers - in fact we weren't prepared for the amount of people (Laugh) who were going to start signing the thing, and it happened in all the areas - we got full support for that petition and it was - in - in fact we deliberately carried that campaign on, first in the Coloured areas to see how it affected people's thoughts - are they now really anti-us or anti-Robert or were they totally against what Robert did or what, you see, and we find it's not the case - it's not the case at all.

J.F. Was that like support for a local boy or does that reflect support for MK or (.....)

C.C. I think that say, the (?) political organisation might not (?) be identified as UDF, but a lot of people began to identify UDF with ANC these days more than anything else and now they might called you a ANC person rather than they call you a (Laugh) UDF person - I think it's a bit of both - if it was someone else who wasn't in the community I would say they won't come out in overwhelming support - we wouldn't have the means to test that.

- C.C. But what it did is to show that - and he had made the point himself, Robert MacBride - that he was sick and tired of seeing Coloured people in Wentworth suffering - suffer - and he joined the ANC for that particular reason.
- J.F. Who handled his trial, do you know - which....
- C.C. One of the lawyers - one of the lawyers is Pius.
- J.F. Who?
- C.C. Pius.
- J.F. Pius (.....)
- C.C. Ja, I'm sure it was him - Gordon - no, his surname is Gordon.
- J.F. The lawyer?
- C.C. Ja, the - not the lawyer - the lawyer who - actually instructing lawyer I didn't like, never will.
- J.F. I'm just thinking that I'd really like to be able to quote from MacBride speaking about why he did this.
- C.C. There's actually a letter he wrote to the community which we were going to print and distribute soon, a fantastic letter - I think it brings out - it'll bring tears - it brings tears to my eyes very easily - it was printed in fact I think by Diconia already, but we going to print it very soon, within a week, and distribute it to the community - it's a very beautiful letter of why he did what he did.
- J.F. That'd be great - when did he write it?
- C.C. He wrote it a while ago, after he'd been sentenced.
- J.F. Are you allowed to quote people who are on the dock (?) (Tape off) - what were we saying - about the letter - he wrote it a while back - that would be really great - let me just ask a few last questions - so this was the only time you were detained, was - you haven't been detained....
- C.C. No, I was detained after that again, only for a weekend (?) but on charges - because one of our friends at Bechet College was a state witness and I - I knew him - he was a friend of mine too, and he was going to give evidence against Robert, but when he had come out for a short while he had given evidence against someone else - I had gone to see him about him giving evidence - I was arrested thereafter for intimidating a state witness (Laugh) and then I - I had to go and sign - they released me on 200 rand bail - I thought it was picking up all the time (?) - 200 rand bail this time, with the condition that I sign at the police station before eight every morning, so I had to go to the police station and sign every morning before eight.
- J.F. And then what happened with that case?
- C.C. Again dropped the charges - I made it clear I - to the police - it was between him and I - it's his word against mine.
- J.F. But that intimidating a state witness thing they can get people on....

C.C. I wasn't the only one actually - there was another guy from Wentworth who wasn't involved in political organisation who had done a similar thing to someone else who was going to be a state witness in the same trial, and he was arrested and he had to sign once every - once a week - again they dropped the charges against him also, when now he became involved in political organisation as a result of that.

J.F. So what would you say the situation is now in terms of getting back to this Coloured identity thing - do people in Wentworth see themselves as Coloured - would most people in Wentworth say so-called Coloured and get - not get pissed off about being called Coloured - what is the situation now in Natal, do you think?

C.C. I would say it'll be different in different areas, O.K. - Wentworth would be less antagonistic towards other races, and so would Newlands East - maybe Sydnun, O.K., ja, to a certain degree, but it's hard to say what it would be like in say, 'Maritzburg areas, because we've only begun working there, and I met some real racist (Laugh) guys there in - in - in some of the areas there in 'Maritzburg, but I think it - it's a hell of a process to undo what the government has done, because the history of political in the (and the) organisation's only started now and in - in - in '83 - it's going to be a while to undo all that whilst it is still coming in or - or undo the - the - the - the indoctrination that they've gone through through the system, and it's going to be a process, and it's not an easy job at all.

See, once people - I think that once people might see O.K., we are all equal and all that sort of thing, but the political education's very limited, or it's not existent at all, and then how would you change is not clear to most people, and it's the duty of our organisation to begin to work with those people and educate them on those things.

J.F. And your position is organiser for UCC?

C.C. Mmm.

J.F. One other thing is what are - are you doing work to try to get better relations with the other communities - what is the relation between Wentworth and the Indian community or white or African?

C.C. O.K., before the state of emergency we had a very strong relationship with say, like the - the political organisation and the NIC, because they had taught us a lot - they had resources, and being one of the most articulate organisations in the country - but since then what has actually happened is the need to consolidate what we have within our own communities immediately as the type of work in - in Wentworth be (?) different from that in 'Maritzburg, right - 'Maritzburg you have to start at the real basics of understanding the whole struggle and so on - it's the old education of telling people why in fact they want to get involved in struggle at the early stage, right, so the relationship is - is - is on - between each other would be on the UDF level of (?) the UCC the - the relationship is there, O.K., on the UDF level - then the relationship would be with the youth on the SAYCO level - we have youth organisations and they related to SAYCO, and that would be all non-racial complete.

Then we have a relationship with NASCO, which is the student organisation....

J.F. Natal Student Congress?

C.C. Ja, we - this chap - we have organisation mostly in Wentworth at this stage, and beginning to develop in other areas, so on that level they relate again on organis - student organisations.

- C.C. Then we've also got a relationship with - with all of course, and somehow tied up and related to the UCC - in the UCC, ensuring that our youth do relate to SAYCO and - and people in charge of our youth are part of UCC and would set up the meetings with SAYCO, or NAYCO, as it is for Natal, and - and the same thing with the students, NASCO and - and again for SANSCO we have a very definite relationship with - with SANSCO, particularly in the Wentworth branch, where we actually meet and carry on some campaigns together.
- J.F. So you're saying that the - that actually the secret that the approach should be is to relate organisationally?
- C.C. At this stage, ja - ja, at this stage, whilst that other thing which I quoted off the record is going to start taking place, ja.
- J.F. I guess there's one other issue that I haven't asked you about, and that has to do with the culture of the different groups in South Africa - could you define the culture of the Coloured community?
- C.C. Not at all - not - I most definitely wouldn't (Laugh) be able to do that - I think (?) - I can only relate maybe from the experiences in Natal - there is like the Coloured people in Natal are so - have such a mixed background, coming from say, Mauritius - Indian, Africa, white and I think (?) it's very mixed and it's difficult to (.....) culture there.
- J.F. Your background's - both your parents are Mauritians?
- C.C. No, no, no - I don't understand too much about my father - my father's certificate said he's white....
- J.F. Pardon?
- C.C. My father's birth certificate says he's white, but if I understand correctly, at that particular stage if you were very fair you were white, and when my father was born, well, his father might have been white, I'm not sure, you see - my mother is Mauritian, where - where my granny was the only dark person in the whole family, everybody else turned out to be white in the family.
- J.F. White or....
- C.C. White - white, white, white....
- J.F. Of the (.....)
- C.C. Living, ja - living in white areas and so on.
- J.F. So your - you didn't know your father (.....)
- C.C. No, I didn't know my father's father, and I don't think my father knows who's his (Laugh) father - it's not my business - I don't have any problems with that, although he might have problems himself - so his birth certificate is white, whatever - why it is white (?) I'm not too sure.
- J.F. And then everyone in his family was white?
- C.C. No, he was the only one.
- J.F. And then your mother's - they were - I'm just confused with what you're saying - your mother's they were whites as well?

- C.C. In my granny's side on my mother's thing, right - she was the only dark person in the family, and then her children were all Coloured of course, and also they were Mauritian (Laugh) - even my birth certificate says Mauritian and doesn't say Coloured.
- J.F. But don't all South Africans have a book of life that puts you in one of those categories (.....) the other Coloured?
- C.C. That - no, no, the birth certificates were there that time already in '57, and it was Mauritian, finish, but now just my - my - my book of life stated Cape Coloured (Laugh)
- J.F. So they just put down something?
- C.C. Mmm, something that doesn't mean much anyway.
- J.F. I'm just going to ask you something which maybe you don't consider it that important - it's just a small point, but I'm just interested to know what you'd say - my feeling, coming to South Africa, not having been - I only went to South Africa in '79 - is that South Africans have this incredible tendency and ability to always be focusing on people's race, and especially with Coloureds people will look and tell you what that person (.....) - for me I just don't - I can't tell what a person is supposed to be - I don't want to anyway....
- C.C. Where are you from?
- J.F. I'm from the US - but there's some people in South Africa who get quite angry about that - they say this is - we are pushy - Coloured is Coloured and we have to know - I'm just wondering what you think of that, if that's something that's just an accepted way of South Africa that's not going to change or if there's a conscious effort to not - you hear it only in South Africa - you hear people say : No, she's definitely Coloured (?) - they can tell what this person is.
- C.C. Ja, I know - I think (Laugh) - I think - but I just quote it (?) the other way - if I go out the country and I go to another country, like when I went to Botswana and I walked in like some African area, and the difference there, you know, it was like - I mean where (?) more African people were living, although there were other races living in that area, but it - I - the one thing that struck me of course the peace (?) that which is - and - and the relaxed mood I was by walking through that township - the other thing that struck me is like the relationship between people, how they didn't see the difference - whilst I was consciously seeing the difference, right, now - so to look at it (.....) I mean I would have problems in going to another area where it doesn't exist the way it does in South Africa, so you seeing it from the outside coming in, right, so now it's very - one is always conscious in - in - in South Africa that because of the Group Areas, Coloureds live with Coloureds, Indians live with Indians, and because of that, Africans live with Africans because of - of the way they're treated differently - you actually can see a Coloured very different from an Indian, an Indian very different from an African, right, and you conscious of it - you have to be because it's like structurally the case within South Africa, right - to see a singer sometimes, you know, on - on the TV box, and that person is like a Coloured person like, you know, and I would say this guy's a Coloured guy and he's got a very good voice, and I register that in fact it - it's a Coloured person or that (?) you know, as such, because the fact that I actually come from a Coloured community.

- C.C. I don't know whether that is to say or whether you can interpret it as saying that person is now racist, I don't think that is quite true - I think it's just because they structurally living that way in Group Areas and - and - and therefore identify themselves as different from other race groups - it's essential to the government's policy that that is the case - I mean the biggest thing that's taking place now is the pressure on the government for the Group Areas at the moment and - and if it loses the Group Areas it's going to lose a lot of its support - not in terms of the fact that the - the - from its own quarters, but I think that people might begin to realise no, we can actually live together, and it's unbelievably easy to do that, and once the people can see that it's easier to - to live together, they will see less differences between each other and - and will begin to stand more united and - and - and when people stand united the government's got problems.
- J.F. One thing that I remember interviewing Trevor Manuel about - he was talking about how his family passed for white at one stage - was that ever an issue with your family, having people who had been classified white and being fair - that people in your family ever talked about that as a possibility or was there?
- C.C. Maybe I should describe - you know, my one sister she - she's got blonde hair and green eyes - my other sister's dark, dark, like an Indian - she looks clear (?) like Indian, black hair, and I don't think that anybody thought they were white or anything - or we couldn't afford to do such a thing because we not all fair or we not all dark or anything like that, so we were very mixed looking....
- J.F. The ones who were more fair, did that....
- C.C. My sister, for instance, no, never, never the issue - I don't think - I don't think she would have the time to do that, not at (.....) - I notice that in our family the - my one brother is in fact a pastor, you know, in a different church, and my two of the family - my one brother and my sister are becoming involved in political organisations, much to the disagreement of my mother because she's been through a hell of a lot and when (?) she says - of course - and she doesn't want to take any more getting involved.
- J.F. Have you ever been to Mauritius?
- C.C. Never (Laugh)
- J.F. Would you ever want to go?
- C.C. At one time I did, you know, just for the sake of a holiday or something like that - not any more, I don't think so.

END OF INTERVIEW.