

J.F. So what I do with everyone regardless of - I start out with when and where you were born and just see how people evolved politically and look at what the kind of inputs were into moving towards non racialism - so can you tell me - let me make sure that - it's Patrick Flusk - F.l u s k?

P.F. Yes.

J.F. And where were you born and when?

P.F. In ^{Riverlea} Holee, the 19th. of the 4th., 1964.

J.F. And so you've lived there your whole life?

P.F. I've lived there my whole life, ja.

J.F. And what kind of background do you come from - what is your parents' Kind of?

P.F. Actually very working class, you see - in fact we had very - various problems at home - at the age of I think about ten my mother died and this was in June, '75 - and then we had numerous problems at home - my father started to drink and what have you, so we went to a school, but there was no high school, and I didn't attend school for - for two and a half years....

J.F. What do you mean you went to a school where there was no high school?

P.F. Ja, to a boarding school, and there was no high school there - for two and a half years I didn't attend school - so when I came back from that school I did no Standard Six (.....) in Standard Six, you see, and on - well, this is the situation - what happened it actually made me feel very frustrated, and days where I learned - days where I asked myself but why does it have to happen - why did it have to happen to me, and the conclusion was that partly because of my father but also the school wasn't my father's fault that there was no high school and well, that was the reason (?) that I came to the conclusion it was a system - I mean the educational system that's so bad in our country, but at that stage I didn't know that he (?) refused to have the kind of education that we were getting, the inferior education, until the - where we had discussions at the school in 1980 before the boycotts of 1980 -

And we had numerous discussions why actually - but at that stage we were still B.C. orientated - and I was also detained that year for A.N.C. literature which - and I was actually very - I was innocent - the principal took me to the police station at gun-point - this was to the Langlaagte Police Station, and they actually threatened me like things like (.....Afrikaans) and (.....Afrikaans) - this was the comment made by one of the - the policemen there at the police station -

O.K., I was released at about - I was taken in on - at eight o' clock that evening - it was on a Tuesday evening - I can't remember the date so well - and they released me at about four that morning, and I had to walk down from the police station to - to my home - when I got home the family was worried where I was and so on, and at that stage it made me actually feel - it made me anger and I started to hate white people, because at that stage I said to myself that white people influences black people and so on - during the boycotts I was very active - in fact I was a member of the

P.F. student representative council and I was very active, and we led the boycotts during 19 - during that whole - for three months - and only after three months we - we decided to go back to school - I can remember our school was one of the schools who refused to go back to school and so on - but we went back to school - it was resolved by - by numerous other student representative councils that we have to go back - we went back and we did exams and in 1980 - 1981 there was a re-emergence of the boycotts - it actually originated from Cape Town, the boycotts, because they started the beginning of the year -

And I was heavily involved in boycotts as well, and also involved in the boycotts of Wilson-Rowntree, Simba Chips, Simba goods because of the nature of those companies their attitude towards black people - to us that was a very big step in life because students started to show solidarity with workers and there was the support from - from students for the workers, and that was a sign of support for the workers from the students -

And - well, the boycotts - the boycotts ended, but the cops came to the school, baton-charged students - a lot of students were injured - and then our school was the first school to - to sue the South African government, the minister of law and order - we had I think seven people in the court case, all of them on the case against the minister of law and order because they had no right to enter the school premises - and I can't remember that any - any other school made a court case against the state -

And that actually encouraged other schools also to take the government to court and so on and - but the significance there was that the principal of, for example, who has been on the case (?) instead of the people, and he was working with the government at that stage - not with the government exactly but to - to the existing union - teachers union structures which was on the side of the government, but this -

This actually made me very clear what I want in life, you know, that I want to do away with the regime - at that stage we were very BC orientated but it also - also in 1981 there was - we had discussions around the issue of BC and its significance, and we said that it's not an end in itself, people have to grow - we also started to boycott like because we were playing for soccer, boycott NPSL games or institutions where we were not permitted - where we had to have a permit to enter or areas where we have to have the permit to enter -

And that was on the sports field in fact that we - that we took this decision of not going to places where you have to - where you need a permit - but also a significant thing that happened at our school was the fact that we actually tried to galvanise and organise the students around the issues of banquets at the end of the year for the matriculants - this we did because we - we actually made a call on students not to partake in such things simply because they celebrating the end of the school term with the enemies, and also that the principal of the school is the enemy of the people, and soldiers were teaching at our school so we couldn't have parties and banquets and nice times with these people -

But in 1982 there was some kind of a lull period on the students front - political organisation in the country went on, you know, with the anti SAIC campaign, I think it was in 1982 - and also towards the end of 1982 the discussions around the UDF came about, and these people - around the UDF came about, and with the launch-

P.F. ing of the UDF, I think it was in 1983, the 20th. August, it was - there was still school at that stage, but we went to the launching of the UDF, which we saw as a very significant and historical happening in the life of the people of South Africa and - but in the meantime my (?) political conscious has grown - I - I became politic - I - at first I had only sympathy for - for black people, not realising that I'm a black person myself, at that st - this was when I was young in primary school -

I always had a sympathy for them, and I was always discouraging the government in - in friendly talks and so on....

J.F. Discouraging them from what?

P.F. Discouraging the government - discrediting the government.

J.F. Discrediting.

P.F. Discrediting the government amongst my friends when we play or something like that, but at that stage I was still under the impression that I'm a Coloured - but as I was becoming older and growing more politically matured I realised that this was a tool used by the government to divide the people and therefore I shouldn't be part of the Coloured race - I'm part of the South African people - and in doing that I actually studied my position, if a person can say so, with my relationship with white people -

And I just felt that it is important for us to organise all sectors of our community to be involved - at that stage I didn't understand the concept of non racialism, I also didn't know that - I didn't distinguish - I couldn't distinguish between BC and the progressive movements but - and I was taken by surprise, for example, on our journey to the - to the launching of the UDF where people said One Azania, one confusion -

And these were slogans that we use at - at our schools during the 1980 and '81 boycotts, One Azania, one nation - and I was asking people around and people were explaining me where the difference comes in of non racialism and anti racism which the BCM tends to lean towards to and - and the UDF was clearly a non racial body in fact in the sense that it accommodated everybody who wants to - who - who's committed to - to a new government - to the establishment of a new government and to - to head (?) South Africa from the old government in our country -

And during this I started to read a lot, started to study of what I think of it and this is where the question of non racialism came into me because I heard people were talking about it - I didn't know what it meant at first - but what I think of non racialism today in our society is that it is a very important thing because I feel that we have to organise all sectors of - of the South African community - it is important to have maximum unity, and it is also important for - for the revolution in our country because I feel that the revolution has started in our country and the revolution is not something that's coming, and I don't think we will have a stage where we will have pre revolutionary - pre revolution and a post revolution - and I feel that we have started in building the new society, the society that we see in the future, where

P.F. our country will be free from racism, free from exploitation and oppression, and free from - from imperialists that dominates our country - that our country will clearly be directed by the people of the country and no more by a fascist dictator government - and this all went hand in hand to me with the question of the class struggle and the race struggle in our country, that we cannot divorce the one from the other - that is something that goes hand in hand and it is a reality -

And I also feel that we cannot just wish the fact that the existence of whites away in our country - they are there, and they are not just in our country, they are in the world - and also we want to liberate our country, South Africa, but on the other hand we - we - we want to have links with - with countries that aspire the same things like our country irrespective of colour, and therefore it makes us people internationalist, if a person can say so, and the international community consist of both black and white people and there's no way one can wish away white people, and also that white people play a very important role in our country -

Therefore I feel that the concept of non racialism is a very progressive tool for - for the overthrow of the South African government, and also to show the world that we are honest when we say that we want to build a new society free from racism and exploitation - and also because I feel that Nelson Mandela is my leader and what he has said with the Rivonia trial, that as much as we don't want white dominance, we don't want black dominance too -

We want a peoples government and I first - I foresee - I first - I see that to me that there are no white people and black people in the world - to me there are people in the world, and I think that is very important because it is also a concept of building a new society - I know it is entrenched in, peoples mind and I know it is a reality, but the important thing is that we are building an honest free society, and therefore we have to - to organise ourselves around issues that affect us now but not be - not to - when we are in power in the country to pay revenge because of what white people, for example, did to us, because I feel that people are individuals and we have to accept them on the individual basis -

And for example, Gatcha Buthelezi is a black man, and all the homeland leaders are - are black people - and these people are puppets who have been appointed by the South African regime and they get money from and they get their salary from the South African regime - therefore I feel that race is not an issue - though I believe that race and the class struggle goes hand in hand but I feel that the enemy is - the enemy is not a specific colour - the enemy can strike in many ways, and I think for our own sake we have to be careful with who we dealing, whether it's white or black.

J.F. Let me ask you some (.....) questions on that - just going back to the beginning your parents were - after your mother died your father - did they have any politics - would they have had - did they even hear of the A.N.C., or they ever talked about anything to do with politics when you were growing up?

P.F. My father - my father is actually - my father's got friends in the black community and my mother's sister is married to a black man, you know, in terms of....

J.F. African?

P.F. African - and therefore she always used to come a visit us with

P.F. the children and they were speaking - the culture - the whole culture and the whole manner of speaking was one that is specific - that specific come out of a - a black culture - but my parents never actually discouraged me or telling me of being - that I should be racist or anything like that in fact - but the only thing is that they always had sympathy for black people - to me that means it is not enough because they are black people themselves and they shouldn't have sympathy, they should have come - become active involved in the struggle in our country.

J.F. So when you were growing up they imparted to you the idea that you were Coloured?

P.F. Yes.

J.F. And what did that mean practically for you - what did it mean to be growing up a Coloured person, a person living in Riverlee - what did that mean?

P.F. At that stage it meant nothing to me - I wasn't thinking of it - to me it wasn't an issue at all at first until I - I entered high school when I realised the difference of - of people - but anyway that it became only an - it was only an issue when people, for example, mentioned a word like kaffir - then I used to challenge that by saying that that's not the way to handle people, but I - I did that simply out of sympathy for people - it was my nature to have sympathy for people because racism was also entrenched -

We - I come from a community where - which is very (.....) community in the sense that we have economical houses, semi sub-economical houses and sub-economical houses, and then there's a train (?) line dividing the sub-economical houses from the semi sub-economical houses, and therefore people used to call each other like the high bucks and the low bucks....

J.F. High bucks?

P.F. Yes - and low bucks, people from one community, which to me was also a form of racism at that stage, but I realised afterwards that it is a class - class struggle as well in terms of that because people were living - some people were living worse off than what other people were living -

And for example, we have like people living bad - people that's living bad in African communities, living bad, for example, in Riverlee - there's no hot water, there's no electricity, and very small rooms and it's very crowded places which is the comment (?) community - in the African communities - and therefore to me that is to link up - that to me is like a link that we are no different from - from African people in fact - South Africa is our country and we are African people and the word Coloured means nothing to me - it has no meaning at all.

J.F. Were there people back in the early stages when you were still kind of told to regard yourself as Coloured - were there people who felt that if you looked lighter that was better - were there people who ever tried to get reclassified - did you encounter that kind of a mentality?

P.F. Ja - people were actually - people looked down upon you, for example, in terms of language as well - if you speak Afrik - usually the people in our community that speaks Afrikaans is like - were dark of complexion, generally speaking, and it was a question of

- P.F. language as well - those who speak language they felt that they were better people than the people who speaks Afrikaans....
- J.F. Those who speak English?
- P.F. Ja - because - because of the - and also because of they felt that they were better because - also because of the difference of hair and the colour of their skin were fair and they felt that was a better kind of looking, as opposed to people with short hair and dark of complexion, but in the (.....) Coloured community still.
- J.F. And your family how did they - did they ever talk about those issues?
- P.F. Yes, we did - you know, taking from what I look, for example, we have - in my family we have my one brother looks like a Chinese, my one brother looks like a so-called Indian, my one brother looks like a white, and we have one - my one brother is dark of complexion - so we always used to call one another on terms of that, like ja, you China, or ja, you're Coolie, or ja you - you - you - but we didn't used to say kaffir - my mother wouldn't like - wouldn't have accepted it - it wasn't accepted in the family -
- But we used to say ja, you - you (.....) to my brother who was dark of complexion....
- J.F. Black sheep?
- P.F. Ja - black sheep, ja.
- J.F. And what language did you speak at home?
- P.F. Afrikaans.
- J.F. Yeally?
- P.F. Yes.
- J.F. Now why - what is the reasoning of that - how does that come - is that just because of the way the generations went?
- P.F. It just came - we had a generation (.....) I suppose - also because people in our community realised that English is an international language and Afrikaans is a - a local language - and also they link it to the - to the - some people actually saw that as a difference between white English people and white Afrikaans people speaking people, and the white Afrikaans speaking people used to come bad - as bad people, you know, because of the regime itself, you know, is Afrikaans regime and you know, they immediately apply that in the community as well.
- J.F. And so when you were quite - if you were like two or three years old that you would only learn Afrikaans first - did you learn English at school or did you learn it from friends in the street?
- P.F. I learned it from friends in the street, ja.
- J.F. And the school you went to did they teach in Afrikaans or was it....
- P.F. Both Afrikaans and English.
- J.F. And did you ever get to a point in your life where you didn't like to speak Afrikaans or was that not an issue?
- P.F. Yes - simply because I actually connected it directly to the state which I rejected - but now I realise that it is rooted in our

- P.F. - in the so-called Coloured community which forms very much part of the black community, and in the whole Karoo (?) towns people speak Afrikaans...
- J.F. In the what?
- P.F. The old Karoo towns.....
- J.F. The Karoo towns?
- P.F. Ja - like people speak Afrikaans and there's no way we can wish that away.
- J.F. But for a time you - did you just not speak it - did you think it was....
- P.F. Well, I spoke it but against my will because I was forced to speak it at school, you see.
- J.F. And what about with your mother - what did you speak?
- P.F. We spoke Afrikaans because of traditional - we - because of traditionally we spoke it, but also my family at that stage no-one of us were politically clear - only I started to emerge to become involved in politics - it started at that stage.
- J.F. And did your family or any people ever say you shouldn't get involved in politics - were they ever negative about it because it's trouble or whatever?
- P.F. Ja, but not my mother and my father and my brothers - in fact my brothers have great respect for me and they also follow in my footsteps, you know, but at that stage they doing - they very young and they doing it as because they admire him and they think it's good, not because they are committed to it - but from my mother's family, for example, like her sisters and her aunts yes, I did, but simply because they felt that the government is a good government.
- J.F. Why did they feel that - they figured that they weren't being forced - they didn't have the problems that the African people had so it was O.K.....
- P.F. Yes, that was the reason - they felt that they were better off than African people.
- J.F. And did they ever say to you this government's O.K., what are you hassling about?
- P.F. Yes, we had numerous arguments and so on in fact that I don't - I don't regard them as my family today - I want to have nothing to do with them and I have also influenced my brothers to have nothing to do with them.
- J.F. But what would they actually say?
- P.F. They were saying, for example, like - like this government is good, if the blacks take over it will just be chaos in the country - which of course I actually resisted - opposed violently - not violently but in my way of speaking.
- J.F. And would they have been the kind of people who wanted to look more white and wanted to act less - anything to do with African?

- P.F. on that because I haven't actually went into the nature or the attitudes.
- J.F. Now Riverlee - where is it exactly - what is it near?
- P.F. It near Langlaagte, near (.....)
- J.F. So it's not near a black area per se - it's.....
- P.F. No, it's not - it's not (.....)
- J.F. So you were - you don't happen to know the population approximately?
- P.F. Could easily be 20,000 if not more - not less than 20,000.
- J.F. And I'm just wondering when you were growing up what people you encountered who weren't Coloured - when you were growing up, especially when you were quite young, did you have anything to do with people who were either African or Indian or white, or was pretty much your whole frame of reference in Riverlee?
- P.F. Yes, it was very much so, but also in our community we have like so-called Indian people as well, you see, and we live together - my mother's family is Indians because they are also called Indians, practically a lot of her family are Indian people, you see, and so to me at that - on that level there was no difference between that - but I didn't met a lot with African people and white people.
- J.F. And did you have any contact - can you remember when you first started to have any contact with African people?
- P.F. Ja, in - in soccer, you know, during school - during school and so on.
- J.F. What's that?
- P.F. During schools....
- J.F. Through the schools...
- P.F. Playing with soccer and so on - we actually demanded that we should have soccer games with them, sports with them, sports links and so on because of our opposition towards the government.....

END OF SIDE ONE.

- J.F. So there wouldn't be any - one wouldn't bat an eyelash if a person married an Indian person?
- P.F. No.
- J.F. And do you remember before you got involved in political discussions having heard of the A.N.C. at all or having heard of....
- P.F. Yes, but at that stage we heard of the A.N.C. as being terrorist (?) and I think the first time when I heard it I believed it, but I

- P.F. didn't know anything more than that, you know, that they were killing people and so on, till I realised that the A.N.C. is - was forced into a position to take up arms struggle, and now at this stage I believe that the armed struggle in our country is legitimate and also it is not violence as far as I'm concerned - I feel it is a way of defending ourselves and there's only one way to defend ourselves against the dictatorship of the Botha regime in our country and the military dictatorship of the Botha regime and that is to - by arms - because they kill us on a daily basis, our people -
- But it's not since now that I realised that since 1979 I realised that the A.N.C. is a peoples organisation.
- J.F. When you were getting to get that better understanding of the A.N.C. did you ever worry that there were mainly Africans in the A.N.C. and did you ever try to ask is there a place for Coloured people - did you know of Coloureds being in the A.N.C. - everyone's heard of Nelson Mandela but he's not Coloured.
- P.F. Yes, I knew of a - a - so-called Coloured people in the A.N.C. - people like at the - I think at the Rivonia trial there were so-called Coloured people in - that was charged with - with them - and I also know of James Matthews - you see, I heard about James Matthews here and there, and I heard that he was from Kliptown and you see, and to me he was some sort of a - of a hero - and (.....) James Matthews - not James Matthews - the guy that was from Kliptown.....
- J.F. Was it Matthews?
- P.F. No - he's buried in - in Moscow - O.K., anyway I'll - I can - I'll tell you tomorrow the name.
- J.F. So that was a Coloured person you'd heard of?
- P.F. Ja.
- J.F. And were there any others you'd heard of?
- P.F. No, I haven't.
- J.F. And did anyone - was that ever a talking point - did people ever say ja, but.....
- P.F. No, that was never a talking point, funny enough - no, no, not funny enough but I mean it was never a talking point in - in my discussions with so-called Coloured people ever, that there's not so-called Coloured people in the A.N.C.
- J.F. Why - so - why was it that O.K. - did you just assume the A.N.C. must be open to people or did you figure well, they've got whites so it must be O.K. to have Coloureds, or why was it that it was not a problem or not an issue or not even.....
- P.F. At that stage I didn't really know, you see, because I also didn't know the true background of the A.N.C., just parts of it - but now, for example, I feel that I'm not a Coloured - it was a

- P.F. connotation given to me by the government and I reject it, and therefore I feel that I'm an African in terms of the fact that I'm born in Africa or a South African, if you like - but I want to go further than that and say I'm a person, you know, and I feel they are people and that we want a peoples government and they will obviously be in government in a new society in South Africa and it will be a peoples government.
- J.F. Now how did you - when you started learning about the A.N.C. more and more did you hear about the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses and the Coloured Peoples Congress and those things?
- P.F. No - no - I didn't - only in 1981 when I heard of the Freedom Charter and then when we also studied the Freedom Charter, and that was also when we moved away from racism and so on - but at that stage because of the fact that there was BC - the fact that I was BC orientated and so on - the second clause of the Freedom Charter, for example, four nationalists, concept was actually (.....) but you see.....
- J.F. Was what?
- P.F. Four nationalists concept - I'm sure you know that was.....
- J.F. Four nations concept?
- P.F. Four nations - I think four - how does it go, that clause in the Freedom Charter - anyway there's a clause in the Freedom Charter, you see, that - that speaks of four nationalists concept and so on, or something like that, and that actually bothered me a little bit but.....
- J.F. That actually worried you?
- P.F. Ja - but now I can - I understand the - the historical background of the Freedom Charter and also that the Freedom Charter is a peoples charter because of the nature of the people (.....) the mass nature of the Peoples Congress at Kliptown the whole of (?) the Freedom Charter.
- J.F. What made you feel better then, just knowing that....
- P.F. That there is a historical background on that issue.
- J.F. Well, there was a Coloured Peoples Congress, wasn't there?
- P.F. There was a Coloured Peoples Congress, but you see I didn't know of the Coloured Peoples Congress.
- J.F. You didn't?
- P.F. Yes - only now that I know recently, about four years back that I heard of the Coloured Peoples Congress, the Indian Congress and the Congress of Democrats and A.N.C. campaigned together to make that a success and people - because people were divided into groups by the - by the South African regime, and to assure everybody because it was the thinking of people at that stage and I think they addressed themselves to the level of the people, and that is also why the A.N.C. is such an historical - significant historical document because it was addressed to the people on the ground -
- And the people on the ground at that stage still, some of them believed that they were part of these particular racial groups -

P.F. But now they realise that they are not part of the racial groups, they are part of the South African people and a part of the whites Africans - the so-called Africans, the racial connotation there - and whites and Indians.

J.F. And what did you think when the NIC and the TIC were refounded?

P.F. Do you want me to comment on that?

J.F. Ja.

P.F. Let me not comment on that.....(Tape Off) - I probably won't say everything about it, and you can tell me if you're satisfied about it - I - first of all I think, taking it from their position, that they were doing it because of - to galvanise the so-called Indian people and so that the so-called Indian people could have a vision, and that's why probably they felt that it was necessary to have these organisation revived because of the historical importance of these organisations, they felt it was necessary to revive these organisation and to organise the people around that issue to - to get them to oppose the government on mass numbers -

But from my own position I see that - that they will probably have to, in the near future, if there's a - if the A.N.C. comes into - if the A.N.C. becomes the order of the day in our country they will have to abandon their organisations because - because it is confined to - to a particular racial group, and that if the A.N.C. accommodates everybody in the country and there will be a political organisation - therefore they will cease to exist as a political organisation because the A.N.C. will be the political organisation of the country.

J.F. And what about JODAC and the call to whites and those kind of things?

P.F. Probably from their point of view they feel - they feel that they have to make a - I mean I can't really speak on behalf of them but probably, you know, I see that they felt that it was necessary to revive the - the white community who's supporting the government, and the only way they could do it wasn't to probably (?) to the UDF because the UDF has got a massive - is a - has got a - the most support comes from the black community, and they would have felt threatened, and then probably they felt it was necessary for them to - revive to make a call to whites -

But one thing is certain, that we should not negotiate our lines (?) and compromise what we believe in - when we believe in something we don't make a call to - to whites, for example, because that is a racial connotation attached to it and we have to break down these barriers and you have to break it down from the start, and therefore you cannot make a call to whites, you have to make a call to a people, for example, in the Johannesburg - the Houghton area or the Sandton area.

J.F. When you were starting to get more - or as you were growing up did you get aware of the Labour Party?

P.F. Yes.

J.F. What was your first awareness of it - what did you think of them when you first heard of them?

P.F. I - I never actually had any feelings or any kind of thinking that I have support for the Labour Party, and still up till today I feel that the Labour Party as far as I'm concerned was never - never played a significant role in - in our struggle - and there-

- P.F. fore I disregard them and I reject them outwardly (?) and they have proven that they were never committed to the struggle of South Africa.
- J.F. So wasn't there much going on in Riverlee - was there people in the Labour Party?
- P.F. Ja, there were people in the Labour Party - they were - there was never political and organised poor political education in our - and in Riverlee there was never political Labour branch, Labour Party branch in Riverlee, but there were individuals in - in the Labour Party.
- J.F. I can see where you are politically, and if you can just think back to before you were, where you are politically - when you said you first got to know Africans through soccer were there prejudices you had to break through - did some people think it was actually not a good thing to play soccer with Africans - was that something daring or was that something that some households in Riverlee would think was beneath you or not a good idea or something?
- P.F. No, no, no, never in the community was it some kind of a thing where people would think that is bad to play with African people or to - to socialise with them, or to communicate with them - but I think deep down in our hearts that racial feeling of being a little bit better than them in terms of - not in terms of the sport but in terms of better position in the community of South Africa was there -
- I think even - not at that particular time but a time in my life when I was young when I was still at primary school I think I also had that deep down in my heart but I wouldn't admit it and I wouldn't say it, you know, bring it out.
- J.F. How did you get into a BC stage that you keep referring to - you got to be political - there were the boycotts - but at what stage did you first hear of BC - when did you hear of Biko - was there a BC organisation in.....
- P.F. No, there was no Biko organisation - there's no BC organisation but we used to - we only got - we got literature from BC organisations on Biko, on what they stand for and how they make you feel, that you should be proud to be a black person and that all the oppressed masses of South Africa are black people, and that there's.....
- J.F. All your what?
- P.F. All the oppressed people of South Africa are black people - there's no Coloured and so-called Indian people even though the reality is there.
- J.F. You mean they were actually, when you first got to know BC, they were - your impression was they were saying Africans are the oppressed masses and Coloureds and Indians aren't?
- P.F. Are part of the oppressed masses.
- J.F. Are a part of them?
- P.F. Yes - and that's the reason why I supported it because there was - we were welcomed into the African community as such - and that's why I supported it, but I didn't have a clear BC line because I

- P.F. didn't clearly know what it stands for at that stage - that's my feeling (?)
- J.F. And what - where was this that you're coming from, which group?
- P.F. I don't know - it was - we - it was circulated at school amongst our friends - I can't remember where it comes from - where it came from - ja, we were - and also you know, slogans, you know, we show that like for example, one Azania, one nation and so on was also a line towards that we were leaning towards the BC concept.
- J.F. So you used to shout that slogan?
- P.F. Ja.
- J.F. And when were people saying one Azania, one confusion?
- P.F. In 1983 (?) was the first time when I heard it on the bus to - to the launching of the UDF.
- J.F. Really - and what does that slogan mean?
- P.F. That they - that the present people who pushed the BC line are confused people, the people now.
- J.F. So would you ever use the word Azania?
- P.F. Will I?
- J.F. Ja, do you?
- P.F. No, I don't.
- J.F. Do you....
- P.F. I mean I speak about it and so on but I don't use it to show that I - I support the A.N.C. line of the South Africa and not the P.A.C. line of AZANIA.
- J.F. Do you think it's only P.A.C. and BC people that use that line - that use Azania?
- P.F. Yes - as far as I know, ja.
- J.F. And then how did you move out of that BC period - how long were you involved in it and how did you get past it and - what - you told me why you were attracted - how did you - how long did it take you to not be attracted to it?
- P.F. You see, one - one of my comrades went to University of the Western Cape and when he - always when he used - when he came back we used to have discussions - he was also politically aware - we were also part of the boycotts at school together, so when he comes back from the univeristy we always meet and have discussions and so on, and he used to bring literature from there and so on, you see, so we used to read and it gave me a clear line -
- But with the launching of the UDF and when they pulled one side I realised that I want to be part of the UDF and that the UDF is (.....) to organise the masses of our country.
- J.F. But that doesn't tell me about - maybe at a more gut level did - do you think that - did you think BC was important in any way -

J.F. - what were the pros and cons?

P.F. Ja, I - I feel that BC was a very important stage in our live - firstly because so many of us felt that we were inferior towards white people, and that we inferior in terms of black and white because we were black, and BC made us proud of what we are as black people - BC also made us aware that - that we can - that we can do what any person in the world can do, whether it's black or white, we can do - BC also made us realise that we are people who's got the right to have a free society and a free country as young people even though the A.N.C. have realised it long ago already -

And in studying both - especially the A.N.C.'s line and the existence of the A.N.C. and so on, I realised that I was asking myself the question why are they pushing this line and why is these people pushing this line, and this comrade of mine told me that - that Bc is not an end in itself - you - it - it's there and you build on it, and you go forward in life - you don't - it doesn't end there, you see -

You go forward in life because that's what the revolution means - the struggle continues, the struggle goes on even after - even if the A.N.C. is in power the struggle will go on in terms of building that new society -

But we felt that it was - he also told me that you don't - we shouldn't wait for the day of liberation to come to build a new society, we build it now, and the society that we want is a - because white people are there that we want black and white people to live together because we don't believe in dominating other people and that we should be dominated by other people -

We also felt that it's important that people should run the schools, that there should be free (.....) free education in - in our country, and by thinking that way we felt that it is necessary to start now in preparing people for that - for that stage, and also to draw other white people, as many as possible, into our rank and to - also to divide the enemy, which will put us in a better position to - to come into power.

J.F. What about on a personal level - you met these Africans when you played soccer - what kind of whites - when you were growing up in Riverlee did you ever - was it just whites who were in shops and - were there white teachers at the school?

P.F. At the high school, yes....

J.F. What was your impression of whites - were they all negative - did you ever have any more positive....

P.F. No, no, not all of them were negative even in - in fact some soldiers weren't even negative becau - but we - we knew because we were political minded at that stage that it was just a tool that they using to - to win our hearts and our minds, and that's why they were nice to us - but those who weren't soldiers were - they - they - some of them encouraged us to - to go on boy - to boycott classes and told us also why it is necessary to go and boycott and so on.

J.F. Who told you?

P.F. Some of the white people, but those who weren't soldiers.

J.F. In the school?

P.F. Ja.

J.F. What, the teachers?

P.F. Teachers, ja.

J.F. What school did you go to?

P.F. Riverlee High School.

J.F. Just to go back - and then after that when you were - did you - I'm just wondering if any of your non racialism was shaped by having worked with whites in a political way or was it - is it all purely theoretical that you figure that it's important to be non racial....

P.F. It's all theoretical that I - that I feel it is important - at that stage it was all - no, no, no - I don't really know actually, you know - I can't remember - but now it is - it is both, you see, theoretical and working - and in fact some of them encouraged me to - to hold onto that because it is important.

J.F. To hold onto...

P.F. To - to the concept of non racialism.

J.F. And just some more of the background thing - I still don't understand why there was no high school - you were sent to a boarding school?

P.F. Ja.

J.F. Where was that?

P.F. It was in - it was actually an institution - what was the institution called - it was in Benoni - I can't remember what was it called.

J.F. But what I mean - they didn't expect - there was no high school because you were just supposed to what, go learn to be a mechanic or something?

P.F. No - there was no any other thing....

J.F. So what were you supposed to do - what did they do with you?

P.F. Nothing like in the day we used to work in the gardens like, so.

J.F. What, with the assumption that you would be a gardener when you were older - or that you just....

P.F. Not, not really - it's like - it's a place where - like you see, my eldest brother used to stay out of school a lot, you see, because of my father's viciousness and so on, so then they sent us both away - he contacted social workers and so on and they sent us to this school, you see, and when we got there I was in Standard Six and there was no high school there, you see, so I didn't go to school - and during the day we used to either help the girls in the kitchen or we used to work in the garden most of the time.

J.F. So as soon as you got there were you angry that you weren't allowed to go to school?

P.F. Ja - very much.

- J.F. And was there anyone you could complain about it to?
- P.F. I did actually to the superintendent of the school, and he just kept on saying that he will do something about it.
- J.F. And then you went back to your father?
- P.F. Ja.
- J.F. And why were there soldiers - were there soldiers at Riverlee High School?
- P.F. Ja.
- J.F. When?
- P.F. In 19 - during the boycotts at - 1980 and '81.
- J.F. Was it because of the boycotts that they sent them in - were there always soldiers at Riverlee High School?
- P.F. No, there wasn't always soldiers at the high school - I don't - I mean I can't tell why.
- J.F. So it was with the boycott that they came?
- P.F. Ja, but if - now that you mention it I think it was because of the boycotts that they were sent in there because they only came in after the latter part of the year.
- J.F. So did you matriculate?
- P.F. Yes.
- J.F. In?
- P.F. Riverlee High School.
- J.F. And when was that?
- P.F. In maths, physics...
- J.F. I mean what year.
- P.F. 1984.
- J.F. And what have you done since then?
- P.F. I was teaching at a Catholic school.....
- J.F. Which is that?
- P.F. In Coronation - and...
- J.F. What's it called?
- P.F. St. Theresa's Convent - and now I'm working at the open school - I don't know if you heard about it.
- J.F. And what are you doing there?
- P.F. Administration work and also drama in terms of making kids aware of the political situation in the country.
- J.F. Who runs it these days?

P.F. Colin Smuts is a director - he's a director.

J.F. And you think you'll be staying there?

P.F. Ja.

J.F. Can you tell me about when you joined anti PC and how you came to do that?

P.F. I can't exactly remember when I joined the anti PC but you see, I used to work with Jesse and Ignatius and Jesse - Jesse was in the anti PC and we used to go to meetings together and so on and that's how I - I joined the anti PC.

J.F. Well, maybe I should ask the question this way - do you remember when you first started hearing that the government was getting - was going to push through this tricameral parliament and - can you just tell me a bit about the response to that in the Coloured community - were there people - did you actually know people who were going to campaign for seats in that parliament - were there people who.....

P.F. No, there was - no, there was nobody was - that was going to campaign, but there was nobody - there was nobody who was going to organise the people around these issues to tell people that it was wrong, you know, because if the call was made to people like - like they did to vote - and because of the traditional history of the so-called Coloured community (.....) always voted for the Labour Party - we felt that it will happen again, and that we should - and we felt that it was important to organise people around those issues.

J.F. So then you began organising - and how - what - did you meet - are there people in the Coloured community who said you just going to get yourself arrested, we're not interested in this, the government - we can't fight or - what kind of feeling did you get?

P.F. Ja - actually - you see, because of my - my political stance at school I got a lot of support from - from the students at school - and also people - a lot of people in the community knew me and.....

END OF SIDE TWO.

P.F. A lot of people in the so-called Coloured community knows me, you see, and now in Riverlee, and here and there where people didn't know me I got the cold response like people said that I'm a communist, but people didn't say that they were going to vote and so on - people said that it is dangerous to - to challenge this government, and I told the people exactly this government is a dangerous government and therefore they should vote against it - or therefore they shouldn't vote - go to the polls because of their viciousness - and people just said they will see what they can do about it.

J.F. And did you get hassled at all - were you detained at all with anti PC or anything?

- P.F. No, but I - I just - just people told me the cops are looking for me and I didn't sleep at home for two weeks, and we found 50 schools came together from the African community and the Indian community and the so-called Coloured community, came together to - to organise around these issues and so on and.....
- J.F. So you actually worked with people from the different communities?
- P.F. Yes.
- J.F. And how did that work in practice?
- P.F. You see, we - we - we arrange meetings, we discuss issues how we should do it and so on, and then we go back to our schools and we work in our own particular schools - that is how we did it.
- J.F. So what is your political affiliation now - you don't have a position with anti PC in Riverlee?
- P.F. No, I haven't got any position with the anti PC but I'm the chairperson of the Riverlee Youth Congress.
- J.F. And when did the Riverlee Youth Congress start?
- P.F. In 1985 - in June, 1985.
- J.F. And do you still call it anti PC, the organisation?
- P.F. Ja, it's still called the anti PC.
- J.F. Is there ever any move to change that - is the presidents council still a focus?
- P.F. You see, the Preident's Council isn't a heavy focus but it's still in existence, but people felt that it is necessary because of strategic reasons to - to - for the name of the anti Pc because of the historical reasons around that, and because we were affiliated as the anti PC in the UDF and people knew us as the anti PC.
- J.F. Have you ever read about or talked about with people some of the historical organisations which have involved people from the Coloured communities like the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation or the Coloured Peoples Congress or the non European Unity Movement or any of those groups?
- P.F. No - did I ever talk to them about it, no I haven't because I felt it - it wasn't an issue and I didn't want to organise people around Coloured organisations as such but if it - if I had to, for example, organise people around Unity Movement which is - which have no particular name I would have, but because I disagree with them, the organisation, I did not organise around that -
- But the importance is that I felt it wasn't - it - no matter what we go through we have to organise people around the particular - the particular conditions in the community and not around particular organisations.
- J.F. And so you have heard about the Unity Movement?
- P.F. Ja.
- J.F. Are there any Unity Movement people in the Transvaal that you've ever come across?

P.F. Ja, but they - part of them are no more in the Unity Movement.

J.F. So what does the Unity Movement represent to you?

P.F. I - I don't know - I really don't know, but what I can tell is that people like Neville Alexander was in the Unity Movement, and it was mainly based in the Western Cape.

J.F. And do you know what Neville Alexander stands for at all?

P.F. I - as far as I'm concerned he's BC orientated, the BC movement - he identified with the BC movements.

J.F. When you were in your PC - BC stage were you ever attracted to the P.A.C. - did you know much about them?

P.F. No, I wasn't attracted to the P.A.C. ever because I didn't know the P.A.C.

J.F. Just didn't hear about them?

P.F. I didn't hear about them.

J.F. And even now.....

P.F. I only heard about the A.N.C.

J.F. Even now have you ever heard of people who support - are there people that you've (.....) who say they support the P.A.C.?

P.F. Ja, I have, you know, and black people from AZAPO and so on.

J.F. Is there much AZAPO in Riverlee?

P.F. There's no AZAPO people in Riverlee.

J.F. Can you speak any African languages?

P.F. No, I can't....

J.F. Do you sing (.....)?

P.F. Ja - you want me to sing it for you!

J.F. No, I'm asking if you - but you've learned that....

P.F. Ja, and I can sing other revolutionary African songs.

J.F. You can?

P.F. Ja.

J.F. Just from having sung them so much?

P.F. Yes.

J.F. So would you know what the words exactle mean?

P.F. Yes.

J.F. Just because you asked or?

P.F. Ja.

J.F. Do you think that's something in the future - in the future South Africa would you think that a person like you would be speaking an



- J.F. African language - is that anything you've thought about or is that ever discussed?
- P.F. I'm hoping to study an African language soon - probably the beginning of next year I will start to study an African language.
- J.F. Which one?
- P.F. I don't exactly know because I was going to study Zulu but because (Laugh) of Gatcha Buthelezi I'm still considering it, and people say that most of the people speak Zulu, you see - that's why I want to speak it - but I will ask comrades if they think it is wise for me to speak Zulu or Sotho - that will be the other one.
- J.F. This principal who collaborated, of your school, is he still the principal?
- P.F. Ja - in fact when I finished school he threatened me and - because of - we had numerous arguments at school and I was practically one of the only persons who challenged him - teachers who were intimidated by him and other students who were intimidated by him, and a week before we started with the final exams in matric he promised me that, and I quote, I swear to God I'm going to spoil your future, unquote - this is what he said in terms of meaning that he's going to make sure - in fact he always used to tell me he's going to make sure that I must be marked down in my final exams.
- J.F. So there's no - are there any people you would describe as collaborators who live in Riverlee?
- P.F. Ja, there are - the person who serves on the management council but he's not visible in the community, and he just sends out pamphlets - people don't know when does he send it out - and he then, for example, says he can't call a meeting because he feels that there's going to be violence at the meeting.
- J.F. And just....
- P.F. And then there's one security cop which we have a court case against, (.....) and - but I think he's going to resign from the security police.
- J.F. If he didn't resign do you think that it - would the situation ever reach the situation that exists in some African townships where those people would be in visible danger, necklaced and all that?
- P.F. Yes, I think - it will also probably depend on - on his stance, you see, because people won't forgive him - the youth won't forgive him and so on, so on - he will have to do a lot to win the respect of the community back because he said - he admitted himself that the community don't respect him and so on - but I think it will reach a stage where - where our community will be ungovernable and where they will be in danger.
- J.F. Are there any - have you never met people who have gone into the army?
- P.F. In our community, ja, there are individuals - in fact there's one guy who - who was fighting SWAPO freedom fighters somewhere in Namibia and he was shot in the back so he came home and he said well, when he recovered he wanted to come back, so people persuaded him not to go back for his own safety, that he might be killed this time, and so he didn't come back and he resigned from the army.

- J.F. Why do people join the army from the Coloured community?
- P.F. Because of unemployment - because of unemployment and also because of the fact that people - because the people can't find jobs and because of the - the poverty in certain communities and in certain homes.
- J.F. And what about just the army's vibe generally - does the army - do they do any of these trying to get kids to go to camps and push their various publications in Riverlee?
- P.F. No - only on June 16 where the security police distributed pamphlets in our community to say that people shouldn't listen to - to the agitators in the community and they also gave a phone number where they should be contacted so the people should inform them of these agitators, these so-called agitators in the community.
- J.F. Do you get a lot of those pamphlets....
- P.F. Ja, they distributed quite a number of pamphlets - a lot in fact.
- J.F. When did you first hear someone say so-called Coloured, can you remember - not the exact date but can you remember kind of generally when - what your feelings were when you heard it.
- P.F. In '79, I think - I think it was in '79 but when I first heard it it was - to me it was rather fascinating because at school everybody used to ask - not everybody - quite a number of students used to ask what is a Coloured, you know - explain a Coloured - some of us are black, some of us looks like African, like I explained in our house (Laugh) you see - some of us like whites, some of us like Indians, you know, and how do you explain that - you know, you cannot refer to somebody as a Coloured person because that is like - the ED makes it like a past tense - you know, it's something like a past tense, a past existence, you know, or such a thing as -
- It didn't - in fact, you know, even you can see I'm confused on that thing myself - I don't know what does Coloured mean - but we know the - the kind of people that lived in the Coloured community, so-called Coloured communities, you know, how they look like and so on according to the culture (?) - the place that we would put in (?) and I wanted to know more about it, you see -
- And Thola (?) was explain that we are not coloured people - that's why we say so-called Coloureds, you know, and everything that goes with it.
- J.F. So who explained it?
- P.F. This guy who went to the university - and he heard it from his brother I think - in fact his brother explained it to both of us.
- J.F. The brother who was at Western Cape?
- P.F. No, his brother wasn't at Western Cape - his - his brother was somebody or other (?) from political - you see, his father was a friend of Ottie Beck....
- J.F. Of?
- P.F. Ottie Beck - Godfrey Beck who died recently in Denmark - he's also a member of the A.N.C. - he was also a member of the A.N.C. - they lived in (.....) together.

J.F. How do you spell that name?

P.F. Beck.

J.F. B e c k?

P.F. Ja, and the name is Godfrey.

J.F. Godfrey - do you talk about blacks and whites - do you use those words?

P.F. Yes, (Laugh) I use those words - I don't also know why - I think because of practical reasons and because of the reality that it's there, you know, and that it's rooted in - into our community and into the world.

J.F. So you don't try to say oppressors instead of whites or something like that or comrades instead of blacks to avoid the words?

P.F. No, in most cases we say comrades, you know, but in certain cases when you explain something we use blacks and white, you know, and somewhere here and there we use the oppressed people and so on.

J.F. Your title is the chairperson of the Riverlea Youth Congress, right?

P.F. Mmm.

J.F. Would you not want to say chairman - is that a conscious - is that important that it's called chairperson....

P.F. Ja, at - at first we used to say chairman but I mean they hated the fact that you realised - I didn't even realise that I said chairperson, you see, because of the fact that we realised that our revolution can never be successful if we have equality with women...

J.F. If you don't have....

P.F. If we don't have equality with women - then it can never be successful.

J.F. When did you realise that?

P.F. Two years back.

J.F. And how did you come to realise it.

P.F. In discussions - political education discussions, you know, when we have a political education and so on we realised that our revolution cannot be successful because - also because of - we heard a lot about Samora Machel and so on in which - and he's clearly - and he's a person who in fact said that the revolution can never be successful if there's no equality between women and men.

J.F. What are the other countries that you look to as models?

P.F. Cuba and Nicaragua.

J.F. And in Africa, any?

P.F. No.

J.F. Why not?

- P.F. To me it is a - in no African - I can - I can't think of a country that is clearly socialist, but I can understand - I - this is what I believe our country should be like, a socialist country, you know, and - and I don't see a country in Africa that is socialist as such, but I can understand because of the economic conditions in those countries and so on - and I don't know if they try (?) because I don't know actually of any letter (?) on African history and we - I only know the distorted history of African history - of African history.
- J.F. What about Angola?
- P.F. Angola will move into that situation, I know that, but the only reason why they can't, and even Mozambique, and the only reasons why they can't is because of the wars in those countries, and they have the potential to move in those directions.....
- J.F. You don't think they're socialist now?
- P.F. I think they are socialist now - there's some form of socialism - I think they are - they in the early stages of socialism, if a person can say so.
- J.F. And what about this whole debate where AZAPO claims that they're the true socialist alternative - do you believe - is anti PC pro socialist?
- P.F. Look, first of all I won't defend the anti PC as such because....
- J.F. Well - ja, because?
- P.F. Because I feel that this is not the organisation that I'm joining in the organisation - the organisation that I'm joining is in the A.N.C. because I feel it is the only political organisation, but because of the conditions in our country I cannot be in the A.N.C.....
- J.F. You said that's not the organisation that I what?
- P.F. The anti PC - look, the anti PC to me will come to an end, you see - it will dissolve and - but - AZAPO claims to be true socialist - and Marx actually said that, you know, that you cannot be - first of all he said that socialism isn't stagnant and secondly he said that if you a socialist you have to be an internationalist because the thing that you achieve when you - the thing that you want to achieve out of soc - to have a socialist country you have to work with other countries as well because the - the police force, the - the military has to start to disappear -
- And for example, if we don't have any relationship with - a good relationship with Zimbabwe then we will have to have a police force and a military force - but say, for example, Zimbabwe was a white country, I don't know what would have - the relation would have been with them, Zimbabwe because the fact that to somebody at the other extent they - they - they reject whites - and I don't mean which way to reject them (?) but I have the feeling that we reject them, but not in the sense of ejecting them, you know, but the line is one of a - where they say that whites cannot be part of their - this struggle now because they are the oppressor or something they get to know - I don't really know their stance (?)
- But - and I don't believe that there's true socialism or something like that, you know - I believe that socialism is socialism and

- P.F. if it's wrong then it's wrong, then it's not socialism, and when it's right it is right - there's no something like true socialist.
- J.F. But do you consider yourself a socialist?
- P.F. Well, of the things that I say I don't consider myself a socialist but the things that I say that's the way I think makes me a socialist person and therefore I believe in socialism, to have some kind of a direction in which way I move.
- J.F. You're saying you're not a socialist because you don't practice it, is that what you mean, or because you live in South Africa?
- P.F. Yes.
- J.F. And you talked about when you - the government (.....-) first talked about the A.N.C. they were saying they're communist - do people in South Africa that you deal with, that you would consider comrades, are they threatened or are they negative about communism or the Soviet Union these days?
- P.F. People are becoming more clear about communism, you see, and I don't think it is correct for anybody to relate communism to the Soviet Union - first of all I don't know what's the situation in the Soviet Union because I haven't been there but I truly (?) know that is - that is a distortion from the west of - of the Soviet Union - but I don't believe people can say that we have to look to the Soviet Union and that is communism and that is bad because the communists are - the Soviet Union people are bad -
- I think you have to understand communism and you have to see how will it work in your country and so on and you take it from there.
- J.F. And do people have any problem with the Soviet Union - would there be.....
- P.F. Not that I know of - I mean of my comrades not that I know of.
- J.F. Just one last thing to wrap up - can you tell me how you see the South Africa of the future in terms of the racial aspect?
- P.F. Like I said earlier that we are already in the process of building a new society, and firstly the whites will be accommodated in the - the new regime, but not as white people, as people they will be in there, and the blacks will be in the government but not as black people but as people, and therefore it will be - the government of the future will be one of one where there will - where racism will not be practiced and tolerated in our country.
- J.F. Do you feel that your views about non racialism are exactly the same of UDF views or do you think your....
- P.F. Probably the majority of the people in the UDF.
- J.F. You don't think you're maybe militantly non racial and that they are - there are people who believe more in organising within racial communities and that kind of thing - do you figure that your view is the very.....
- P.F. First of all I believe that you have to organise in your own community first, and I believe that you are accountable to your own community first before you are accountable to anybody else, and

P.F. when your community is organised then you move on to the community where you are needed, and whether it's white or black community, whether it's in the underdeveloped areas or the developed areas the question - the thing should be not that organising your own community and when it's organised you stay there - you have to move on and move through the whole of South Africa if that is the - if that is required - if that is needed to organise.

J.F. That word - that sentence you said initially - when you were picked up by the police, do you remember it, (.....Afrikaans) there was that whole.....

P.F. Do you want me to say it again?

J.F. Yes, because I want to write it down for the person who's going to transcribe it.

P.F. They said to me (.....) (.....).....

J.F. Say it slowly.

P.F. (.....)

END OF INTERVIEW.