J.F. Can we start with where you were born and when?

J.P. I was born on the 11th. December, 1919 in Sophiatown, which is very near Johannesburg.

J.F. And your parents, did they have any political kind of background or orientation?

J.P. Perhaps my mother, who was born in Scotland and whose father and brothers were involved in the socialist movement, but I don't know much about that - her father was a plumber, journeyman, and her brothers turned out to be tradesmen - one was a - actually a stonemason - I don't know what happened to the others, but some of them went, got involved in the war, the First World War, but her family scattered and I haven't learned much about them since.

J.F. What race groups were your parents?

J.P. My mother was Scot....

J.F. So she was white?

J.P. She was born in Scotland, yes, and my father was Shangaan - he was born in Mozambique - that's him over there, with my mother next to him - I am not in that family group there where my father stands with my mother sitting and my two brothers - I wasn't born yet.

J.F. So how did they meet?

J.P. Well, my mother's - my father's brother was working for a wealthy Jewish family, and she found employment with them as a housekeeper and a - a governess or something like that - I suppose - well, I know that she asked my father's brother, whose name was **George**, if he knew of any place where she - she could get some curios, which she wanted to send to her relations - he said : Well, yes, in fact my brother has a shop in Marshal Street where you would be able to get these things - and so she went along and well, she met her future husband, and that's how it started - of course the details of it I don't know much about, but he used to visit his brother who worked for this wealthy family, and I think the romance must have bloomed in these surroundings, but how I don't know.

I know at one time - she told me on one occasion when they - he called (?) there he would - they would go into the garden and they would have to sit quite apart from each other with their backs back to back, you see (Laugh) and that way have some form of conversation (Laugh)

J.F. So she was working for the wealthy family?

J.P. Yes.

J.F. As the governess?

J.P. Yes, she found a job there.

J.F. And how did she come out from Scotland to South Africa?

J.P. Well, it so happened that a cousin of hers had gone out with her husband and they'd settled there.

J.P. My mother was not in too good health, and she was advised that it would do her good to go out to South Africa where the climate would help her recovery, and so she went to stay with this family, but shortly after that they didn't really get on too well with each other and she decided to break away from them.

I suppose the circumstances were such that she couldn't just return to Scotland, which I suppose she would have done if she had the means, so she found this job, you see, with this very wealthy Jewish family, and that's how she met my father's brother, who was working for them as a domestic servant, you see.

J.F. Did you ever ask her or did you have any insight into how she obviously didn't seem to have a kind of prejudice that so many whites and even British immigrants would have had, whereby they never would have seen themselves getting married to a black person, much less getting social with them - social contact?

J.P. Yes, I remember her telling us about when they went out to (of) South Africa on the boat, and they were given talks and information about how when they get there, you know, to regard the blacks, you see, and this seemed very odd to her because she wasn't that way inclined, as I'm sure many, many people were not, you see, and in fact didn't follow these rules or regulations or whatever they were, because when she got there she just found well, she could - all she could do was just to relate to the situation and look at people and as far as she was concerned, human, you see.

I don't think there was anything political about it - she was just a good human being, you see.

J.F. And did - were there any or many other people, families living in Sophiatown where there was a white mother and an African father?

J.P. Yes, yes - you see, when they got married they had to go to Cape Town because the laws in the Transvaal did not allow mixed marriages, you see, and so they had to go separately to Cape Town - she went ahead, stayed with her family in Wynberg, Cape Town, and then he followed, and it was arranged that they should get married in, I think it was a Dutch Reform church in Wynberg, you see, and oddly enough, the minister who married them was a - I think an Englishman or a Scotsman who was married to a black woman, and had a talk with my mother before the marriage and said : Why, you know, you - she must understand that she was going into a very, very big problem by marrying my father, and she said well, she understood what she was doing, and that was it, you see, so they were married, returned to Johannesburg and lived in the city near where my father had his shop and - but I think they found it rather difficult being there.

Two of their children were born, my two brothers, Walter and Edward, and I think after a while they decided that well, there were too many prying eyes and things like that around, especially in the city, and decided to move to Sophiatown, where my father bought a property, built a house, and I must say he was pretty well off - he was - he had a good business and he did pretty well, so he could give our family a very, very nice and comfortable home.

J.F. What business was he in?

J.P. He was a skin and curio merchant - as you can see there in that picture, there's beautiful skin - he employed a few men to do - in those days it could be done - to hunt wild animals and of course find - he was also involved in native medicine, you see, and so they would bring all the stuff to him and he would sell it in his shop and did very, very well - in fact what's unusual about him is that as his business improved, he moved to Eloff Street - as you know, Eloff Street is the sort of - it's what you would call the - the Regent Street or Oxford Street of - of Johannesburg, you see, and he moved into this area, had the shop and had a very, very - as apart from black people who were buying from him - mostly men who came from the mines and bought certain skins for which they used in their tribal dancing and so on.

He also had the white customers who came for the more exquisite stuff, like large skins like that and what they call karosses - you know, karosses are - they put together of many skins, which makes their lovely covering for a bed or something like that, you see, and of course he also had things like ivory and ostrich feathers and so on, so that was his business and it - it thrived while he was alive, you see.

J.F. Where do you get your surname Phillips - was that....

J.P. Ah, yes, well, the name is (.....) M a d h l o p e - that is my father's family name - I - I - I - I don't know why he adopted the name Phillips, but I think it was for business reasons - you know, involved in this business, and since a lot of his customers were white, I think he found it more convenient to have that name, you see, which I think he must have just - well, I'm registered as James George Madhlope Phillips, you see, in my birth certificate, and so it was that as I grew up, we were - I was known as Phillips, you see.

But you know, there is a - according to way things go in South Africa, there is always a slur on families who are in - you know, where they come from black fathers or black mothers, and so in various communities you find people who hide their identity - we didn't do this at all - I think both my father and my mother were very, very clear on this question, you know - we were - they were two human beings who lived with each other and that's fact (?)

As I grew up, and my brothers, I mean we never saw our parents as being black and white - I mean it - it - it was not a picture that - you know, that appeared so - I mean they were just mother and father, you see - it - it's only as I grew up and I went out to school and had contact with the - the world beyond our family surroundings that I became aware of this - the prejudices that exist in South Africa, you know, kaffir and Coloured and koelie and whatnot and whatnot - I'm sure terms you must have experienced or seen, heard when you were there, you see.

So they built up a lovely home - my brother was sent to college - my father could afford to send him to Lovedale in the '20s - but unfortunately he met with an accident in 1930 - had a bus accident and his arm had to be amputated, and he died from that - I was then nine years of age - and with that there came a big change in the family life - I mean being in business, he was always involved in borrowing from the bank and so on to buy more stocks and things like this, and dying at that - just at that stage, he had borrowed quite a - it wasn't a - well, in those - in those years it must have been a large sum of money, I think something like 1,000 pounds, you see, which could be a lot of money.

J.P. And so this debt was left when he died, and the house which we owned and was paid for was involved in having to pay this debt back, and so we were virtually on poverty street because there was very little left - we were left with a shop - with a shop - my brother was - had to come back from his schooling - he must have been about 20, I think, and tried his best to look after it, but it was such a skilled trade - I mean knowing skins and the trade itself was something my father had become expert at, you see, and he tried it for a couple of years, but he just failed.

So it meant that my mother, who was - who was always at home, who involved herself in the family life, who was involved in community life, you know, with all the people in Sophiatown, the church, in welfare and organisations and things - she was involved - it then meant that we had to move away from Sophiatown and we went to (.....) where we went to live in a - shall I say a - an area where - I'd say a Coloured area, or ghetto, if you may call it that (Laugh) and well, we then moved into something quite different to what we had experienced during the time when my father was alive, because we had to go and live in a room.

I think my mother, my brother Eddie, who was the second oldest, and myself shared one room, and so this kind of life continued for some years, and being the youngest, my mother must have thought that well, I'm - she needed to see that I could further my schooling - she then sent me to Lovedale - she had found a job, working in a laundry as a - an alteration hand on machines, which meant that very big come down in income and life - life pattern.

And so I was sent to Lovedale, but I was sent there to be a - a working student, which meant that I would be - whatever work I did would pay for furthering my education, so when I got there they made me a waiter, garden boy and just about anything, and I stayed there from 1932 to 1937 - I must have been about 17 then - then I was told to leave by the boarding master.

I think growing up, like most youngsters, there's a change in your pattern of life, you know, and so on, and I don't think I was very difficult as such - I don't think we could afford to be because in this difficult age, I mean whatever problems we had were not regarded as problems - we just thought we were being naughty, and so if we showed any signs which part of the - part of the growing up process, we would be punished and thrashed, or sent to work and chop up wood or whatever, you see.

And I think I became more questioning about the role of religion, because I thought that I would become a minister, but round 16, 17 I - I looked around and - and I could see that what was promised in my education and my religious teaching was not happening around me - I mean I would go to the outlying villages with what they call the - the - I think it was called the Lovedale Missionary Society, which was a sort of way of going out to the outlying villages and to preach and to read something from the Bible and just say something to people about being good and - and so on, and I just found that this just did not relate to what I thought what life should be, you see, and I began questioning.

But unknown, I think, to myself, as to the others, these things would get back to the heads of the institution, and I think it must have been about this time when they must have said that he - I was coming under bad influence, you see, because it was also thought that I wasn't keeping the company that they thought I should.

J.P. And so one day at the end - very near the end of the year the boarding master just called me - he said : Look, Phillips, I want to tell you that you - you're going home for the Christmas holidays - tell your mother I don't want you to come back - and in the way things were then, as I'm sure they are now, you never asked why - if you did you were - you were in for trouble, and so I just said : Yes, sir - I went.

So that was it - and then I went back to Johannesburg, found myself a job in a factory making steel windows - very hard work - and it would have been a good trade, if that's what I wanted, but very soon after that the - the trade unions, white trade unions looked into it and told the employer that well, this was work for whites, and so we were just - it was just made clear to us that we'll have to find a job somewhere else, and that's when I found a job in the clothing industry in 1938.

It was then that I got myself interested in the trade union, and in fact a year or so later I became a member of the - the executive in No. 2 branch of the garment workers union, which was the Coloured section - we had the No. 1 branch, which was whites, and the No. 2 branch was formed after that, and I became a member of this No. 2 branch, which years later also had Indian and African female workers in it, you see.

I think also around '38 I saw the - the - the foundation of the non-European United Front, which was headed by Dadoo, Yusef Dadoo, Cissy Gool, Salope Tema, and in fact I became one of its members and founders at the ripe old age of 18 or 19 - I just found myself involved in it, you see - we also had George Carr, that's right, who was the president of the Coloured Teachers Association.

And all this was an experience which eventually led me to becoming more and more involved in - in our problem, you see - around 1942 we saw the formation of the Council of non-European Trade Unions, and at a conference which was presided over by Moses Kotani, we got together, founded it, and I became I think the treasurer - no - yes, treasurer, a position which I retained up to the time when I was banned in 1953 - of course the Council of non-European Trade Unions was the forerunner of the SACTU.

This was a very, very interesting period because it was during the Second World War and there was - the council itself had quite a large membership affiliation and did a lot of work among the black workers - it was mainly established to look after the work of black workers, you know, who were being neglected as far as the South African Trades and Labour Council was concerned, which catered mainly for whites.

There were numerous strikes during the period, all with of course a view to trying to get an improvement in the conditions, the working conditions of the workers in various industries, in the mines - well, not so much in the mines at the time, but in the dairy industry, metal - there we must have had about 43 organisations affiliated, and so we - in our way we catered for the needs of these unions and their membership, and in spite of the fact that we didn't have people who were, except for a few - who worked on a full time basis, I mean the work we did was very important, because it was really laying the foundations of what we see today in the South African Congress of Trade Unions and also COSATU, for that matter, you see.

In 1946 - well, say prior to that we had the - the formation of the Mineworkers Union, under the presidency of J.B. Marks, and they made numerous efforts to - to get the mineowners to see the delegation from the mine - African Mineworkers Union, but to no avail I mean.

J.P. There was a commission appointed by the government to look into the conditions of work on the mines, but we came out with such recommendations which a real farce - I mean they felt that in fact there are - they said in this commission report that the mining industry could really only exist if they had cheap African labour.

Things went on, and in spite of the many representations that were made, it was just getting from bad to worse and eventually a shop stewards' meeting was called at Market Square, Johannesburg, and there a decision was taken that the mine should come out on strike, and so in 1946 we got that great mine strike, African mine strike, but of course, as is always the case, the police came on the scene, most of the officials were arrested - J.B. Marks, James Majoro, who was the general secretary of the union, and virtually the entire executive committee of the African Mineworkers Union, and it was then that I - we formed what was known as the - the sport (?) group to the - and this was under the auspices of the Council of non-European Trade Unions - that we thought that we must have some form of organisation running while this dispute was on, and so we established a committee of which I became the chairman of this strike committee and support group.

But the strike was very short-lived - it lasted for a week, if that - I was then arrested with a number of other people - I think altogether there were 52 of us charged for aiding and abetting in a illegal strike, and that was under one of the War Measures which had been promulgated during the war, when people were prohibited from going on strike, so in spite of the fact that the war was over, we were put on trial - we were then - after the trial we were then sentenced to a period of nine months suspended for two years, I suppose the whole idea being to - to neutralise from, you know, further activity.

And so it went on - that strike in itself must have had terrific repercussions, because the brute force used by the police, the government, on the workers - nine were killed, some couple of thousand were injured - they were forced back to work on the point of a bayonet or bayonets, and well, the strike was broken by the force used by the police to get these men to return to work.

But at the time I think the - what was known as the Native Representative Council was meeting in Pretoria, and here was one of those dummy institutions that had been set up to advise the government on what they called native problems, you see, and so it was when this - the Native Representative Council was in session that they questioned the government on the methods they were using and being so unhelpful in a - a dispute which they thought was justified as far as the grievances were concerned, the mineworkers and so on, but the government was - wouldn't commit itself anyway and so the - that virtually brought the - the Native Representative Council to an end - it - it died at that time, which was a very historic event because whereas people tended to think that it was an organisation which must continue because it represented the interests of what they said, the natives, we found that the elements who encouraged this continuance of the NRC who (?) drew closer towards looking at things our way - you know, they could see now that well, we must become less compromising in our attitude insofar as how the government is treating us, whether it be in the trade unions or in our political approach, you know, to the conditions of life.

J.P. So the - I would say the impact following that strike must have had the effect also of bringing us more together - as you know, there was still a tendency insofar as the liberation organisations were concerned, to do things in their - among their own groups - I mean we had the APO, which represented the Coloured people, we had the Indian Congress, which represented the Indians, and the ANC, you know, representing Africans, you see, and they tended to go their own way, you see, insofar as looking after their people's needs, you see.

And so it was then that simultaneously with this development in the trade unions, there was also this call that there should be unity among the different groups, and the trade union as such, the Council of non-European Trade - Trade Unions because of its experience of representing different workers, played a role in this, bringing this - the people together because workers are workers, and so they - they - they could see the logic of unity because the - the very - the - the essence of trade union unity I mean meant that people can better their condition of life if they - if they look at things as workers would, therefore cut across racial barriers.

And so the Council of non-European Trade Unions had also a tremendous effect in bringing this unity together between the ANC, the - and the other liberation organisations, and I would say that the Communist Party also played a very important role in this respect, because there was - there was this link between it and the ANC and the APO and the Indian Congress, which also helped to bring about this merging, you see, and which then resulted in what was known as the Xuma, Dadoo, Naicker pact.

And I think what followed then of course was what one could see say, for instance, when we - especially in 1952 when the defiance of unjust laws (?) campaign was inaugurated, when we saw how different sections of the community could together defy unjust laws - of course most came mainly from the African, but there were a number of Coloured, Indian and whites who were also in this campaign, and this had an important effect in bringing people together, you see.

I was one of those who was on the council which led the defiance campaign, and we had dozens and dozens of meetings all over the country prior to the campaign started off, and shortly after the campaign was begun the government then put through a bill in parliament, which I think was the Criminal Laws Amendment Act - I think the whole idea behind it was that they wanted to crush this campaign and - and this Act was brought into force then, but there were also other factors - I mean there was a lot of provocation - there were some lives lost - and at some stage we decided that well, we should close the campaign, but it was about this time too when those of us who led the campaign were arrested - Mandela, Sisulu, Dadoo, myself and so on.

J.F. What year was this?

J.P. '52 - and of course then we were put on trial again, under the Suppression of Communism Act because....

J.F. In '52 (?)

J.P. Yes - that was very interesting because when we were on trial they were at pains to define what communism is, you see - I mean they had whole tomes (?) of books by Marx and Lenin and Stalin and so on, but found it very difficult to come to a definition because I mean this was the trial now to show that this whole thing was a conspiracy, this defiance of unjust laws, and that it was communist controlled, you see, and led.

J.P. And so of course their whole idea was to find that well, we as such were communists, and of course it was while this discussion in court was going on - their argument was going on - that the prosecutor was trying to - he was at pains to get to a correct definition, and I think the judge, whose name was Justice Rumpf - or Rempf, I think it was - said to him : Well, you mean that when the legislature (?) thought of the communism - of communism in its definition they - they wanted to make it a statutory offence - so he said : Well, that's right, and so therefore you could become a communist by simply being defined by the law as being such - whether you were a member of the Communist Party or not was - was immaterial - you could just be declared to be a communist, and so that's what followed, because as you can see, I mean whereas in the - at the time when the Suppression of Communism Act was - was put through parliament and became an Act, I mean there were elements who thought oh, yes, well, this will aim at bringing in the Communist Party and - to an end, whilst there were those who saw that well, this was aimed at everybody irrespective, you see, which was proved because when the Act came into force and they started going around, I mean they just about took in everybody, you see, right from communist to non-communist, even anti-communists (Laugh) for that matter, you see.

So that essentially I think the Act was there to show that anyone who is opposed to apartheid became a communist, you see.

J.F. And let me just take you back before we go further on in the '50s - as you were growing up did you - did your parents tell you you are a Coloured person?

J.P. No - no - no, I think we were made to feel that by our surroundings - we were sent to a Coloured school - there was even a time when I think - because there were problems for myself and I think also my brothers when we were sent to a Coloured school, that there is this strange thing among some Coloureds as such, if I may put it that way, that you are looked down upon if your parents were African, you see - in my case I think this thing was always there - I found it among my school mates, and there were always references made to me being from a kaffir father, you see, which I used to resist in its - because it - I resented it.

But if I had go home and saw my mother and I would talk to her about it, she would just say : You just carry on - I mean you know, you - you - you must fight for yourself - so I - no, this thing wasn't there, and in fact I think had my father lived, I would have grown up more attached to the African community than to any other, because my father's friends were all leaders from the ANC - I mean Dr. Xuma, Malema Maroka, Clements Kadali - oh, a number of other people - in fact my godfather was Bhud Mbeli, who was one of the general secretaries, I think, in 1917, 1919 - he became my godfather.

J.F. How do you spell the name?

J.P. B u d M b e l l e - Bud Isiah Mbelle, I think his name was, yes - he was my godfather, and I know that they had numerous meetings at our home - I saw them from time to time around there, and I have reason to believe that my father was a member of the ANC itself, so that had he lived, we would have remained in Sophiatown for as long as it, you know - we were allowed, and I - I don't think that we would have moved into the Coloured community after he had died.

J.P. You know, there - it was - there was an economic need why we should move into the Coloured community, you see - I mean it was a question of my mother finding work - she wouldn't have been so accepted in the white community, you know - we couldn't stay in Sophiatown because we lost our home, and so we had to make that move, you see.

So no, they - I wouldn't say that they encouraged this - they might have realised that well, yes, we have Coloured friends and Indian friends and African friends and all these came to our home - it was open - it was an open home, you see.

J.F. But once you moved to Doornfontein you became de facto part of the....

J.P. Yes, yes - one even felt that one had to hide one's identity in a way - not that it was really successful, because our family had become pretty well known, you know - I mean you'd always get snide references to, you know, that white woman who's married to a kaffir, you see, and so it was something that always hit back at me and my brothers, you see.

J.F. Do you think it politicised you - do you think that that treatment by Coloureds and whites made you more political, made you want to change the system, had a contribution factor - contributory factor?

J.P. I think it did and, you see, what's more, I think also, the fact that my mother sent me to Lovedale was also a very important thing in this respect, that there was this college - it had students from all over Africa - it had Indian students, Coloured students, students from Nyasaland - Malawi as it's now called - from Tanganyika - Tanzania as (Laugh) it's now known - Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, and it was - though there were limitations - I mean our coming together in this institution broad - helped to broaden our minds and we were just - we were students and, you know, we grew up with each other.

And I think it was after this experience too, coming back to Johannesburg and finding a job, and living in this community I - I was not then directly involved in any political organisation as such - I joined the rugby club (?) for instance, a Coloured rugby club named - called the Pioneers - and it's there too when I - we - when matches were arranged - I mean there were times when we would get a - a - a invitation to have a game with the African rugby club, and I would hear : Oh, well, Christ, are we going to play the kaffirs again - you see, and - and I opposed this kind of thing, you see, and said : Well, what's wrong - of course they would say : Well, you - he has to adopt that line, I mean after all, his father he was a kaffir, you see - so I think yes, in many ways this did play a role, but I think the - the experience which I got from how I think my father looked at things, his friends, and how my mother made me look at things because she - she - she - she put fight into me, you know, and eventually when I became involved there was no time when she - she discouraged me - I was very young.....

END OF SIDE TWO.

J.F. Let me ask you were you a member of the APM yourself - you're talking about it as....

J.P. Yes, for a brief period - that's up to the - I think somewhere around the '50s, but then I don't think I was very much engaged in its activity except for about a year or two, because I think it was after I'd left South Africa when the congress, the Coloured People's Congress was formed.

J.F. When did you leave South Africa?

J.P. '54.

J.F. So we've gotten up to '52 - you were in the trial round the defiance campaign?

J.P. Yea.

J.F. With Mandela?

J.P. Yes.

J.F. And what came out of that - were you sentenced or?

J.P. Ja, we were sentenced to nine months sentence suspended for two years.

J.F. And then what did you do?

J.P. I had found my - I had been - up till that time - up to somewhere in '53 I was working in the clothing industry, but a year before my banning I was appointed the full time official of the Garment Workers Union, and it was when I was an official of the Garment Workers Union that they notice of the ban were put on me.

J.F. What position did you hold?

J.P. I was chairman and an organiser.

J.F. And then....

J.P. And I also became - after J.B's banning I became president of the Council of non-European Trade Unions, a position which I held for two years- course you know, as people were banned, we succeeded them and so on - and then of course this language thing is - the only thing I - the only way I retained my interest in the language - or not interest but wanting to know something about the language was when I was at Lovedale I - I've always been very fond of singing, and I found myself virtually joining every group that sang there I mean - singing is a - something which is a - a wonderful activity among our people, you know, at home I mean, and you find this in almost all communities there, singing - they'll sing for any occasion and - and of course all our hymns - most of our hymns were sung in the various languages, so that I - I'm in a position today to sing in all these languages, and this is why I'm able to train choirs, you know, and groups to sing in the different languages, you see.

J.F. So in '50 - just tell me from '52 to when you left the country.

J,P. Then I was banned and I tried to find work, but it was impossible.

J.F. When were you banned, what year?

J.P. '53 - I - I couldn't find work at all, and eventually someone found me a job in the industrial council for the clothing industry, but a couple of months later they just said no, they couldn't have me there because there was this ban operating and the - the industrial council being what it is - it was a sort of a organisation that liaised between the union and the employers, and they felt no, I could not hold this position and so I was sacked, and then I found myself again on the streets.

J.P. And so this continued - I tried to open up a little factory, but it didn't work out, and so I found myself unemployed, and so that was '53, '54 October some friends got together and helped me to get out of the country - I spoke to some of my colleagues I mean - there was just nothing I could do - I mean we did not have the machinery that would assist any of those colleagues who'd been banned - we didn't have the machinery at the time - I mean if you were banned you were just banned and (Laugh) you had to find your own way, you see.

And well, I think my position was very critical because in the entire clothing industry I was well known - I was well known by employers as apart from all the workers, who had elected me to my position for 13 (?) consecutive years, you see, and so I'd go along to an employer and say : Well, you know, we'd like to have you for this (?) but you've got this ban over you, you know, it will make things bad - and that was it - so on the 6th. October, '54 I left the country and found myself in England.

But along with my politics, I mean I've always had these interest - interest in singing, so much so that one of my - one of the things I did do was to sing at our meetings and the songs which you hear me singing in my - the records I make with these different choirs and so on, and I was inspired by Paul Robeson, whom I'd read much about after hearing him singing from this film Showboat.

So I became known in South Africa as the Paul Robeson of South Africa (Laugh) - I had a few radio, as they called it then, sessions, but a few - I mean I did make a breakthrough in that respect - it wasn't much, but I mean in South African terms, when you got onto the radio in those years, I mean you had really got yourself somewhere.

And then I remember once when, by some strange way, I - I applied for a liquor licence, and it was granted, and I went to get my first supply of liquor and I saw this advertisement in the shop, of a radio competition by (buy) Old Dutch Beer, which was a new beer coming onto the market in South Africa, and it said : Join this competition, it's a radio competition, first - the winner of the first prize will get 500 pounds and a six months contract with Springbok Radio - so I just went along and joined - I had an audition and these chaps were very much taken up with me and thought I - I would make it, and so they just put me in - I - I think how they came to it was - these were guys who had been sent from England and they probably didn't know (Laugh) much about the conditions in South Africa (Laugh) and so just took me in as one of the competitors - I was the only black competitor, you see.

And so I joined in the preliminaries and it was done by popular acclaim, if - when people listen in they just send in a note or something to say that well, they like that artist, you see, and so at all these preliminaries I came top, top, top, and then eventually they - there was one night I think before the - yes, the semi-finals when all the sponsors were brought together to this big radio programme, this hall filled with the sponsors and some of the public, and it was when the sponsors saw me I - that - that look was enough to tell me well, this is it, but I was interviewed by the guy who was running the programme, Bob Ford, and he said : Fine, sing your song - what will you do if you get into the finals and so on.

And the next morning I was called and Bob Courtney, who was one of the organisers of the programme, said : My goodness, you did very badly last night, you're out.

J.P. And it was then as I was walking out, very downcast, that one of the engineers just beckoned me and said : Come here - said : He's a bloody liar, you - you're still on the top, but they couldn't have a black man to advertise their beer, you were (are) going to win (Laugh) - you're going to win - and so I was kicked out of that - he said to me : Go to England, you see - go to England, you - you - you have a future with your voice - and so I left, and then a couple of days later Bob Ford - no, Bob Courtney phoned me and said : Look, would you like to do a few jingles - I think this was a way of - he felt very guilty about it, you see - O.K., so I did a few jingles advertising Colgates Toothpaste (Laugh) which I think he thought he saw his - his conscience is being cleared by him giving me those few little things - I did Kilty Sweets (?) Colgate Toothpaste, and there was a refrigerator that had just come on the market - forgotten the name and - and that was it.

So that was the end of it, you see, so when I came to England I - I found employment in the clothing industry again - it was very difficult because my training in South Africa as a worker (working) in the clothing industry was very poor (Interruption)

J.F. Let me ask a few questions - you left in '54 and then when you came to England did you get involved politically - was there anything with regard to South Africa to (.....)

J.P. Ja - '54, yes, I was invited, you know, to speak at quite a number of meetings - this was mostly invitations from the trade unions, from the what was the forerunner of the liberation - what was it, the Movement of Colonial Freedom - the Labour Party and so on, so that - I'd say that's the kind of activity I was involved in - there wasn't very much of it, but it certainly, you know, was something I felt could be done and so I addressed meetings in quite a number of places.

But I think I became more involved around 1956, when there was this huge- this arrest of 156 people on treason - we then - or prior to that we formed what was known as the South African Freedom Association - ja, that was before '56 - it was a number of South Africans who came together who felt that we should do something about the situation - the ANC as such had not yet established its external mission, and so there were some of us who came together and we felt that well, we could do something about the situation, thereby forming what was then known as the South African Freedom Association.

It was - its - we had get togethers where we would have talks on various things, you know, concerning South Africa - we would send speakers out to wherever they were invited - some on TV, some on - on the radio and so on, Oxford, Cambridge - and then in '56 when 156 were arrested, we then about this time were thinking of the formation of the anti-apartheid movement, ja, which in itself meant much more - but of course this was for the British public, but we played our part in its development, you know.

And of course around '60 was about the time when the (.....) in Sharpeville, when the ANC sent out Tambo, I think with Dadoo, to establish a foreign - an external mission, as it's known today, so there was then this gradual build-up, you see, so that we established an office until such time - our first I don't think was - he was known as a rep, but our first ANC official here was a guy called Mendim Simung - you might have come across him, I don't know.

J.F. He's in Dar now.

J.P. Yes - who was followed by Raymond Kunene.

J.F. And were you working in Britain - were you full time in the office or?

J.P. No, no, I worked in the clothing industry, but gave all my spare time to this activity.

J.F. You were a cutter, did you say?

J.P. I was a cutter.

J.F. And you'd done that the whole time you'd been in Britain?

J.P. Yes, yes - as I said, my - my training in South Africa was very meagre - I thought I was a cutter until I got here (Laugh) and found I wasn't one, which meant I had to go to night school and further my education in that respect, you see, so that in the long run I - I became pretty skilled and ended up working for one of the fashion houses in London at a - quite a very good position, but I left it in '79.

J.F. And you retired or (.....)

J.P. Then I found employment with Soviet Weekly - I worked there for about five and a half years and then - but all along I've been doing this singing, you see, and I had formed a - a association with a group in Bremen (?) of about up to 100 people - I trained them to sing South African freedom songs, I....

J.F. Bremen in Germany?

J.P. Yes - and - and then as my name spread, I was invited to Holland - I worked with seven choirs there and we run many, many successful events there - I did a lot of radio, lot of TV in Germany there, and then I (was) invited to Sweden, and then last year I was invited to the States, where I formed a choir in St. Francis School (?) - so I retired two years ago - 18 months ago, and decided to make this my - well, it - it's a full time job, and it's link as part of the cultural activity with the ANC - in fact I'm a member of the cultural committee and so - and we are looking very impor - at this question of culture as a very, very important factor of course, you know, in our work, and so I'm fully involved in this now and lots and lots of work ahead of me.

J.F. Let me go back a bit - are you married?

J.P. I was married - I have three children - I'm not married now - I have a common law wife.

J.F. A what?

J.P. My wife - she's my wife by common law, you see - in other words, we didn't go through the process of a marriage, but I'm married - I was married to Mar, my daughter - Mary's mother - we were married for ten years or something like that.

J.F. And was your first and your second wife Coloured girl (.....)

J.P. My first wife was Coloured, my second wife was Coloured, and my third wife is German (Laugh)

J.F. And you came by yourself to the UK?

J.P. Yes, yes, my mother and - my mother and son followed me some months later, yes.

J.F. During your trade union years was the fact that you're Coloured an issue- did you work with mainly Coloured people, did you work with other African people, Indian people, white people?

J.P. I worked mostly (Laugh) - in fact my first job was in a - a factory where Afrikaaner girls were employed - it - the - the - the early beginnings of the clothing industry in - in the Transvaal, Johannesburg, was mainly from the Afrikaaner community, so that my first job was working for a firm which had a Jewish employer and had mainly Afrikaaner girls - there were a number of playwhites as well (Laugh)

J.F. What do you mean by that?

J.P. Playwhites, Coloured girls who played white, you see, but there again, you see, they did this also for economic reasons - I mean they - they tended to think that it - it gave them better employment and better wages, you see.

J.F. Can you tell me a little bit about - just finish up with a few questions now - how did those Afrikaaner girls deal with you and how did you with them - what was it like - did they see you as a Coloured - was that an obstacle for them - how did you deal with them - how was the working relationship?

J.P. Ja - in this firm where I worked for a few years, there was always a - a strict - there was a line barring you from any close relationship whatever, and it was kept that way - your relationship, if any, was one where you worked in the factory and you saw to their needs as far as work was concerned - out in the street you were nobody - in other words, if you saw a person you worked with outside in the street, they didn't see you, and for that matter, though you did too, you also would not see that person.

J.F. That was fellow workers?

J.P. Yes.

J.F. What about in the union - were there Afrikaaner women in that union?

J.P. Yes.

J.F. Did you work with Solly Sachs?

J.P. Yes, yes.

J.F. So surely they saw you as helping them?

J.P. Well, it's a peculiar thing about, you know, the way things go in South Africa and, as I say, when I joined the union I became a member of the Coloured branch.

J.P. It was one union, but because the way things work, Solly had established the Garment Workers Union, and initially it was based on membership who came from the Afrikaaner community, you see, mostly women, and at some stage there was an influx when they - I suppose when they could not get enough white labour for the industry - there was then an influx of Coloureds and Indians, you see, coming into the industry.

Their numbers were growing, and so around 1939, '40 they felt that they'd have to do something about providing some sort of union membership, and so they called a meeting and established the No. 2 branch - now Solly's attitude was that because the Afrikaaners were essentially very racist in their outlook, you couldn't get them to sit at the same table to discuss their problems which were mutual to themselves, and so the No. 1 branch would meet and discuss the same problems as the No. 2 branch, but separately, you see.

We then reached a stage where we felt that since they professed that trade unions looked after the interest of all workers irrespective, why Solly and his colleagues do they call themselves socialist or whatever and in fact are carrying out a policy which means that we are apart - so that we found ourselves in the (?) No. 2 Branch actually waging a campaign to bring the union together, but there was - they - they wouldn't have it because the feeling - and this was expressed by Solly Sachs - was that if we did so the Afrikaaners would resent it and it would split the union, you see - of course who would split from who is difficult to say - I mean there are - I think one will have to go more deeply into this, because if you've read about Solly Sachs, he was always one of those who was regarded as a - by the nationalists and so forth as a very, very communist, in spite of the fact that he had been expelled from the Communist Party, you see.

And so this problem was there, and the only time we met together was to discuss a thing which we tried to bring them to agree to, and that was to create one union, but they wouldn't have it, you see - and so this continued - this continued until such time as the nationalist forces were getting stronger and stronger, as is evident from the fact that in 1950 the Nationalist Party was - came to power, you see, and they - they stood a better chance now of taking the union over, because they had this strong influence among the Afrikaaner girls, you see.

I wouldn't say all of them were anti-Sachs, but quite a large number, and so what Sachs did then was to change the constitution, which would allow all members, all workers in the industry to vote for a - a - an executive, which would still have - be separate but - and it would affect him mostly, because as general secretary - whereas we did not vote for him before, now this constitution would enable us to vote for him - he knew that we as blacks, Coloureds, Indians now would vote for him, because we realised that this is the choice that we would have to make as against the nationalists if they put somebody against him, you see.

And so he changed the constitution, providing for a sort of wider representation from the - the blacks with the whites, you see, and so a more coming together, you see, and this is at a time (?) when things were now at a - at a head, you see - but that still did not mean that even though we could come to joint meetings at some stages when we had the national conferences, we still had meetings in halls where we kept our distance and they theirs, you see, very - it's - I think it's something will have to be discussed more at length at some other stage.

J.F. What do you mean by that?

J.P. I haven't much time left now.

J.F. In a very brief way, on the shop floor it's one thing, but even in the union setting those Afrikaaner girls, as much as they knew that the union and Solly Sachs was this Jewish white guy who they saw as communist, and you who were a Coloured guy who they saw as a threat, they knew that you were doing them - helping them?

J.P. That's right, yes.

J.F. But they still couldn't accept you?

J.P. No - it's a strange thing that there were lots of contradictions - there was a dispute in 1943, I think, when I was working in a certain factory, and we were all locked out by the employers - one day we came to work and the - some 400 factories throughout Johannesburg were just closed, and the employers said that the only way they could deal with this question of the dispute between them and Solly Sachs was to shut the factories and to get rid of him, or something to that effect, you see.

I'd been working for this firm for a number of years and though, as I say, the - the - working with these Afrikaaner girls meant that we kept our distance from each other, especially in the street and socially, you know, in the factory there was a kind of link, but only insofar as work was concerned so, you know - they got to know of my involvement in the union (Laugh) and they couldn't understand what the problem was about - they were concerned about their jobs, being locked out of work, you see, and I was busy running in between the factory and the union office and so forth, and one of the girls said they wanted to select a shop steward- they found that the one they had was useless, an Afrikaaner girl - and someone said : Well, there's Phillips, let's make him our shop steward (Laugh) - this contradiction, you see - and so a message was sent across to our office, you see, the union office, they say they want Phillips to act for those girls in South African Shirt and Underwear Manufacturers, and the union official, Solly Sachs and his colleagues turned it down - they said : No, you must appoint a white person.

Another time there was - it was decided that there should be a cutters association - you see, cutters had problems which were special to themselves, and it was felt that certain - they should make more provision for them to learn the trade in a better and more organised way, instead of just putting them in a factory and you learn to cut and you had no technical education, you see, so the cutters association was formed, and most of the cutters in the industry then were Afrikaaners, you see, and so the men - these men were brought together with a sprinkling of women and a sprinkling of Coloureds, about half a dozen or so, and Indians.

And this meeting was called and by some - I don't know how it was arranged - we all came together, and when these men sat in this hall with us, the majority, I would say, of about 100, 80 percent were white Afrikaaners - we discussed the question of - of forming this association and it was all agreed - I participated in - participated in the discussion - and so they said O.K,, we - let's form the association, and they said : O.K., we have this - our constitution, secretary, chairman, so - someone, an Afrikaaner got up and he says : I nominate that man - and they said who - he said : Phillips (Laugh) - so I was appointed unanimously at this meeting - Solly Sachs, being the general secretary of the union, was just ipso facto the - the secretary of the cutters association - we took it (?) and that was - and then we formed a small executive committee

J.P. Solly was away and returned a few days later and saw the minutes of the meeting, saw that I was chairman, called me to the office and he said : You shouldn't of done that - I said : What - he said : You shouldn't of become the chairman of the (.....) - you should of let an Afrikaaner become the chairman - I said, But they elected me and it was unanimous - he wouldn't have it - but this is something we'll have to discuss very specially because it - it's - it's a very wide problem, you see, and it's something which I was in dispute with Solly for a - over a long, long period.

J.F. I don't know when I'll be able to on this trip, so just in a brief way is it something that's worth bringing out - do you think it's one of those controversies that....

J.P. Well, I'm writing about my experiences, you know, and certainly this is going to come out, because it's a very, very - it - it's one of those questions where the whole of the trade union movement - I mean we had a white working class and a black working class, you know, and the leaders among the whites, though they call themselves socialists and whatever, adopted these positions which prevented blacks from attaining better working conditions in industry as a whole.

If one looks at the - the 1922 strike and what followed, one can see what special arrangements were made between the government and the white workers to give them a special status, but when they accepted the special status they had to sacrifice the principles of trade unionism in that they have to say : Well, we'll form a white trade union movement, you see - and so the print unions or whatever, the mineworkers union, you know, the metal workers, the engineering, all became white unions and excluded - as I said in my earlier statement, I could have learned to become a tradesman in the steel workers union, but when the union came along I (?) said : No, these are jobs for whites.

J.F. But those were reactionary whites.

J.P. True.

J.F. But what about Solly Sachs?

J.P. Well, they compromised on these issues, you see - they compromised.

J.F. What, the progressive white trade union....

J.P. Yes, to a certain extent they compromised on - on these issues.

J.F. But how did Solly argue that when you were elected?

J.P. Oh, he argued it because he felt that the - the Afrikaaners had to be nursed into a certain position where they would come to accept blacks, but when, that was the question - and I think it was disproved, because as we saw the politics of South Africa and the direction which it was going to, things were not getting better, they were getting worse, and when it moved to the period in 1950 when the Nationalist Party came to power, you see, and what we see following that to this day, we see that things have got progressively worse - they've never - there was no such a thing as this kind of reform taking place, so there was a sort of re - reform attitude that Solly had in his - his mind that well, things could be better, but it will take time, you see.

J.F. So you think it would have been better if you'd just taken that position and moved them faster?

J.P. Well, this is why eventually the South African Congress of Trade Unions was formed, because we had seen this before, that the whites were not going to do anything as such, and when I talk about whites I'm talking about the - that element which felt that everything must just be kept white.

J.F. But that wasn't Solly Sachs, was it?

J.P. No - no, and this is where their (Laugh) - it - it's - it's one of those things, you see, which made his position quite different to those of us who were in the liberation movement - Solly adopted a very special position - he felt that the time would come when the Afrikaaners would open their minds, you know, and that they would actually lead to change in things in South Africa.

J.F. And what did you feel, having worked on the shop floor with them?

J.P. No - no, we - I felt that in order to advance ourselves....

J.F. As blacks?

J.P. As - no, as workers, we would have to group ourselves together and by the force of our - our numbers and our strength and our politics and our links with the movement in general, this is how we would come to be respected - now when the SACTU was formed they didn't say this is a movement, a trade union movement for black workers - it had no bars in its constitution, you see, and much as it was an organisation which was essentially a black organisation, its first president in fact was a white man, Levy, Leon Levy, you see.

J.F. But are you saying that you felt you should have taken up the position that those Afrikaaners voted you into at the time?

J.P. I think so.

J.F. But how - what about when you said to me that those people wouldn't even look at you in the street?

J.P. Well, this is what I'd say is a contradiction, you see, that here are people who would probably - I mean it was a small group of people, probably more enlightened, you know, than the ordinary rank and file, if I may put it that way.

J.F. Of the whites?

J.P. Yes, you see, and who thought well, here is a man who can sit and talk with us as equal, you see - I wouldn't say that totally in, or even politically, you see, but at least - and I thought here was an opportunity where we might be able to break those barriers by these little links, you see - Solly had that opportunity as well, because at one time he was regarded as a very - he was a hero, you know - I mean the - the - one of the things about the garment workers union it - it had a very strong movement and a - and it - it developed a very strong leadership there, people like Joanna Cornelius, Anna Scheepers - people like Betty du Toit, who came into the movement and - and who stood very, very firmly on this question of - of developing the - the - the garment workers union.

J.F. But Betty du Toit moved a lot differently than Joanna Cornelius and....

J.P. Yes, of course, yes indeed.

J.F. Maybe someone could argue that the movement of Cornelius and Scheepers showed where Afrikaaners were going to ultimately go?

J.P. Yes, yes.

J.F. I'm asking you, or do you think not?

J.P. Well, I think it's proved, yes - I mean Betty stuck to her guns - have you seen her?

J.F. No.

J.P. You should meet her - she's blind now you know, yes - Betty stuck to her guns and is still there and in fact has written a book.

J.F. I've read her book.

J.P. Well, I mean she's one of those exceptions.

J.F. But the rule is Cornelius and Scheepers....

J.P. That's right, yes.

J.F. I'm saying how does that fit into you saying you should've been elected, you should've worked with them - are you saying that socially they'll still reject you, but on the workplace when their jobs are at stake they'll stick with you even though you're Coloured because their economic future is there - are you saying the trade unions must be non-racial, even if it means people being put into a position that they don't really like?

J.P. Well, I don't think people can be pushed into a position that they don't like, but I think if you make them aware of - you see, this is - was the thing about the garment workers union, it never politicised, it didn't - they - they - they did not politicise the workers - they made them just think in terms of bread and butter, unlike us, who felt that we didn't even fight for bread and butter issues but wider issues, politics that comes into it, and this is why the trade union movement is represented by us has always had its links, very close links with the broad movement as a whole, which is different to the position established by Solly, you see - his was something quite different.

I mean if he established - after being expelled from the party and then formed what was known as the Independent Labour Party, that's another story, you see - and his appeal was that this Independent Labour Party would make a special dent among his people and - and using his union as such, but it didn't, it - it failed, you see - so I think that where people could've tried at least to do something - and I think in this respect I - I - when I was (.....) saying I was elected as chairman, and where these workers wanted me to be their shop steward, an attempt should have been made to try it out and to just reject it outright and to see what would happen, you see, but initially in the whole experience of the development of the trade union movement in South Africa, none of these thing have been really tried out, you see - in fact what happened was that these prejudices were allowed to build up and up and up, so that if at all we had to look at them again, it had gone too far, as we've seen now, you see - what's happened in South Africa, you see.

J.P. The approaches made by other people were that we must not have a confrontation between workers and workers, but let's talk, and this is what we were aiming at, and this is why the SACTU was formed - let's talk with each other, we are workers, you see - but then it had gone too far, and this is why the position is that it is today, is that the minds of the whites have been so completely warped, so that even if you have COSATU today, look what happens - COSATU is a black force - and though we know that there are a number of whites who are playing a part in its development, and it's very important that they should, but basically if we look at the - the rank and file, we - we can't see this, not yet.

J.F. Among the whites (?)

J.P. Not - not among the whites, you see - I mean you take the very fact that this chap Ari Polis has become a member of parliament, a man who says all blacks are baboons.

J.F. Was he Conservative Party....

J.P. Yes, he's come in on - the - this so-called right wing, all blacks are baboons - he comes from the mineworkers union, you see, and here is a man in the mine - white mineworkers union, and there's a black mineworkers union, but (.....) - and these members are (Laugh) working closely with these black members in the same situations, you see, and can you imagine - Botha is of the same mentality - I don't see any difference between him and Botha, you see, because this whole concept of the superiority of the white South African is - is something which is so closely linked up with their education, with their church, that it's going to be difficult to just.....

END OF SIDE ONE.

J.P. .... the ANC is there - much as we didn't think of things being changed by our programme as we have it now, you know, the armed struggle, I can only see that this change will come about through the way things develop from the way we push it.

J.F. Did you feel part of things when you were with the African mineworkers - you were a minority, being Coloured?

J.P. No, no, no, because with - within the Council of non-European Trade Unions here I came to meet people who looked at me without saying that well, you are Coloured or whatever - I mean we had already adopted certain positions in our lives - I mean I had J.B. Marks, Dan Tlome, Moses Kotane, David Gosane - oh, so many people I'd come to work with - Yusef Dadoo, Eli Weinberg....

J.F. So you truly felt....

J.P. .... Bram Fischer.

J.F. You didn't feel anyone saw you as a Coloured?

J.P. Not in the - not among those I was working with - I mean it was always there I mean in life, you know (Laugh) - we had our meetings, we went back to our ghettoes, the whites went back to Parktown, if I may say so.

J.P. We went to Doornfontein, the blacks went to Soweto or Western Native Township, but we came together - we pioneered this development - I met Nelson and Tambo and Sisulu - we were all young men in this thing and we were growing together - just the other day I met Mahlana for the first time in England - I mean I hadn't seen him since I left South Africa - Ndado Mahlana, you see - now we were all young men in this struggle at the earlier stages, you see.

J.F. But tell me, why do you think it is that the Indian Congress was very strong, the ANC was very strong - you even had the Congress of Democrats of whites, which - there are very few whites in South Africa - it's the minority, but still it did a lot of work - people say that the Coloured People's Congress or initially SACPO was just not as strong a body - why do you think that was?

J.P. I think a lot has to do with perhaps culture, traditions and identity - I don't think the Coloured people as such, from the point of view of the impact of the - their living together, their social lives, the - and the way of life, could identify I mean - they even were - had difficulties which they imposed on themselves by their - this quirky idea of being better Coloured than other Coloureds, you see, so I mean it's a - it's one of the questions that can be looked into, and this is why when at one stage I was introduced to a meeting as coming from the Coloured community, I said : No, I'm not from the Coloured community, I am from the - I'm from the South Africa that I would like to see as - where there is - this kind of thing does not exist - and I couldn't see myself coming from that community which in fact I had virtually left to work with those people who I knew and thought was working for progress.

J.F. What do you mean or knew?

J.P. The - the - the people I'd named, like Tambo and J.B. and so forth and so on, you see - because we have through our numbers, through our work together, we have brought about change, and it's evident every day in what's happening in South Africa - yes, I think the Coloured people are now learning and - but this has been an accumulation of experience - they are now learning to - in fact the - they're saying that they regard themselves now as black - the question of being Coloured is irrelevant, you see, and this is very important because immediately they do that, or when they do that, they are beginning to identify with something which is real, with the real way of life, and all these barriers that made them a people apart because (Laugh) that is what they are and were, they're bringing them together.

I mean I've lived with families who sent - Coloured families - I mean you'd have white children and black children from the same father and mother, with the white children going to a white school and the blacks going to a black school, you see, and if you question those parents, why did they do that (?) - well, we - it's better, it's - it's good for our children because they'll have a better way of life - a - a lot of it has to do with economics, you see, and so on and parents do look for the best (?) but the resentment it creates, you see - and you'd find too among the Coloured people that there is a certain acceptance that when you creep into the whites you are bettering yourself, and so they keep quiet about it - the grapevine says you must forget about that, you see, so that today there's this integration that's taken place in a big, big, big way in South Africa, where thousands, tens of thousands of blacks and whites have merged into one white community.

J.F. You mean playwhites (?)

J.P. Yes, and have merged with the whites.

J.F. In a way that you wouldn't support?

J.P. Not that it will do much, but this is what has happened - it's an historical fact, you see - I mean I've - my playmates whom I grew up with in Sophiatown, who - who - who succeeded in becoming white, have completely disappeared into the white community, and like myself, they came from African and white and - and so forth - completely disappeared, can't find them.

J.F. To the Coloureds back when you were small and they could see you had an African father, and you were talking about how they rejected you, but when you were an adult when no-one by looking at you would know, did they still make a judgment about you, did they - could they somehow tell that you were not a Coloured who came from generations of Coloured and called yourself Coloured - did you feel rejected by Coloureds - did you feel part of Coloureds?

J.P. Well, here again, you see, you know, your colour, your skin colour, your hair, your features (Laugh) plays a part, and with the Coloureds you had better hair and you had not so good hair, so if your hair was curly and your - you see my nose is an African nose, you see, if I may put it that way, so the nose is not quite right, doesn't fit into the what's its name (?) - the ears a bit - and that hair comes from - you know, although it's a bit on the curly side, but it - it - it's a bit better than being curly like African hair - all these things played a - a part in their way of thinking, it - it - it became a kind of a culture.

There was a photographer who became quite famous in Johannesburg who used to take whole families, mothers and fathers, and he tinted the photographs and made them white (Laugh) and I used to - I'd see this and I knew these families, and I'd come into a home and I'd see mommy is white and poppy is white (Laugh) and I knew their mothers and fathers, you see, and I'd say : How did this transformation take place (Laugh) you see, and they used to tint, and he made a lot of money, you see - so this was something that played a great part in their life - I mean even among certain - some of the black communities, you found that some of them moved into the Coloured area, blacks who want to play Coloured.

J.F. But how did the Coloureds regard you?

J.P. Well, as I said, I mean in my earlier years and - I was rejected - but when I grew up I - I could deal - when I grew up I could deal with this politically, you see, so it meant nothing.

J.F. But they did continue to reject you?

J.P. Oh, yes, some of them, yes.

J.F. And that was more for overt political reasons?

J.P. Sure, they said some of - I mean new - news came back to me that well, I - I adopted my position, my - because I came from kaffir, you see - oh, his father was a kaffir, so that's the reason why he should be playing that role, you see.

J.F. Do your kids see themselves as Coloured, or grandchildren?

J.P. Well, I - my daughter, the one who's just walked in, she's born here - she's from Andrea, German mother - well, our - I'm trying to make them look at life as I've seen it and I - my - my - my daughter Mary, who comes from my other wife, the same thing there - my son, who was born in South Africa, he's 42 years of age - he's a person and that's it - and to a certain extent I think, whilst they might not be able to express themselves politically, but when we come together and we have - our home has all people coming to it - they relate, and this is how I look at it and how it should be.

J.F. Are there any.....

J.P. That was a song for the defiance of unjust laws campaign and it says (.....) - Zulu, Xhosa and Sothos, but meaning all people unite and make South Africa your land.

J.F. What's (.....) - how do you spell that?

J.P. (.....) - T h l a n g a n a n i.

J.F. And what's - is - what's the name of the song again?

J.P. Sikalela - S i k a l e l a - it (?) says we cry for the return of our country.

J.F. Sikalela - what comes after that?

J.P. Sikalela (.....) - we cry - (.....) - we cry for our country - Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, Thlanganani, Zulu - you see, by using just the three groups, Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, that in fact covers all those people who were involved in the campaign, whether they be Coloured, because Coloured now became part of it, Indians became part of it, you see, and so we said Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, Thlanganani, all people unite for a better South Africa, you see, and this to me expresses what I think is our idea of what a good South Africa - we have one on the Freedom Charter - it's sung in English - I'm owrking on it at the moment, hoping to turn out a little book about these songs, because all these songs, if one looks at them, plays a part in our history - you know, you can take it from the founding of the ANC, you see - songs we sing against Botha, where Botha, watch out, the black man's coming to get you.

END OF INTERVIEW.