

# The Alan Paton Centre & Struggle Archives



## RECORDING THE ANTI-APARTHEID STRUGGLE IN KWAZULU-NATAL

Oral History Project of the Alan Paton Centre,  
University of KwaZulu-Natal,  
Pietermaritzburg Campus

Interview with Mike Hickson  
conducted by Christopher Merrett  
on 29 July 1999  
in Pietermaritzburg

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**KWAZULU-NATAL ORAL HISTORY PROJECT**

**INTERVIEW WITH MIKE HICKSON,  
CONDUCTED BY CHRISTOPHER MERRETT  
ON 29 JULY 1999.**

**(Subject: AURORA CRICKET CLUB)**

**(‘M’ shall signify the Interviewer and ‘H ’ the Interviewee)**

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**M:** **AURORA, the challenge of non-racial cricket to the apartheid state of the mid 1970s -** these are some questions that were posed to Mike Hickson, by the Interviewer, Christopher Merrett, on the 29<sup>th</sup> of July 1999, at the University of Natal. Well, the first question is how did the match played at Storrays? In April, 1973, between a White and a mixed team - how did that come about - what were the circumstances under which you decided to play that match.

**H:** Well, we’d met up, you know, through my meeting Roy and he getting his guys together and I was in contact with Solly Fisher and through him he’d got hold of the legal guys, so Jurgen? and Chris Nicholson, people like that. So we had a team together and we did a few meetings - that sort of thing. And we thought the ‘varsity guys would be the most likely to play us - and it turned out they were. We spoke to Tony Croudace, who was the Captain, I think Ken Elliot, who is the Headmaster of College - I think he played in that game - I’m not sure because old Flockian....so we put that game on - I don’t - yes we had - I’m not sure if we’d applied already to the ‘Maritzburg Cricket Union. I suspect we had actually. And also it was early, it was April - I think it was in September, wasn’t it?

**M:** Well, there was a match in April.

**H:** Not an AURORA game.

**M:** Not an AURORA game, but there was an attempt to have multi-racial - what ?

**H:** No, what had happened - I had spoken to Andrew Fisher and he had mentioned somewhere

1 along the line that a bunch of Law Students - they played another bunch of Law Students -  
2 or something like that - that was the game. That was one of the things that in fact sparked  
3 off the AURORA idea. Okay? Is that what you are referring to? Ja you'd have to talk to  
4 Andrew Fisher about that - to get more details. But I remember talking to him, I met Roy  
5 Bunwarie and talking to Andrew, they had this game and then talking to Jimmy Corrigan and  
6 those guys - that clicked in and that's really held up the idea of a club comes into it I don't  
7 know too much of the details, but it was a bunch of Law Students anyway.

8 M: Once you'd decided that you wanted actually to form a club, and which at that stage probably  
9 didn't have to - didn't have a name, was it purely a Pietermaritzburg development or was  
10 there any attempt to involve people from further afield, like from Durban?

11 H: We had spoken to Churton Collins, or Andrew Fisher got hold of Churton Collins and Chris  
12 Nicholson, who'd both been at university here and in England and had recently gone to  
13 Durban. It was the mainly the legal connection there that we wanted and we didn't know  
14 them, and I'm not sure if they took part in that earlier game - they might have. But apart  
15 from that, not initially. Initially then it was all 'Maritzburg - apart from our students?

16 M: Now by June 1973, you had made your first application to join the second division of the  
17 MCU, can you remember any details, or what passed between what was to become a rural  
18 cricket club and the MCU at that stage? Who? the sort of initial contacts were?

19 H: Yes, we were worried that we would be turned down on a technicality, like had happened to  
20 College Old Boys in Transvaal, you're aware of all that?

21 M: Yes.

22 H: ...that stuff? It was '78 ? that the United Cricket Board was involved in that - so he could tell  
23 you some stuff. So we did all our homework and got the team, the club ready and that sort  
24 of thing. We had lots of meetings about you know where we were going, what we were  
25 trying to do and got that all ironed out. And then Andrew Fisher and I went to see the MCU,  
26 Andrew phoned Fred Palmer, who was the Vice-President, the President was overseas at the  
27 time. And we went to him, and do want to test that's working? Okay? And we went and sat  
28 in his office - and this is just Andrew and myself and said we want to put a team in, what  
29 were the requirements? And went through all the different financial and other requirements

1 and had it absolutely down pat - wrote it all down, and then Annette Levy? said 'Well, it's  
2 a mixed team.' At which time he virtually fell off his chair, in a panic trying to phone the  
3 President. I remember that, he virtually fell off his chair, and that was that, we had given him  
4 the written stuff. And then we waited and then had a meeting with Neville Markham, when  
5 he was back and at some stage, a bit later on we put in the official application, backed by the  
6 required deposit and all the other stuff - the list of office bearers and I remember going off  
7 to the UBS building, with Chris Davis and a few others to do it and about four guys in police  
8 tracksuits, very obviously walking after us and following us - just letting us know that they  
9 were around, not saying anything but staying about ten yards behind us. We stopped and  
10 they stopped and we moved and they went. When we came out of Neville's office they were  
11 still there - we didn't tell him because we thought he would get rather nervous. But we did  
12 tell him later on. Ja, so we handed it in there and that was that.

13 M: At that stage did you give any thought to affiliating to the other side - to the Natal Cricket  
14 Board of Control?

15 H: I'm sure it was discussed in those initial meetings - it must have been. But we wanted to -  
16 to - you know I think they'd had someone to play in there in the past - well certainly Tony  
17 Davis from Kings, played. Slash Esprey ? played for Natalent? And obviously it didn't get  
18 much publicity and we did want to find out what about - find out whether the White  
19 Administrators were hiding behind the skirts of the Government, saying that we want mixed  
20 cricket but we're not allowed to and that's the issue that we wanted to expose. So you know  
21 that was really the issue that unified us about going into the Wanderers? To find out whether  
22 they were ? once and for all. Ja, that was really something.

23 M: Okay, now this was cricket club of South Africa that was set up by Andre Brangs? And  
24 Dennis Gansey? - was it - what was the nature of the dialogue between you and them?

25 H: Okay, well we had the Natal Black Captain, a local, managing our team, and we thought  
26 why not take a flyer and see if we can - if there's some prominent White cricketers who  
27 might want to get involved. So we went to Andrew Fisher, organised a meeting with Andre  
28 Bruyns, who was the Natal White Captain. And we went down to meet him in Durban and  
29 Dennis Gamsey? Was there and they'd obviously done a lot of caucusing around this issue -

1 there was a lot of people. And we would have, I think, you know we were quite naive - we'd  
2 all get together type thing and we were partly out in Durban in the meeting and they really  
3 pushed the hard line about you know 'the Government's not going to allow that, we know  
4 that.' And a better idea would be withdraw our application to affiliate, which was going to -  
5 could ruin South African cricket and to form this other club which wouldn't affiliate to  
6 anyone - the Cricket Club of South Africa, which would be run like the Elvis Presley fan club  
7 was the word they used - it would be a correspondence cricket club and once a year we'd  
8 stage a big match - a multi-racial match and we'd pay Mike and pay Barry - that's Mike  
9 Proctor and Barry Richards, to come and play in it and when everybody was used to the idea  
10 then multi-racial cricket could take off. And most of our delegation were taken in by this  
11 thing and on the way out I stopped my car and said to the guys 'Listen, let's go and talk about  
12 this.' And we went off to the only multi-racial restaurant in the place, in Durban that's the  
13 famous Goodwill Lounge in Grey Street. So we went there and had curry and some beers  
14 and talked about it and we decided then 'no we wouldn't accept it.' And I don't know,  
15 phoned them to tell them that - whether the cricket club ever was actually formed, I don't  
16 know. But they had in the meantime gone to the Sunday Times and there was a big splash  
17 in the Sunday Times and all that, but, I don't think the club was ever formed. But it was  
18 definitely that type of - to divert us into a safe and useless position. And that was it - there  
19 was no more dialogue between us. After that. They weren't interested in sticking their necks  
20 out and affiliating - time for affiliation. I know that instinct was ?

21 M: Okay, now obviously you had a lot of contact with the MCU, but there was any direct contact  
22 with - between AURORA and the NTSACA, or the Natal Cricket Association?

23 H: No, you know that was the right procedure. I think they were all right in doing that - and  
24 leaving the guys in 'Maritzburg? So we had none at all. I mean we met the guys and Derek  
25 Dowling I met ..

26 M: Ben Wallis or?

27 H: No, well, Derek Dowling was the President in Natal and the first time I met him was in 1990  
28 - after unification.

29 M: There was some suggestion of pre-season friendlies with standard and university and some

- 1 of the other clubs..
- 2 H: Yes..
- 3 M: Did that ever come about?
- 4 H: We played that first game against 'varsity and then a weekend or two later we played, ah yes,
- 5 we played two non-league sides, we played Caversham, at Michaelhouse; we put two teams
- 6 on. By then, you know, people were coming forward and saying they wanted to be part of
- 7 this, you know - sticking their finger up to the Government. And we only put twenty-two
- 8 people on the field - and another game at Kloof, against the Crickets. So those were two
- 9 non-league sides.
- 10 M: Right.
- 11 H: Ja, I don't know if we even tried to get league matches before ? I don't know if we even
- 12 tried.
- 13 M: There is some mention in the newspaper about the possibility of matches, it sounds as if they
- 14 didn't actually happen.
- 15 H: Ja, I can't remember if we approached anybody, I don't think so actually? I think was
- 16 probably enough for us. These three games just to test the waters - see if we were going to
- 17 be baton charged or what you know?
- 18 M: Ja sure. And then there was a possibility of a match with the Rhodesian Stragglers...
- 19 H: Ah, yes. Yes...
- 20 M: ...which never came about.
- 21 H: Yes, no, they chickened out, ja.
- 22 M: They chickened out?
- 23 H: Ja, there was some relative for the ?? And I remember ...sorry (The telephone rings).
- 24 H: Okay, okay, so, ja, they were touring Natal and I think they do that regularly and were going
- 25 to have a game and then some pressure was put on them - I'm not quite sure what.
- 26 M: Well, I think it came from the very top...
- 27 H: I think it might have been to do with future permits into South Africa and that sort of thing,
- 28 ja.
- 29 M: Ja, ja.

- 1 H: Somebody had given them a wink and ...intimidation and stuff.
- 2 M: There is a reference to the fact that Vorster took an interest..
- 3 H: Oh right..
- 4 M: ... and personally decreed that this wouldn't come about.
- 5 H: Right, okay. So I think Andrew Fisher - I must set up a meeting with him if you like..
- 6 M: Ja, thanks.
- 7 H: ...because he'll remember stuff I don't remember.
- 8 M: That's great. What about Voortrekker and the Police? Was - did you have any - you didn't
- 9 have any contact with them? I know ...
- 10 H: No...
- 11 M: ..problems arose subsequently with them, but you didn't have any contact...
- 12 H: No...
- 13 M: ...with them before you started playing in the league.
- 14 H: No, no, that was MEC, UC was ?
- 15 M: How did AURORA react to the news that the MCU had applied for a permit for its officials
- 16 to attend - for your officials to attend the MCU AGM?
- 17 H: That would be the one - what - in sort of July in '73. I didn't know that - nobody ever told
- 18 me anything. And that's the truth.
- 19 M: Well that's - again I've picked this up from press reports - that you know you were going to
- 20 go to the AGM so they thought they had to get permission...
- 21 H: I never saw that in the news...
- 22 M: ..for you guys to...
- 23 H: I never saw that in the press. (The telephone rings again).
- 24 M: What was your view of Piet Koornhof? What sort of feelings did you have about him?
- 25 H: He was ? That's it. No feeling of warmth. When the guys went up to meet him, and came
- 26 back - there was no feeling of warmth, he was the enemy?
- 27 M: Were you aware of the fact that in the Afrikaans Press there was certain - there was
- 28 diversions of opinion over Government Policy and how that might affect you?
- 29 H: Ja - it was the Editor of - I don't know, Beeld or something like that - the Sunday paper, who

- 1 again, through Andrew Fisher, there was some connection. And he came to meet us and sort  
2 of offered to be some sort of intermediary with the Government and this and that and we said  
3 to him 'Well, look, you can persuade people if you like, we're happy, but we're not getting  
4 involved in any political movements, or newspapers or anything like that. If you want to do  
5 it - great.' Ja. So we - I think he was about the only one was - I don't think there were any  
6 other Afrikaans papers...
- 7 M: I think there was a Nat, an NP, who offered his services or something and I think, I remember  
8 correctly, he said he didn't want to ? to the politicians basically, this was a cricketing matter  
9 and ...
- 10 H: Ja, ja - was he Ned Pienaar? I think he was the Editor of that paper. I forget the name ..
- 11 M: It's in my article here - which I -I'll go through it, ja, okay. At that stage how did you feel,  
12 I mean this was the early stages of the - international isolation - how did the people who  
13 founded AURORA feel about South Africa's isolation?
- 14 H: No, you know - we were in favour of it and we were going for broke on this thing and it was  
15 the one strength we had behind us, ja.
- 16 M: So, already at that stage, this was a major factor in the struggle..?
- 17 H: Ja, that was the only reason that the Government might allow it to go ahead, and why the  
18 White Cricket bodies had to take our application seriously, it wasn't because of that thing?  
19 Ja, no, definitely, you know, there were - Gopaul Manikum had been in contact with Sam  
20 Ramsamy, who - they'd I think studied together or something like that. Peter Brown had  
21 given us messages from Peter Haines, so, ja - there was sort of loosish connections - so we -  
22 all sorts - it's part of that whole ? for sure??
- 23 M: Right okay. How did you feel about a certain amount of disapproval from SACBOB? And  
24 then you lost those three young Italians - players at some stage?
- 25 H: Oriental players?
- 26 M: Well, they were ...
- 27 H: Davey Haverley and Bully and they went back to play for them and Michael Patricks went  
28 back because he went back to the Captain of Natal. But I mean they had been - Howarth?  
29 Had made some sort of comment before. But then we met - you know - we went down to



1 a game at Curry's Fountain and met the then President of Natal - it was Pat Naidoo, and we  
2 walked onto the ground, Bobs, myself, about four of us - the whole crowd clapped us and it  
3 was so - you know - the SACBOB guys couldn't be too heavy with us - ja, in retrospect they  
4 had a right to sort of feel - you know - we'd taken their best players and all that. But we met  
5 with this Pat Naidoo guy and - you know - he knew what we were doing and grudgingly  
6 accepted out bona fides. You know - you saw this thing - oh the Black guys are going to get  
7 prosecuted, not you White guys, which was krap, the soccer team that had been prosecuted  
8 before - they prosecuted everybody. And I pointed that out to him - he knew it ? So he was  
9 trying to push it.

10 M: Was that the match - was that that Lincoln City...?

11 H: Yes, team - that played in ..

12 M: ...that played in the sixties?

13 H: Ja, that was one, but there was also another one or two actually...on that. I think I've picked  
14 it up in Race Relations ? There was another one as well. But they prosecuted the whole  
15 team, not just the people that were in the prohibited group area? If that had been the case,  
16 of course, this whole AURORA thing would have been on audit. If they were just going to  
17 pick on the Black guys. You know - so that was quite an important issue...

18 M: But you knew you were all in it together?

19 H: Ja.

20 M: And you were all going to get togged off?

21 H: Ja.

22 M: When you had that friendly on - there was a friendly on the 16<sup>th</sup> of September, 1973 - this one  
23 was at Dalrack?

24 H: Yes, okay, that was the 'Varsity one.

25 M: Ja, right. How, how - I mean the major problem there was probably going to be the  
26 spectators...

27 H: Yes, we were worried about that.

28 M: How carefully did you control that or did you not - I know you were worried about it but did  
29 you - was there any way you could..?

- 1 H: No we didn't, it wasn't our ground and we sort of - I think we pushed the gate closed -  
2 people came - there were quite a lot of people..Ja, but we knew that was meant to be an issue,  
3 but we couldn't control it - nobody could point a finger at us so we - let's say we tried some  
4 sort of ...We also had a - Chris Davis had been approached by an American TV and British  
5 television before that game. They wanted to come and film it and he had actually dissuaded  
6 because we were going - at this stage we were now just trying to get precedents through, you  
7 know, that you could play this thing. So we, you know, down played that publicity side of  
8 things on that game - as much as we could.
- 9 M: Okay, now, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of October, members of the club were summonsed to Pretoria to meet  
10 Koornhof...
- 11 H: Was it as late as that?
- 12 M: yes.
- 13 H: So the league must have started later than that - it was before the league anyway.
- 14 M: Yes.
- 15 H: It was a week before the league.
- 16 M: ..a week. Your first match was on the 13<sup>th</sup>, well your first match was on the 6<sup>th</sup>, but it was  
17 raining - it was rained off and then you first started playing on the 13<sup>th</sup> - so this was very  
18 close.
- 19 H: Yup, okay. Yes it was the week prior to it, yes, okay.
- 20 M: How did AURORA feel about that, I mean did they go willingly, with any hope?
- 21 H: No, it's going to be interesting and it wasn't going to change anything from our side but it's  
22 always interesting to see what the other guys had to say. We picked three lawyers, Wooden,  
23 Bunwarie and myself???too radical. And, ja, they went up very clearly without a mandate.  
24 We said to them 'you have no mandate to do anything - you go there and listen and you come  
25 back.' And we scheduled a meeting for the night they came back from Pretoria where a  
26 decision would be made. But they had no power - there was no chance of a sell-out or - they  
27 were fully aware that they were going to be brow-beaten and all that. (He chuckles).
- 28 M: How seriously did you take the possibility of prosecution, fines and maybe even  
29 imprisonment? I mean people were talking about that.

- 1 H: Ja, ja - it was a possibility and you know - we were together and once you get into a group  
2 like that that are - and you blaze the publicity, there was no chance of anybody breaking  
3 rank? but some people did - Bailey Haffajee? And those guys. Ja, though it was a ? But you  
4 know, we let it be known all along that if they took us to court, we were going in our cricket  
5 clothes - it wasn't a Group Areas prosecution, we made that point repeatedly - that we'd go  
6 there with our cricket bats and our cricket boots and everything - so you know it would be  
7 a cricket club being prosecuted for playing cricket. So I think somewhere inside we thought  
8 they'd chicken out.
- 9 M: Ja, sure. And then I know you - you...
- 10 H: We had them over a harrel. We knew that...We'd found an inconsistency, you know.
- 11 M: But there was also the fear, I think, with some people of job loss or other sorts of persccution.  
12 Especially the Black...
- 13 H: Ja, there was - you know there were sort of clickings and whinings and noises on the phone  
14 all the time and you know those guys following us around and - Roy was visited by some cop  
15 who said he was going to never get promoted and that sort of thing - so he in fact wrote a  
16 letter while the cop was there or - and said - you have a copy of it, they're resigning it? and  
17 he never gave the top copy to us. So the cop went off with a flimsy...and was quite happy  
18 and then years later, Roy said 'oh, yea - and I ? never ever gave you this letter.' And I've still  
19 got it in the Scraphook - you must have seen it?
- 20 M: Yes, I've seen it ja. I didn't quite know the context of it -
- 21 H: Ja, ja that was the context - it was years? and I think Baby Haffajee, he said he'd got a bit of  
22 pressure somewhere along the line - I think in the teaching profession - it was. But, you  
23 know, I don't know if it happened with Graham - I mean he got promoted. But, ja, no that  
24 sort of stuff must have been flying around. I was working for the NPA, I got nothing ...
- 25 M: Oh right...
- 26 H: Until September. I worked for the NPA. And used their phones ad nauseam, so the State  
27 funded most of it anyway.
- 28 M: Right. well, the first actual cricket was played on the 13<sup>th</sup> of October and that was the famous  
29 match where the - the first league match, ja, of league cricket and that's where - you know

- 1 that was the famous match where the police were present. How did you feel at the end of the  
2 day, you know, when you packed up and went home? How did you feel about what they had  
3 done?
- 4 H: Oh, we were expecting it - we were - you know that was going to happen anyway so that  
5 didn't worry us at all.
- 6 M: I mean was it less severe than you had expected, or did it - did any of it take you by surprise  
7 or..?
- 8 H: ? Ja, no, it was what we expected, I don't know if it was less or more, but it certainly wasn't  
9 more than we expected. It might have been a bit less. They didn't actually stop the game.
- 10 M: They didn't actually come on the field either?
- 11 H: No, no they didn't..Ja, Ag, you know, I think the main thing that we thought about afterwards  
12 was that we hadn't performed on the field ? you know, because at that stage we were  
13 thinking, you know, we can compete and it would be a good thing if we won the league and  
14 got promoted as a sort of avenue for the club to advance. Ja, you know there were interesting  
15 sort of things about the ? his wife wearing that black dress, that was a definite provocation.  
16 But you know the head of the unit - Boucher, his name was, was actually very polite. A  
17 rather decent fellow. He was involved in the 'Maritzburg Rugby side, so in fact I think  
18 Andrew Fisher and some of the guys knew him and he - you know he was quite decent about  
19 it.
- 20 M: You don't know what his first name was?
- 21 H: No, Andrew Fisher will know - ?
- 22 M: Ja, 'cause in the sources I've got he's just referred to as 'Boucher' of the CID.
- 23 H: He was CID.
- 24 M: Was he? He's referred to as belonging to the Bantu Administration Department..
- 25 H: No, no, he was a cop. Oh - better check..
- 26 M: Ja, ja.
- 27 H: I thought he was CID, I thought the guys had come from CID.
- 28 M: He certainly made a report for the police - I've got a copy of that. And he goes out of his way  
29 in that account to say how polite he was and how everything was done according to the letter.

- 1 H: Yes, no it was. It was very decently done. Very decently done.
- 2 M: And he says at the bottom there - he justifies all his actions because the prosecutor - there  
3 might be a case here for prosecution.
- 4 H: Ja. No it was decently done and you know it was - you know - it being 'Maritzburg, there  
5 were connections all over the place so - you know - it was a nice little 'Maritzburg scene in  
6 many ways... (They chuckle) And all the spectators got their names taken. Prof Rayner, who  
7 was - his son was ...
- 8 M: ....still scoring? (They speak at once so that what either says is inaudible)
- 9 H: He had his name taken. So it took quite a long time and in fact it was pretty well dark by the  
10 time they had finished taking everybody's' names. Because if you see some of the press  
11 photographs it's actually dark.
- 12 M: Okay, subsequently you played on in the second division, and then there was this problem  
13 that Voortrekker had - it's in the mobility to fulfill its fixtures. I think it might have been  
14 two?
- 15 H: Ja, it would have been both games actually.
- 16 M: How did you view that?
- 17 H: Chicken, they were chicken. You know there were various people that had also wanted to  
18 join Aurora and when the going got tough they withdrew - there were quite a few White guys  
19 from ? Ja, you didn't argue. We expected some sort of problem, the police obviously ? from  
20 there.
- 21 M: Did they - did the police play you?
- 22 H: I don't know if they were even in the league in that year, I've got the league fixtures for that  
23 year somewhere... but I can't recall. There was a problem with police and ? I think they were  
24 - or was it in the second year that they came in and they wouldn't play us..
- 25 M: Well, they were cert... they were involved in your first year, because when the voting took  
26 place within the ...
- 27 H: NCU?
- 28 M: NCU, they either abstained, I think they abstained - so they obviously had some influence  
29 on what was going to happen, but maybe they didn't have a team in the second division?

- 1 H: Ja there would have been second division, I think; ja they would have been. Because there  
2 was only inter-City and second division...
- 3 M: Oh, I see...
- 4 H: ...very, very close. What. did you find the NCU minutes?
- 5 M: No, I actually want to ask you about that - no, I'm just referring to the press reports of what  
6 was reported to them by the NCU.
- 7 H: I'll phone Hansie? now and see if the minute book goes back that far.
- 8 M: Okay. Now in the newspaper it says that - you know they wanted to confiscate the score  
9 book at your first match - the police and so on. And I gather that AURORA refused to give  
10 out ...
- 11 H: Ja, because I think they had made some offer to hand in the names before that.
- 12 M: Right. And then it appears from the press reports that there was a promise to deliver team  
13 lists to the police throughout the season..
- 14 H: Yes..
- 15 M: Did that ever happen?
- 16 H: Ja, I think Chris Davis was doing that - I think he did it for a couple of months and then  
17 everybody seemed to lose interest in it. By then the decision had obviously been made that  
18 they wouldn't prosecute.
- 19 M: No, okay. I wasn't sure whether this was a figment of some journalist's imagination..
- 20 H: No, no, no - there was that - we did deliver it on the Monday, handed it in...
- 21 M: This was after the match?
- 22 H: Yes, yes, yes.
- 23 M: Was it actually after the match, okay?
- 24 H: And they came, you know, the cops came to the first I think - the second game there was a  
25 cop hanging around, a couple hanging around, the third game there might have been one and  
26 that was it.
- 27 M: The end of season dinner, end of the season '73/'74 was magisterial permission sought for  
28 a multi-racial event?
- 29 H: Was that at the Imperial Hotel?

1 M: I don't know what the venue was.

2 H: I suspect it was at the 'Taj' the first one, again I'd have to look at the Scrapbook. One of the  
3 first - we had one dinner at the Imperial, one at the Taj, I don't know which way round it  
4 was, but I think the first one was probably at the Taj...??

5

6 End of First Side of the Tape. There appears to be nothing on the second side.