

UNIVERSITY OF DURBAN-WESTVILLE

DOCUMENTATION CENTRE

ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

“VOICES OF RESISTANCE”

INTERVIEWEE: PRITHIRAJ DULLAY

INTERVIEWER: D SHONGWE

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PLACE: STEVE BIKO CAMPUS,
NATAL TECHNIKON

DS: Good morning, my name is Dimakatso Shongwe from the Documentation Centre of the University of Durban-Westville. Today we are talking with Mr Prithiraj Dullay at his office at Steve Biko Campus of the Durban Institute and Technology. We are grateful to you for working with us in our project, "Voices of Resistance". Mr. Dullay would you like to tell us a little bit about yourself, where you were born and when.

PD: I was born in Port Shepstone. But before I say that, welcome to our campus. I am proud this is called the Steve Biko Campus. I think something that is long overdue has taken place at last. To get back to your question, I was born in Port Shepstone on the 18th December 1946. In a way there is something associated with my birthday, that I only got to learn after Steve was killed. Steve and I were born on the

same day, the same month, the same year. But I only got to know that after he was dead. In publications about him I just suddenly realised that we were born on the same day. That is where the similarities the comparison and the similarity ends. I am not saying I was anything as like, as big as Steve was, I was a small fry, and he was the charismatic giant. Port Shepstone was my hometown. I finished both my primary and my secondary schooling there and then I went onto become a teacher. I trained at the Springfield College of Education, Springfield Training College in those days. I also studied through UNISA as well, and I went back to Port Shepstone to start teaching at the very same high school where I was a student. And I remained there until 1977. After my arrest I was then deported to Greytown Secondary School and shortly after that in 1978, we fled the country.

DS: Okay. Where were your parents born?

PD: Both my parents are from the South Coast. My father was born in Port Shepstone. My mother was born mid-way between Durban and Port Shepstone in a place called Ifafa. An interesting thing about my parents', especially my fathers' upbringing, which I know something about is, they grew up in what was called the Sugar Mill. They were workers in the Sugar Mill and when my father was born my granny didn't have any breast milk, she was dry. But because they lived in the same compound, side by side with Zulu workers, a Zulu woman who had just had her baby six months before, breast-fed my

father. Now, that was an important thing because the kind of foods, the rations that they were given were certainly not good enough for babies [to eat] and then you know, also another important part was when Gandhi called the strike of the workers in the - of the Indian workers in the plantations, in the sugar plantations, my grandparents came out on strike and they were imprisoned for three months, and at that time there my father being the oldest of about four or five children and he was about seven eight years old, he had to take care of the other children while my grandparents were imprisoned. And he managed to do this largely due to the support and the sharing of rations that he and the siblings, the other siblings received from the Zulu workers who were on the same plantation. And there was an amazing community spirit that existed amongst workers per se. These were Indian workers and Zulu workers living side by side, and they supported one another through thick and thin. Interesting.

DS: Interesting. Your grandparents were they born in South Africa?

PD: Yes. My granny was born in South Africa; my grandfather; he came from India; he came from India and I presume there must have been a fairly large age difference between them; but that's the way it was in those days, you know. And both of them settled in the Port Shepstone area.

DS: Okay. So about your community, were they, how was the environment in your community, did you have schools, doctors or clinic?

PD: Well there were no clinics at the time. When I'm thinking of my youth, in the other years there were no clinics. There was the one doctor; a person of colour; who was Doctor Gabriel; who is still alive; and I was the first baby he had delivered in Port Shepstone in 1946. He had just started off his practice as a young doctor and he was the first doctor of colour until he established practice in Port Shepstone. There was some serious problems because I am the last born of seven children. Four of my earliest, or the earliest born siblings didn't survive, they died. They died, some of them was seven or eight years old; they died of simple children's diseases which were preventable by the use of a vaccination et cetera. So the last three of us survived because by that time my father was holding down something like three jobs. You know, he had various jobs that he used to do. He was at one stage working as a cook for a white family in the day. In the morning hours he would be working in a shop that used to repair bicycles and sell bicycles and then he was working at a petrol station between so many hours. So he worked almost between sixteen to eighteen hours a day. That enabled us to have a, you know, reasonable amount of money, so that the last three of us actually survived because of that. The mortality rate amongst people at that time with regards to their children was so incredibly high. They died of

simple children's diseases because there was never enough money to go to a doctor. And there were no doctors anyway, you went to a hospital and you joined the queues there and you were given inferior medicines, inferior treatment and people's levels of education were quite low, so they didn't know how to actually deal with, you know, these situations. So it was, I was one of the lucky ones that did survive. And clinics were established later on in my, in the sixties, in the early sixties, again as a result of community initiative rather than any kind of Government intervention.

DS: Okay. So you said earlier on you were a teacher. Would you like to tell us about your educational background?

PD: It's quite interesting. I came onto the scene when you know, we were looking for something, because I came from a rather political family. My, especially my dad, my grandparents, my dad used to tell me stories about my grandparents and about their struggles on the mill estate as such, the Umzimkulu Sugar Mill Estate. And, of course, with time my father became an activist as well, he joined the Natal-Indian Congress, he was part of the congress, the Lions, very sympathetic to the Communist Party and he was my role model in many ways. And for me that was important, and when I started teaching in, well when I came for my, during my student years to study to become a teacher. At the same time Steve, Steve Biko was at the Medical School and Steve's ideas were ideas that you know, filled us with such an amazing amount of enthusiasm,

because it was the kind of vehicle that we were looking to liberate ourselves and especially the incredible power of the system that had made us feel inferior. It had made us feel like 'non-whites', it had negated our humanity and Steve's philosophy of Black Consciousness provided that liberation. We lived in a society which could only be described as like George Orwell's "1984", where the socialisation process had gone so far down, that a large number of our people internalised the inferiority complex that was being generated by the system to tell us that we were basically stupid. We began to internalise that on several levels, and so when Black Consciousness came onto the scene, it was a tremendously important liberating factor in our lives and this is why young people, who were students at that time, you know, flocked to the banner of Black Consciousness and so, inevitably, Black Consciousness became a part of our lives. It also penetrated my consciousness so that I could never be the same again. I could never be the same as I was previously, because of a new awareness about my identity, about who I was, who I am and a rejection of whatever identity has been tried, or they tried to thrust a certain kind of negation and I was able to fight that because of the new philosophy that we had created through SASO, which is the South African Students Movement, Students Organisation on the general drift of the Black Consciousness Movement through the Black Peoples' Convention, BPC and the Black Community Programmes. And during my student years there was a lot of contact with the leadership of the Black Consciousness

Movement in particular Steve, and we sort of spread the ideas of Black Consciousness throughout these institutions. It was a very radical time in South Africa's history as well. And for us it came at the end of a period where virtually all resistance was crushed, the PAC was banned, ANC was banned. Sharpeville, the post-Sharpeville South Africa, where you know, the power of the state was so complete, so total that there was no, nobody who could stand up to it. Because remember those in the 1960's were boom years, economic boom years as well, and we also had the very active collaboration of the West in supporting South Africa, which is something we mustn't forget. The Americans; the British; the French; the Israelis; all of them collaborated and supported South Africa in that period and they continued in many cases to do so right through until the early nineties. They supported apartheid South Africa and this why it took such a long time for liberation to come to us.

DS: Just to go back a little, during your involvement with Steve Biko, how old were you by then?

PD: I was about my twenty, nineteen, twenty, twenty one, around there about.

DS: Okay. Would you like to tell us what motivated you to be involved in these organisations, especially the channelling all the ideas of liberation and all this stuff?

PD: Well again to go back, I came from a politically conscious background due to my parents, my grandparent's involvements. We were also listeners

to clandestine radio stations in 1950, I think it was, when the communist party was banned. It had a radio station, which was called Radio Freedom, which was broadcasting from one of the neighbouring countries, and every Sunday at 8:30, we used to tune in there and we were listening to Radio Freedom. And as a very young child I remember my consciousness being shaped with this clandestine activity, because if they caught you listening to Radio Freedom, they would imprison you. And my father, my mum, myself and my brother and my cousins would all get around this very powerful short-wave radio and we would be able to listen to that. That shaped my thinking as well. In another sense my father was a very religious person, he had a very powerful sense of religion. He had a very powerful spirituality. You know he was an Arya Samajist, meaning a person from a good society. And this was a radical religious form as versus the conventional Hinduism; and it was very socialist in its orientation; and I was very attracted to it and my father sort of gave me those values of no compromise with the truth, and a lot of that came to the fore during this period. Now you must remember that the breaking down, the smashing down of all the organisations, we were in a ferment we wanted to do something. But there was very little that we could do and suddenly you have springing onto the scene here, a vehicle that could be used to liberate ourselves, and for us that was an extremely exciting period and it was a period where we could see the light at the end of the tunnel. It was going to be a very long tunnel, but

we could begin to see the light because there is nothing greater that the oppressor can control than the mind of the oppressed, and we realised that if we could free our minds from that oppression we were firmly on the road to liberation.

DS: Okay. So I just want to find, out when were you married?

PD: I was married in 1972. I married my high school sweetheart.

DS: Okay. Would you like to tell us?

PD: We met in 1967. She is from Durban and her parents sent her to study in Port Shepstone, and I had failed my matric year. Now that was impossibility in my eyes and the eyes of my teachers because I was the top student, but because we had a limitation on the number of students of colour that could pass, because there was a limited number of spaces in tertiary institutions et cetera, et cetera, so I was one of the victims of the system, and I failed. And I was very depressed and my teachers were totally amazed that there were certain individuals in my class who were hopeless cases, so they passed and I failed and I was prepared thoroughly for my examinations et cetera, so one wonders whether they actually marked the scripts with any kind of diligence. Anyway, I returned the following year, I wrote my exam in '66, failed that, came back in '67, after my father talked to me, and it is a good thing I did, because that is the year that I met my wife and we were married after five or six years in 1972 and

from that union we have just celebrated our thirtieth wedding anniversary this year.

DS: Well that's wonderful.

PD: So we have been married thirty years and out of that union came two daughters. The younger of whom is twenty-six this year, and my older daughter who is twenty-eight and my older daughter has given us a wonderful grandson, who is now fifteen months.

DS: Okay. You mentioned earlier on about Steve Biko, would you like to tell us more about Steve Biko?

PD: Well, Steve Biko was a, one of these characters that's - who was larger than life. I suppose that phrase would best describe Steve; he was larger than life. In his physical form Steve was a big person, he was a big man. He had an amazing charisma about him, you know. Steve had this amazingly firm handshake and he would have the biggest hug that you had ever seen, you know, and he was at ease within himself, he was at ease in the company, in any company, that he was. Steve interacted with people at various levels: with the humblest of people; with us as his contemporaries as students; as people who were together with him in SASO and various other, you know, sort of movements that came as part of the BC thing and he could interact with diplomats; he could interact with various people; and he was very clear in his thinking. His thinking had already crystallised long before ours had, and that is why he was thrust into this role of leadership. He had this uncanny ability to very quickly synthesise and articulate that

synthesis in a form that put it within a political context within a South African political context. And for us that was the kind of leader that we were looking for and Steve had this incredible fearlessness, as well. I don't know if you can understand the tremendous fear that pervaded the country in that time. There was a fear of the power of the Security Police and what they could do to you. Now we must remember that when Steve was murdered, he was number forty-six of persons to be murdered while in detention and subsequent to his death a very large number of people also died in detention. Now those are the ones that are known about, there are hundreds of other cases where we don't know what has happened to people, their bodies have never been found. So that period had this air of fear, tremendous fear of the power of the Security Police. And the infiltrators, there were infiltrators in our society, there were the informers in our societies and Steve had this fearlessness about him. In fact he would advise us as to what to say and what not to say when we were taken in by, you know, for questioning by the Security Police and you know, he even had a paper written about what happens, what to do when you are taken in for interrogation. And some of the things that he told us, that he would never commit suicide because at that stage the reasons that were being advanced was everybody was committing suicide. They were falling, slipped on a bar of soap, or falling downstairs and you know, all kinds of absurd reasons were being advanced for the death in detention of various people and Steve made sure

that he told a large number of us and in his work as well that he would never commit suicide, he would never kill himself and therefore when Jimmy Kruger, Minister of Police went on public later on, saying that this man refused to eat and he killed himself, I mean that was a joke. I mean he lost whatever little credibility that he had in that period.

Of course, his famous statement that, 'Steve Biko's death leaves me cold', said to great laughter during a National Party rally in some platteland town. I am just thinking I am beginning to drift, let's get back to your question, just repeat your question.

DS: I was, I asked what was Steve like. Were you, just a follow up question, besides being a leader to you, were you that close or you only knew him as a leader only, not as a friend?

PD: Yes. Steve was, you see, the difference between leadership and friendship was a very thin line. I mean Steve was a leader we admired. Steve also had this amazing ability to make friends and Steve also had white friends and as much as this may seem like a contradiction in that period, but we were together with people like Neville Curtis and Paula Ensor; who were part of the NUSAS leadership at that time; Paul Pretorius came a little bit later on. And we had people like Sheila Lipensky; and Deon Irish; and a whole range of people. David Hemson; Jonathan Hemson; and all of these people were involved in NUSAS; but they began to understand that we had to break away to form our own student organisation. And Steve was at ease with a number of people; even across the colour line; and Steve

made friends easily. I mean I used to always tease him, because whenever we went to Alan Taylor, you know, Residence, we had to go there in secrecy, because we were not really allowed on those campuses, on that campus because we were from another campus, they tried to keep us separated but we entered through the fence, and what have you. Got in there and there would be bottles of beer lying around and we would be having a party and it became a non-racial party. There were white kids that were there from the University of Natal and we were there and they were, we were just kids having a great time. There was great music in the sixties and we were having a party and Steve would be dancing with white girls and we would be dancing, we didn't look at one another's colour and things like that. We're just kids having a good time. So Steve was a very easy kind of guy you know, he transcended a lot of things, because we must understand this, black consciousness was not an end in itself it was a means towards an end. That end was a non-racial society. This was a way of consolidating our position of liberating our minds so that we could reach that non-racial society, that is critically important that it must be understood. Steve was never for a polarisation of society. He said yes, it was important for us to realise that society was already polarised and that we had to consolidate ourselves around the issue of our blackness and react to the white power structure by creating a solid black power structure. And that was a means towards an end and the ultimate was a non-racial society. Like the society we have today.

Now, Steve would have been very critical of some of the things that he finds in today's, you know, society and as much as I am very critical of things that I find in our society today. But we worked towards getting there. Unfortunately Steve was murdered before he could reach that end.

DS: Okay. Just to go a little bit back. I just want to know from you, when was the first time when you became aware of racial oppression in your life?

PD: I was very, very young. One of the first things was, there used to be a park in Port Shepstone which was called the Amphitheatre because it was actually in the valley, straddled by two important roads. This was the Amphitheatre and this was a park, but there were swings there and I was crazy about swings you know and my dad would take us to a short cut through the park because we used to go to the beach and I would always pull my dad's finger and I wanted to get onto the swing and ask him to push me, but there was a sign there, reserved for the use of white children. And of course when you are three four years old, your consciousness doesn't allow you to understand that, you know. But then when somebody that you love and respect says that this is not for you, you somehow begin to understand certain things in your own child consciousness. And of course there were other incidents on the beach when, there is one incident that stands out in particular where my brother and I were building sandcastles with the wet sand and my father was sitting far away on some rocks looking at the waves coming in and we were busy on the shore

and this group of white kids came by and their parents' were walking far behind them and walked right through the middle of our sandcastle and the beach was about twenty or thirty metres wide, so they didn't have to do that you know. So my brother and I began to you know, beat them up and they began to beat us up and of course my father saw this and he rushed over to us and he smacked us and this was a bit disturbing to us you know, because and then afterwards he apologised to the white parents and things like that. Now again, when the white parents had gone off and the kids had gone off, then he said to us, look those are white parents there, if he took out something and shot you or killed you what would I have done? Of course, I was very angry with my father at the time, but later on I was able to rationalise, I was able to understand. But now, this is I'm talking about my consciousness as a four five year old at that stage. So I was always outraged by this because I simply, I was outraged with the idea that somebody could see me as a lesser being, because of the colour of my skin or my racial background or whatever it was. I saw myself as a human being and I extended this to everybody else, and I was horrified that somebody would discriminate against me because of what I am. I am the product of God. In a way I am a bit of God as well, if I am a product of God, I am a bit of God as well. And when you discriminate against me you discriminate against one of the fundamental laws of God, that we are all created equal. You see, so this was the sense of outrage I felt and this was easily translated into various forms of action that

we carried out during the course of my childhood. Of course I used to always carry a piece of chalk and the symbol of Radio Freedom was I think, if I remember clearly, dot, dot dash, no dot, dot, dot dash, dot, dot, dot, dash. And I used to take this chalk out as a child and when nobody was looking I would do it on the road. I would do it on a stone or whatever it is and it was my little sort of acts of resistance. Of course, later on it translated into more and more. Into more and more sort of daring things. You know spray can painting of slogans and things like that, and to raise the awareness of other people too. Because I mean you had lots of kids who were completely blissfully unaware of what was happening around them. It was difficult you know, to actually convince a lot of people, because too many people were caught up in the sports world and too many people were caught up with their own lives and failed to see the bigger picture. But we were able to get through to a very large number of people, especially in the period when I began teaching in Port Shepstone and during that time to 1978 we were able to achieve a tremendous amount.

DS: Okay you said earlier on you were arrested, would you like to tell us a little bit about that, that event, why?

PD: My first arrest came in 1968 when I was in college. I was the editor of a student newspaper called ASPECTS, at Springfield College and it was a kind of an independent newspaper and I was, together with people like Schabir Banubhai, who was the South Africa poet; and people like Neville Choonoo;

and a number of other sort of early leaders of the Student Movement. And the paper was banned and I was questioned by Security Police. It was the first time I was beaten up by them. I was beaten up in the Vice-Rectors' office, or an annexe to his office.

They had to come and tell me that, you know, they were the ones in power and that they would crush me, if needs be. It was pretty scary because I was a kid and, but in a way it made me even more determined that I will fight these people and that I will win at some point or the other in my life and there were more and more people thinking like the way I did. So that was 1968 and there was from that time onwards, I was arrested between one and several times per year. We were followed around by the Security Police. I was part of the SRC and we did a number of things like, we contributed to the building of the Mahatma Gandhi Centre in Phoenix.

We contributed to the building of a hall, in what was known as Tin Town, which has since long been washed away, it was in the Springfield area. We contributed in many ways to student work camps, others volunteerism, helping out on the weekends.

We participated in a number of clandestine workshops, which had to do with developing consciousness from the forerunner of the Black Consciousness Movement, which was the University Christian Movement (UCM). Now I had no problems with that, I am not a Christian. I had the greatest respect for all religions, including Christianity. But we didn't go there because we were Christian, we went there because we wanted to liberate our consciousness, we wanted to develop

our sense of self, sense of identity. So the University Christian Movement, the UCM, was a forerunner to the Black Consciousness Movement, and all of these things enabled us to develop an awareness, to develop a consciousness. It was one of the most powerful things that emerged from the whole Black Consciousness period. I'm drifting.

DS: You're not. I just want to find out whether your parents during this time, were they supporting you?

PD: You mean financially?

DS: I mean, not...

PD: Morally?

DS: Yes.

PD: My father yes, my mother no. My mother said don't get involved in politics, leave politics alone! And my father would go quietly out the room when my mother used to be telling me this, and of course, my father would understand what was going on and he said you do what you have to do, and of course, I was grateful for that level of support. So, of course there were different levels of consciousness between my mother and my father. My mother was terribly afraid of the power of the state, terribly afraid of what the Security Police had already done to a number of people and she didn't want me to become a victim to end up in prison and to be killed and things like that. She had in a way perfectly justifiable fears for her last born and I was her baby. My father saw me in another way, he saw me perhaps, as an extension of himself, of the

rebelliousness of his side, and I was an extension, and I was going to materialise some of the things that perhaps he was not able to materialise in his life. So I was very grateful for his support. There were other relatives as well who were fairly supportive. But my mum most certainly not, she was just too afraid.

DS: Your brothers?

PD: My brother, I had one brother and I had one sister. My brother is two years older than I am, he was completely apolitical. He wasn't involved in anything at all. He was very mechanical with his hands and he wasn't academically inclined, I was academically inclined. So he left school very much earlier than I did. He didn't finish matric, he was in standard seven and then he left school. I have an older sister and there is a huge gap between us, there is about thirteen, fourteen years gap between us and she was supportive, in the sense that she understood what was going on, but she wasn't active herself.

DS: Okay. You said earlier on you were deported to Greytown, why Greytown?

PD: I keep asking myself that because it was the back of beyond. It was in the back of beyond, it was nowhere. Greytown was this grey little town. You see, Steve had just been murdered and a month later nineteen organisations were banned and people were arrested across the length and breadth of South Africa and we, our organisation at that time which was called The Port Shepstone Ex-Scholars

Community Programme Centre, became one of the victims and we, as the leadership, were arrested and detained and things like that, and when I was released, I was told very clearly we are moving you to Greytown. And there was no question about it, you know, and there was a rumour that was passed on that I was a dangerous communist and they should be careful of me and things like that. And the society who was there in Greytown, the Indian community, sort of shunned me. I was able to find lodgings for three months and then the person that I lodged with said to me very clearly, look there is too much of a Security Police attention that's being put onto me because I'm housing you, so you're going to have to leave. And then I found somebody else who was sympathetic and they took me in and I stayed there for a period of six months. In all that time, I was in touch with the underground and my contacts were in Maritzburg and in spite of the twenty-four hour surveillance that I was put under, I was able to slip out by leaving my car parked in front of the house and using another teacher colleagues car and slipping out to Maritzburg, making my contact with the people in the South African Council of Churches (SACC), specifically people like Reverend Saul Jacobs, who had organised our departure from the country through the South African Council of Churches. The South African Council of Churches, in that last year of our existence as an organisation, was actually supporting us financially to carry out the, to support the Black Community Programme Centre that we

operated in Port Shepstone, which became an absolutely massive thing.

DS: Okay, how was life in Greytown basically, besides you know, knowing that the Police were watching you and just how was life, were you able to move around or something?

PD: Well, I am prompted to ask what life? Greytown didn't have very much of a life. I mean I was shunned as such, people were too afraid to associate with me. But we must also remember it was the home town of Ahmed Bawa, who became, you know, one of the leading lights of the University of Natal. He came from Greytown. So I was a little bit cheesed off because lots of my colleagues during my student years were now in Greytown as well and they also shunned me because they were too afraid that I was the radical who would maybe spoil their careers or whatever it was. So I was shunned. But there were a group of teachers who were with me from Durban, in particular two of them who said to hell with the consequences they, we were buddies and we were going to be in this thing together. I helped to raise their levels of consciousness about what was going on in the country and so forth, and I took them into my confidence and I was about spied on as a teacher, by other teachers. I was under twenty-four hour surveillance within the little town by the Security Police, who didn't have anything else to do, so they just sat outside my boarding house - where I boarded - and they harassed me whenever they wanted to. Pick me up and question me and sometimes they were quite drunk and life

was pretty miserable. But on the weekends, whenever I used to be able to come to Durban, the Greytown Police would follow me until the Umbumbulu turn-off on the South Coast, on the freeway, on the N3, and then the Scottsborough Police would tail me then from the turn-off right through down to Port Shepstone and so when I returned I would be tailed as well. But I was smart I would always be picking up hitch-hikers. They were going to Adams College or they were going, coming from Adams College or they were going to Port Shepstone, so my car was invariably filled with comrades who were hitch-hiking. So I was never alone as such because there was a fear of elimination. In fact just the time when Steve was killed and just, we had met him just months before that and we were on our way to Cape Town and there were attempts to eliminate us then. The system was very powerful. They failed on two occasions, we can talk about that.

DS: Okay, tell us about that.

PD: Alright. The first time was when we were going to Cape Town, we actually decided to combine two things. We were asked by certain forces to go and find out just how widespread the revolt was. This was 1976, we're talking about, and how widespread the revolt was because the regime tried to portray it as a Soweto thing. We know that the revolt was sustained and that it lasted for one year between the 16th of June '76 right down to 16th June and beyond that, 1977. So at that stage we were instructed to find out what was going on in the Cape

and further down the road and so as part of the job that we did, we met Steve in '76. Now the cops wanted to find out, quite coincidentally, they found out that I was going to go to Cape Town. Because a neighbour of mine had married a girl from George, a so-called Coloured girl from George, and she was working for a white family as a nanny. So she was going to accompany us and we would drop her off in George and we would continue to Cape Town. But she was also going to organise accommodation for us in Cape Town. So I didn't know the person she was working for was a policeman and he was part of the Security Police. So when he saw my car parked outside his house he was, you know, sees red. And I didn't know that was his house, of course, and eventually the young friend of ours, her husband came to tell me, listen these guys have offered him a thousand rand. Now a thousand rand is a huge amount of money in those days, to give me the date when I would be leaving to Cape Town, because they took him into their confidence and said right we will sort him out on the way. Which meant that they would attempt to kill me on the way. So, Dan was the young man's name, and he gave them, he came and told me that night what the Police had asked him to do. And he said well he has given them the date of our departure, but that was one week earlier, no, no one week later, if my memory serves me correct, but we had actually you know, we were due to have left on the 21st of December. He said to them we were leaving the 27th of December, or whatever it was. So they were never able to get hold of us. And that was the first attempt that we

were aware of. The second attempt came two weeks before we fled the country. We had a little car, was a family car, and we had gone to the cinema that evening cause I was on a knife-edge all the time, you know. I could hardly sleep and my instincts told me to sleep very lightly, because when you are an activist and you are on the run, you know, you become like an animal. You become extremely sort of jittery and your senses are all sort of alive all the time, although you may be resting. However what happened there was, we decided the car was almost empty and I had very little money. So we said, the next day was going to be a Saturday, I would go and fill, put some petrol in the car the next morning. So the car was practically empty. And the car was parked right outside our bedroom window. You know, there was this little driveway there, just park right outside our bedroom window and invariably the window is open and there was a mosquito net there. I don't know what time this must have happened, but when we get up the next morning we see there is a whole wad of newspapers underneath the petrol tank and it had been set alight and the whole of the back of the car had burnt. Strangely enough the tyres didn't burn, but the whole of the back of the car, the boot and the rest of it was burnt, because this was where the petrol tank was, you see. And, now we thought about this: if the tank had been full, there would have been a massive explosion which would have resulted in the house burning down as well and would have certainly killed us and the, and our two children, that was the second attempt. The third attempt was in Denmark

itself. Now three weeks before we got there, a black South African was, had his throat cut and he was found floating in one of the canals.

DS: Okay, we have to pause.

PD: Pause, have some coffee, have some coffee.

END TAPE 1A - RESUMPTION TAPE 1B

DS: We are back again. You were still, you were still telling us about the death of Steve Biko. I just want to know how did you feel when you first learnt that Steve Biko was dead.

PD: At first, this was the evening of the 12th of September, when we heard that Steve had died and there was a rumour going around which was flying all over the country and we picked it up. I was in total disbelief that Steve was dead, because we didn't think the regime was stupid enough to kill a man like Steve. But we underestimated the regime's stupidity; and perhaps Afrikaner arrogance; that was responsible for the murder of Steve. So there was this total shock, until of course the next day's newspapers confirmed Steve's murder. Of course, not murder, that he died in detention and for us, I mean ,died in detention meant that he was murdered. So there was complete outrage, complete outrage and you know, this was now coming in 1977 and we had seen Soweto and the country explode one year earlier. And coming just after things were beginning to sort of calm down just on the surface, you had the murder of Steve, which helped to, in a way, galvanise the struggle again. So the response

of the regime was a total crack down, a total crack down in the country. And as I said, we were one of the organisations that were affected and there was wholesale arrests across the country. People were detained for the slightest of reasons. People were banned; and organisations were banned; and they believed that with their banning orders and the use of terrorism that they would be - that they would cower the people. In spite of all their efforts to prevent people from going to Steve's funeral - we couldn't make it there because of Police action. We were unable to make it there. There were twenty thousand people at Steve's funeral. Steve's funeral became a political rally like all subsequent, you know, funerals of people who had died in the struggle. It became rallying points for us because we refused to accept death as an end. We used even the funeral, we used the act of death in itself as a politicising tool. So that it became, as Steve would have wished, that even his death must be used for the liberation of the country. We used to say you know, the blood of the martyrs will water the soil, the tree of you know, liberation that will blossom and how true that has been. So Steve's death traumatised all of us. But it also galvanised a lot of things for us, because we had to realise that the route now was going to be through armed struggle. That talking was going to come to an end, or maybe perhaps a combination of talking and, but you couldn't talk to people who didn't want to listen to you. The State was still very cocky about its sense of power and we were - one of our key leaders was cut down and the leadership of the Black

Consciousness Movement as per se, the Black Peoples Convention; the Black Community Programmes; we were dispersed all over the country. Mampela was banished to the North. Other activists like Winnie, was banished to Brandfort and we had - all of us who had sort of dispersed. And many of us took the decision that we, it would be impossible for us to continue to live and work within South Africa, that the next stage would be to leave South Africa and to continue the struggle as best as we possible could. By that stage now the BC Movement had begun to in a way desiccate, because it wasn't able to offer a coherent policy for liberation. And this is when a number of us from the BC Movement, when we got into exile, we began to move towards the ANC. In fact, in my own case already, in 1975 I began to move towards the ANC's way of thinking because I could see that BC was not prepared to change, and that BC would have a limitation in terms of liberation. That it was a critically important phase in our development. But that it had its limitation. And this is what Steve and I had argued about, because at that stage there was talk about Steve going to meet, to skip the country, go into Botswana and to meet with representatives of the PAC and the ANC and to create something that was going to be called ALF, which is going to be the Azanian Liberation Front. Steve never made that journey outside, because on his return from Cape Town he was arrested in September and he was killed. So you know, there was a ferment that was going on and we were moving closer and closer to the ANC, because the

ANC offered the one credible vehicle of struggle. Although as Black Consciousness people, we thought that we would find a natural home in the PAC. But what we discovered about the PAC, when we were out of the country, that there was no effective leadership of the PAC, and the PAC was not a sort of a credible movement, although it had a credible past, but it didn't have that kind of credibility in order to sustain a long term struggle. And when we looked at the ANC, the ANC which was initially hostile towards the BC Movement, we found that there was a structure, that there was organisation, that there was leadership which we didn't find in the PAC. So, many of us including Barney (Pityana), and you know, a number of other people found a home within ANC structures and we were able to, in a way, neutralise the hostility towards the Black Consciousness you know, movement and the suspicions that we were about to hijack the struggle. We were able to allay that, that we were you know, able as now mature individuals to recognise that we needed to work within the structures of the ANC and use those structures for the liberation of South Africa.

DS: Okay. Why was the ANC hostile towards the BC?

PD: Well like I said, if you read some of the articles especially now, there is a book that's been edited by Mac Maharaj about remembrances about the struggle. You will read some of the early articles from that period there, where there was quite open hostility to the BC because in a way, it also had to do with, we were a little arrogant as well, as young

people. We had a sense of arrogance about us, a sense of being cocky sure, that we were the ones who were going to liberate this country. No matter what the old people did and the old people tried and they didn't liberate. What we failed to understand was a materialist reduction of the history of our society. We forget that we were part of a process. We were young, we were cocky, we were too sure of ourselves. We were part of a process that started a long time ago. It started you know, in the first acts of resistance against the colonial invaders and that we were part of a process part of history. But we were young and we were going to invent the struggle, that's what we thought. So there was a bit of cocky sureness on our part and I suppose in that, in a way alienated some of the leadership. You must understand that most of the leadership at that stage was in prison. And what little information they had about BC in the initial years when the Government of this country at that stage viewed Black Consciousness with a friendly eye. Because they thought that we were going to fit into their separate developments philosophy of thinking, and suddenly when they realised that we were about to subvert the Governments then they changed their tune from one of being friendly towards Black Consciousness to open hostility. So the initial reaction of the ANC was that you know, what are these youngsters doing. Are they becoming part of the puppet forces inside the country? And then when they realised that this is not true, then their position began to soften. But some members within the ANC didn't soften their position, hence there hasn't been very open

recognition of the contribution that Steve Biko made. But for those of us who were part of the movement, we still want to see this recognition and this is why when this campus here was named the Steve Biko Campus I think I was one of the gladdest individuals. I was one of the happiest individuals, but this is not the end. I want to see a monument, a living monument created for the memory of Steve. Something that is going to contribute towards an understanding of our society as a non-racial democracy. Steve lived for that ultimate aim, he didn't live to see it coming into fruition but that was the ultimate goal of black consciousness and I want to see that monument still being erected. That article talks about that a monument to Steve Biko is long overdue. We need that monument, it must be a living monument, it mustn't be a museum, it must become something living so that Steve's ideals are enshrined in there. It must become something that we can take our children to, to say this was Steve Biko, this was the Black Consciousness Movement and these were the other people as well who were part of the movement, and this is what they did for the country.

DS: Okay, you said earlier on, by 1975 you moved to the ANC because Black Consciousness was not prepared to change, to change in what way?

PD: Well in a sense that Black Consciousness had a limitation, in that there was no clear policy in terms of a total liberation of the country. There was policy in terms of the psychological liberation. Psychological liberation was a critical, and one of

the most important parts of our liberation process. But psychological liberation has its limit, it has a ceiling. You cannot pass beyond that ceiling, because yes, your consciousness has now changed, you are prepared to challenge the system et cetera, et cetera. How do you liberate a country where the oppressor was armed to the teeth and we had only sticks and stones? We had to have the hardware to challenge the system. In other words that we should go beyond just acts of sabotage, we should actively engage the enemy in armed combat, not in open combat, but in terms of guerilla warfare and this is where the Black Consciousness Movement fell flat on its face. Later on, in the late seventies and in the early eighties AZAPO began to articulate certain of these positions. By that time it was too late because the bulk of the Soweto generation, as we call them, had moved into, either the PAC in a very small number, or to the ANC in large numbers. So that the cadres that formed the bulk of Umkhonto we Sizwe, were the Soweto generation, and for us this was a logical development. So in 1975, when I began to hold a whole series of discussions with a number of Black Consciousness people, I found that there was a limitation, there was a limitation and this is when, when I met Steve as well, in '77. For the last time when we met, we discussed, and we argued about a number of issues and one of those issues was again this limitation and the relationship that we needed to establish with the PAC and the ANC who were outside the country at this stage.

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DS: Was Steve Biko in favour of your ideas in terms of?

PD: Well I've just said, my fight with Steve was because we were losing our youth, we were losing so many children who were dying in places like Soweto and in various parts of the country. The whole country was out in revolt and we didn't have the capacity to give them that kind of leadership. Leadership was suddenly passing to a very young group of people like the Soweto SRC, or the SSRC as it was called then, and this was the dangerous development, dangerous in the sense that you had a lot impulsive actions that were taking place and you had a dangerous vacuum because there was not an effective leadership. You have people like (Tsietsi) Mashanini, eventually Mashanini left the country and he went into Nigeria and you had a dangerous level of leadership in these very young inexperienced people, who were now, in the absence of powerful and policy guided leaders, you had young people who were coming into the fore and for me that was a serious and dangerous development, because by virtue of the fact that they were inexperienced, by virtue of the fact they were hot-headed, they would take wrong decisions, and in many cases they were wrong decisions that were taken that cost lives and for us that was unacceptable. We wanted to minimise the loss of life because we had already lost so many people during the, you know, the upheaval of '76/'77.

DS: Okay, earlier on you mentioned that after seeing that the Government or the Police wanted to kill you

and harass your family, you decided now you have to leave the country.

PD: That's true.

DS: Okay, I was just saying earlier on when you realised that the Government is trying to kill you and harass your family, you now decided to leave the country, you went to exile. How did you manage to slip out of the country?

PD: Well, at that stage, the South African Council of Churches had come into the picture and it was through contacts with people like Reverend Saul Jacob and people like Constance Khosa from the Johannesburg office, that we were able to leave the country, because they had a very important hand in the sort of the financial side of financing the Black Consciousness Movement as such. There was money coming in from the World Council of Churches (WCC) and things like that, which was directed into Black Consciousness activities, and we were the recipients of this funding. Although the funding was not very large at that stage, but we had clinics, like the Zanempilo Clinic, in the Eastern Cape area. We had a whole range of BC programmes that were carried out, sort of, virtually all over the country and that was being funded by the South African Council of Churches. So they decided that we would be far more effective outside the country and, of course, we had to take the decision because we as a family, we were a young family, my children were two and four at that stage, and we realised that number one, I would never be

able to teach in this country again. Number two, there was every likelihood that I would either be killed or that I would be put into prison for a very long time. Three, that they could kill my wife or my children, or my children, and this would be you know, something that was - would sort of destroy all of us. At first, they wanted to get us to skip across the border into Botswana and I refused, because I knew at that stage, that the guys that skipped across the border, they would then detain their families - detain the wives and in some cases with the children and they would send a message to the guy there, come here we need you, we've got your family. So there was no way in which we were going to leave the country, or where I was going to leave the country on my own. If we've got to leave the country then it's going to be as secretly as we possibly can and then it would be with the family. And they were responsible for that, which meant that there was a tremendous delay in the time that we actually, from the time that they had organised it, from the time to, to the time when we left was period of about say seven months or so. But we said rather than that, you know, suddenly find myself in a dangerous situation where I'm gone and the family is going to be killed out here, or be taken into detention. They were all powerful, they could do what they wanted to. So we decided that, that was going to be the route that we were going to follow and the South African Council of Churches had organised our departure from the country and in '78, we were suddenly gone.

DS: Okay, you went to exile with your family, what about your parents?

PD: My parents, my mum was late by then. My mother died in '74, my dad was still around. When they discovered that we had, when they meaning the security cops, discovered we had slipped the country, that I was no longer there because I was under twenty-four hours of surveillance in Port Shepstone, they then entered, fourteen of them surrounded the building and they got hold of my father inside and questioned him for about eight to ten hours inside our home. And my father was pretty smug in his attitude and he says well if you want to take me, I'm an old man now, go ahead and take me and all I know is that my son was last in Johannesburg. And I don't where he and his family are. They were last in Johannesburg. And they beat the old man up and they did all kinds of things to him. But in the end they had to let him go because he said look you know, in the end, in frustration, he told them that my son is safe, you can't do anything to him, you know. One of the other consequences was, other members of the family lost their jobs because of what we had done. Because we had fled the country and they, a number of members of the family, from my wife's side of the family, and including my side of the family lost their jobs because the Security Police would go and put pressure on their employers. And they lost their jobs, and eventually they were able to find other jobs and things like that, but it became tough on them as well.

DS: Okay, so you went to Denmark?

PD: Yes it had been organised that, well we first we were in Switzerland, in Zurich, because we were told that Switzerland could possibly give us political asylum. But at the very eleventh hour, Constance Khosa had informed us that we would meet a contact in Switzerland, at Zurich airport, who would then give us further instructions and at Zurich airport, we were picked up by a very, very nice Swiss national who took us in, put us into a hotel and said to us that we would be most likely moving onto Denmark. At that stage we didn't know, and a few days later, I think we were there two or three days when Denmark granted us political asylum and we were transferred to Copenhagen. And that was a start of a fourteen-year exile.

DS: So in Denmark, were there ANC people there?

PD: Yes, yes there were a number of South Africans, there was one PAC family, but the remainder of us, we were, we were all together, about say thirty South Africans who were there, and later on of course, this swelled to a larger number, but we were never more than let's say seventy South Africans, all in all. But the ANC had a very strong presence and we were the ones that converted Scandinavia into ANC territory. And the Scandinavian's were well disposed towards us but that didn't come about automatically, we had to work very, very hard for that. And eventually as I said, we turned ANC, I mean Scandinavia, which comprises of the four

countries into ANC territory, and it became in the West, one of the staunchest supporters of the ANC.

DS: So like you said you had to work very hard to be accepted in Denmark or as in Scandinavia, would you like to explain that in detail?

PD: Well when I say we found it difficult to be accepted, I meant the ANC per se, because once they had accepted us as a family and they had given us political exile, they, the State supported us totally, completely, in that they provided housing, they provided the finances for us to continue living et cetera, et cetera. Denmark is a very different society from South Africa. It was also a big cultural shock for us. It was also a weather shock for us, because we had never seen snow in our lives, coming from Durban. Suddenly, you are confronted with ten months of winter and temperatures that could, and have been plummeting down to minus thirty degrees. It was a bit scary, but you learn to survive, the body is an amazingly adaptable thing. With regards to the ANC's acceptability in Scandinavia we had to work very hard. We had to show the Scandinavian Governments and various non-governmental bodies, who played a very powerful, and still continue to play a very powerful role in Scandinavian society, that the ANC was not this terrorist organisation that was being portrayed by the South African regime. That it was a very responsible organisation that had only taken to armed struggle when all else, all other avenues had been closed and the only response to the just demands of the people had been violence and more

violence. So we had to respond through armed struggle as one of the weapons of liberation of our country. And the armed struggle was what the West was most concerned about because of the potential for damaging the South African economy et cetera, et cetera. So we were able to show to them that we were very responsible, and especially in the eighties, when the struggle began to intensify, we were able to show to them that we were responsible individuals and that nothing would stop us between ourselves and our freedom, and that we wanted to minimise the loss of lives, but that we were prepared to fight to the bitter end if necessary. And it meant working with the Trade Union Movements of the various countries, working with the youth movements, with the women's movement, with the peace movement and every conceivable movement that there was. We made sure that our point of view got through and this also meant, on another level, working with the Diplomatic community. The Diplomatic community had to be informed as to what was going on and part of my task was on the diplomatic front. The ANC office used to send me out on diplomatic initiatives all over Scandinavia. And which bore fruit very successfully because the Scandinavian Governments were the first of the Western Governments to impose sanctions in 1985, and by 1986 we got the European community to impose sanctions on South Africa. Now the sanctions tool was a very powerful tool, it was a tool that I had worked on with growing intensity and I became central to this sort of pan European anti-apartheid movement to ensure that sanctions were

put into place. It was one of the last nails in the apartheid, you know, coffin. We used every opportunity. I will give you another example of how Steve Biko came to our aid after he was dead. When Cry Freedom was being shown, I was sent on a mission to Iceland. I was on a mission to Iceland in 1990, I think it was, and Cry Freedom, the film, Attenborough's film, was being shown in the cinemas then. And so the anti-apartheid movement organised and publicised it. I as an ANC speaker, who was a contemporary of Steve Biko, would address them after the show. And I addressed them and I caught a lot of parliamentarians and other key people in there. Now there was this very living image of Steve played by I think, Denzel Washington, wasn't it? And I would follow that up immediately with a very brief talk on what was going on in South Africa at that particular stage in time. And this was a very powerful way in which we could convince large sectors of our people, in Scandinavia that hey, apartheid was wrong, something would have to be done. And this enabled Iceland, even a small country like Iceland, to impose sanctions on South Africa. Now this does not mean to say that it was smooth sailing, because South Africa had some very powerful friends in Scandinavia, as well. Our job was to neutralise the kind of propaganda that they were bringing into the fore. They were calling us you know, communist, terrorist organisations. We have connections to Moscow et cetera, this was the cold war period, you know. We were still being aligned with communist forces, and they were being aligned with American

forces and democracy, and things like that. Now we had to show the Scandinavians that we were not the ogres that we were made out to be. We were not monsters, that we were ordinary people fighting for the basic things that they had already fought for and achieved in their countries. And that was a way in which, we sort of got ourselves into their, into their consciousness, that we were not monsters, that we were ordinary people.

DS: Were you working with your wife?

PD: Yes very much so. Mala is a, was an activist and remains an activist in her own rights. She was not an extension of me. She, we have seen ourselves as equal in our relationship, in our political relationship, and in our parental relationship, we see ourselves as equals. We don't see one another as being up there or down here or whatever it is, and she was very critical in the women's struggle, she was one of the supporters who raised a large amount of money for the Malebong Work Conference which took place in Amsterdam in 1989, I think it was. She raised a large amount of money in Scandinavia through the Union movements, and things like that.

She was very forceful in the, the Danish women's movement, it's a very powerful movement and she was able to influence them very strongly. But she was not in just the women's movement as such, she had, both of us participated in local politics as such, in the anti-racist struggle, in the anti-nuclear struggle, in the peace struggle. And there was a very powerful anti-sexist thing, as well. And then, as foreigners living in Denmark as well, because

some of the Danes were racist. You see, we also had to make their consciousness develop about issues of racism and sexism and things like that. So much so, that we also worked on a local level and we became, in a way, identified with Denmark as well. And in a tribute to us, one of the political parties offered me an MP's position in Denmark in 1990/1991, and I had to refuse that, and they wanted to twist my arm and they said ,look there is a position coming up, you can take this position, you can become an MP here in Denmark, and I said I'm going back home, my country is there, I'm in the process of liberating my country. I thank you for what you have done but I am here because I'm in exile. I'm going back home, you are my second home, for which I am very grateful, for what you have done and the way you have supported us in our struggle and things like that. But this is my second home, my first home is South Africa, I'm going back home to serve my own people.

DS: Okay, how long were you in Denmark?

PD: Fourteen years.

DS: Fourteen years.

PD: '78 to '92.

DS: That's quite long. Your father was he able to visit you in Denmark?

PD: An interesting situation arose in 1984. You see my father was detained himself in 1969 when the Security Police uncovered some information that my father had been repairing some guns. Now if you

remember, there was this Poquo uprising in the Pondoland area of the Transkei, and there was the peasants' revolt, as Govan Mbeki had called it. Now my father was a jack of all trades. He had this workshop in which he could repair virtually anything. He was also a minor inventor, he created things as well. Now if there was something broken, everybody brought their things to him and some of the hardware he did repair, because I was aware of it the first time I had seen some of these guns. And of course, nobody else, I think, saw them besides him and myself, and at night he would be busy sorting out things in his workshop. And in 1969, he was arrested by the Security Police and taken away for three days, they beat the hell out of him, but in the end they didn't get anything out of him, they let him go. So he was denied a passport. Every time they applied for a passport he was denied a passport. So then we left the country, and of course, he would never be given a passport, but in 1984 my brother called me and said listen you won't believe this but dad's been given a passport. So I said alright, just go to the bank, the next day I will transfer money I don't know how I'm going to do it, but I am going to transfer some money for his ticket. So I transferred money for his ticket and within two weeks we had him in Denmark. It was the last time I saw my dad, he was there for three months with us. Because he came back in 1989, and he died here. He was at that, stage eighty-three years old, and they wouldn't let me come to attend his funeral. Why I found that very hurtful was because I was very close to my dad, very, very close. And just a

week later after my fathers' death, they had released the six Rivonia trialists and I found that it strange that they refused me permission. But even the ANC said no you are not going to go back into the country now because you know, the television broadcast, the television programme that had been made on us was very damaging to the South African white cause, the apartheid cause, and they would be after us, and if I attempted, if the ANC said okay try to get into the country, what the ANC representative at that time said to me very clearly, look your family has got a tragedy on its hands right now, your father's funeral that has to be organised, and if you go and you get picked up in Johannesburg, so they have a double tragedy and then you are going to leave your family out here. If something happens to you and they kill you, you are going to be creating tragedies all around. So we are saying to you, don't go, it's too risky. And I had to internalise that, I had to accept that I had responsibilities on a larger level than attending my father's funeral. But one of the first acts when we returned to South Africa proper, in 1992, in July 1992, was for me to go back home and to make my peace in the spot in the Umzimkulu River, where my fathers ashes were put down there. So I had to go there and make my peace. And that night I slept in his room, on his bed, to make my peace with him, because it's a very important ritual in Hinduism as such, that you return home to wash your fathers body. And I was symbolically able to do this again, in a very symbolic way. This was in 1992, this was several years after his death.

DS: Okay, what was the cause of his death?

PD: Sorry, I didn't hear you?

DS: What was the cause of his death?

PD: Well he was, he had a heart attack. He had a heart attack in 1969, shortly after he was released from where he was beaten up and all that by the Security Police. He had a massive heart attack in '74 and so his heart was never what it was before, but he was an incredibly strong man of another generation, that we don't know about. He used to walk an average of fourteen kilometres a day. He used to go to the hospital to visit people, and he knew everybody. If you were a Dhlamini, or you were a Naidoo, or you were whatever, he knew you.

END TAPE 1B - RESUMPTION TAPE 2A

DS: Okay. I just want us to go a little bit back. Earlier on you said you went to Tanzania, and I just want to find out how did you, what made you go to Tanzania?

PD: Well, we were never quite happy in Denmark in the initial periods because Danish culture, European culture was so foreign to us and we wanted our children to grow up within an African environment. And so, quite earlier on as, you know, teachers, we decided that we wanted to give the service, our services to our own people and so we applied to become teachers in the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania, which is run by the ANC and we were accepted. And we moved to Tanzania in 1981 and I was a teacher in the secondary school,

the high school and my wife was a teacher in the primary section, in the junior primary section. The Tanzanian experience was quite an amazing experience because it was the first time we were living in a tropical country. But of course, it came with the tropical climate, a number of diseases that we had never contended with before. Primarily amongst them was malaria. But anyway that is another story. We were active in the various ANC units on the settlements that was quite a self-efficient independent settlement in Morogoro, we were just outside Morogoro. We had our own garage, we had our own clothing factories, we had our own electrical supply, we had a number of things that in fact, the Tanzanians didn't have, because we were being supported by solidarity organisations across the globe, especially the East block, you know, countries that used to send containers down and we had a lot of solidarity with the Danes. The Danes supplied the various architects who designed the place for us. The Dutch anti-apartheid movement provided a number of key workers for us as well. And Mala and I taught there and we left in 1982, so that was a period of two years we were there. One of the reasons, well the key reason why we had left was that malaria, malaria was causing a serious problem.

DS: You're still telling us about Tanzania, why you were decided to leave.

PD: Yes, while we were there you know, I was active in the, I was chairman of the environmental committee. I was also part of the disciplinary committee, and

my wife and I were both involved in various units at the camp as well. What had, made us leave Tanzania and return to Denmark was the fact that malaria was a major killer. And I was very fortunate in that I suffered with malaria once. But Mala and the two girls, who were at that time six and eight years old, had malaria ten times each. And malaria stunts your growth completely. To complicate matters, I developed a very severe stomach, intestinal infection, which forced me - I mean which, during that period I lost seventeen kilos in weight. So I was extremely, extremely skinny at that period. And my older daughter, Semi, also developed some kind of urethral infection, which there was no cure for these things in Tanzania as such. We were able to control, to a certain limited extent, the most deadly effects of malaria by taking a prophylactic. But that didn't give us more than 40% you know, protection and in my daughter's case, she needed medical attention very urgently and in my case, I needed attention as well, which we couldn't obtain down there. And we decided at that stage, that it would be in our best interest to return to Denmark and it would be in the interest of the movement as well were if we returned to Denmark because we were, we would be able to continue the kind of solidarity work rather than remain in Tanzania as teachers. Because there were other people that we could get in there. But on the diplomatic front and a number of other fronts we had already established a presence in Scandinavia and we felt that we would be more usefully used down there. We also had a fear because we were burying a baby a week in

Tanzania due to malaria and due to other diseases. There was at the back of our minds a deep-seated fear that we could lose our girls to some disease or other. Now it's quite a tropical climate, it's quite different from what we are used in Kwa-Zulu Natal. It is very, very different. We think we know what living in a tropical climate is, it's very different to you know, life as we know it here. So there were a number of tropical diseases which we know nothing about, we didn't even know how to handle these things. So that coupled with one or two other minor reasons which sort of forced us to take a decision to go back. But we were leaving Tanzania in order to advance the struggle, so we returned to Denmark. We immediately got ourselves involved in advancing the struggle by expanding the anti-apartheid movement, by creating all kinds of contacts with a number of organisations. Because you must remember, at that stage in Scandinavia, although there was a growing support for the ANC, it was still not official policy of the Government to support the ANC. This only came in much later.

DS: Okay, in that time did you maintain optimism, like a hope that we'll be liberated one day?

PD: We had no doubt about that. We had no doubt that we would be liberated, perhaps we were over enthusiastic at the first. When we first go into exile we thought in five years time we would have liberated the country and we would be able to return. But we had no doubt that the country would be liberated by a combination of forces, the armed struggle would just be one minor element of that

struggle. But there were other you know, legs of the international struggle that we were building up and that every single individual had to make a contribution to this. And it was so important that we did what we did in terms of the international leg of the struggle, in terms of the international community applying sanctions et cetera and reducing its trade with South Africa and the oil boycott, the financial boycott, a number of these initiatives were in fact launched by Mala and myself.

DS: Okay, looking back is there anything you would have done differently, maybe?

PD: In a way yes. I would have given a little bit more time to my family, because in both of our cases we were married to the struggle first, then we were married to one another, and we tried to give as normal a life to our two children and one of our regrets is that we were unable to give them sufficient time because we were at the same time super activists within the ANC, within the anti-apartheid movement, in local politics, in the peace movement, in the anti-racist movement. And our lives were very full and to a certain extent we do have a bit of a guilt feeling that we did neglect our children somewhat. Not to the extent where it has damaged them in any way, but we could have been a little bit more there for them. So you know, looking back, in retrospect, that is the only regret I have. Given the same situation that we had in the sixties and seventies and the eighties I would do it all over again.

DS: Okay, the unbanning of all the political organisations in 1990, how did you feel?

PD: In one word elated. Absolutely elated, and of course, the subsequent release of Nelson Mandela, who was this amazing father figure and somebody we had all admired for such a long time. We were simply, absolutely elated. I remember having worked until 3 o'clock in the morning in the anti-apartheid offices in the city of Aibus, where we had lived, Denmark's second largest city. We had worked throughout the day and until 3 o'clock in the morning to organise a massive liberation party, liberation in the sense that Nelson Mandela was free; and we had closed off the entire street with permission from the Municipality because this became a centre of celebration. You know the whole anti-apartheid movement got together and we had this massive party which spilled out onto the streets as well, and it was a day of great liberation and great joy for us. It was a day we had lived for and this would now mean that, in a short time we, would be returning home.

DS: Okay, why do you think the National Party agreed to a negotiated settlement?

PD: They had no other option. We must never forget that it wasn't goodwill on their part that forced them to the negotiating table. It was the ANC's totality of the struggle package that forced them to the negotiating table. If their position continued to remain as strong as it was in the sixties and the seventies they were not prepared, they would never

have negotiated with the ANC or with any other force. They negotiated with the ANC primarily because they were now in a position of weakness. They were; it was impossible for them to go on governing the country like they had governed it in the seventies. Now there was open rebellion and resistance. The people had unbanned the ANC. So before the apartheid regime unbanned the ANC, the people's movement had unbanned the ANC.

DS: Okay, did you give any testimony to the TRC?

PD: No I didn't give any, neither did Mala and both of us, in principle, were opposed to the TRC because the TRC equated the perpetrators of apartheid and those of us who were in the resistance on the same level and for me this was tantamount to blasphemy.

And when I had to write a paper for somebody who was in parliament about these arguments, I said, "Are you now going to equate the resistance movement in, let's say France during the Second World War, on the same level as the oppression of the Nazi's?" So I said to the individual, on another level, we take a woman who is being raped by a man who is brutally raping her. Now during the trial are we going to say that this man here is guilty of rape and the woman because she resisted his attempts, she is equally guilty of violence? So when the TRC equated or created an equality between the perpetrator's violence and the violence of the resistance, we had a serious problem with that and I still have a serious problem with that. Even in the name of reconciliation I believe South Africa, the liberation forces went too far in reconciling.

Because I believe people like the perpetrators of the murder of Steve Biko are still not brought to justice. We have been too forgiving, we have been too ready to forgive and I'm afraid yes I do want to go forward, but I don't believe the full truth about our past has been revealed. It became, in many instances, a song and dance and a crying chamber for people to vent out their frustrations. For me, reconciliation still had to have its Nuremberg Trials in South Africa, which we haven't had yet. And there are perpetrators of the violence and the worst atrocities that are walking the streets as free people. I have a problem with that.

DS: Why do think the TRC or say the ANC Government has done that?

PD: I have been trying to rationalise as to why they have done that, you know. I believe that one of the things that the Government wanted to do, and Mandela wanted to do, is to try to reconcile or to patch over the cracks as quickly as possible in our society. To a certain extent it has worked, in that there has been a forgiveness on the part of the Government, on part of the ANC, on the part of the black majority, so that we can get ahead with our lives. But I don't believe that justice has been served. I'm a great believer in justice because I believe that these individuals who perpetrated the grossest of these abuses must be made to pay in some way. There has got to be retribution and there isn't that retribution that I see. There is even talk now of a killer like [Eugene] de Kock going free. There's people, there's killers like Basson who are being treated

with - you know, the man may walk free, and this worries me, how far do we take reconciliation? This concerns me because I have seen my friends killed, I've seen my friends tortured. Now I don't want to be bitter about this, but I want to be realistic. Let's just be realistic let's not take a reconciliation to absurd lengths, where we do all the forgiving. Forgiveness is got to be a joint thing and so far it's been coming largely from our side.

DS: So in terms of reparation what can you say about it?

PD: You see reparation to me, to me means going beyond financial reparations. A suggestion has been made, a very strong suggestion has been made, in that the people who secured large amounts of money from German companies to pay reparations to the holocaust survivors I think the amount was one billion dollars or whatever it was, and now there is talk the same thing should be done so that the survivors of apartheid will now begin to benefit. Those Western companies that traded with South Africa and supported South Africa ,they ought to pay some kind of reparation. But I want to take it one step beyond that. For me reparation means, whatever it is being put into the repair of the minds, of the souls of people who have been so brutalised by the system and so brutalised especially in the period from 1984 to 1994/1995 in that period here, that ten- year period, where the last gasps of the apartheid monster were being played out in the fields. And here in Kwa-Zulu Natal, we have a tremendously traumatised society. Today, of course, we have another dimension, we have the problem of

Aids. But we have a traumatised society where very little has been done to repair the damages caused by the trauma. We had children who see, who've seen their parents murdered in front of them. They have seen their uncles, their grannies, their aunts murdered in front of them. What has been done to address the trauma? We heard of individual groups, like in the Port Shepstone area, where practical ministries under Reverend Danny Chetty, are trying to do something about it. We had Diakonia Churches you know, the Diakonia Council of Churches trying to do something down here on a small scale. Government needs to add funds so that this process of reconciliation can take place. And I believe that we have come a long way again within the context of Kwa-Zulu Natal between the ANC and INKATHA, where there's been, at least the killing has ended. But we have got to go beyond that. Repair work has to be done so that our communities become normal communities, that we realise we are living in a democracy. Where if you are INKATHA then I respect your views for being INKATHA, if I am ANC, if I am PAC or if I am whatever I am, it is my right to be that. It is important, this is what democracy, this is the essence of democracy. And I believe that we have got to reach that stage, but that healing process has still got to take place.

DS: Okay, so earlier on you spoke of the survivors of apartheid, what do you mean when you say the survivors of apartheid. Are you saying that the

people who were the direct victims of apartheid, as in those who lost their loved ones?

PD: This is a touchy question, right. Now the survivors of apartheid stretch over three hundred years of our history, more than three hundred years of our history. I believe that if you say that, let's say ten billion dollars is available for the survivors of apartheid. Now I don't mean that the beneficiary of this should be me or you or anybody else. I believe that we need to create national structures, national bodies that can look at the upliftment of our society. The scourge of Aids that hits, that is hitting our society, the scourge of poverty that is hitting our society. This lack of education, we don't have enough classrooms in certain areas. We have some schools in a democratic South Africa where there is still no toilets and that is unacceptable to me. Why is that so? We have still classrooms where there are fifty and sixty children. We still have unusually high child-mortality rate in our country. Use those funds to develop that. I don't want any of that money and I don't think anybody has a right to that money. Now with, we are not going to say that yes, I was more discriminated against by apartheid than you were, so I should have more of this and things like that, it will create too many divisions in our society. That money, if and should it come, should go towards national upliftment.

DS: Okay, in closing would you like say anything with regard to the Government of South Africa?

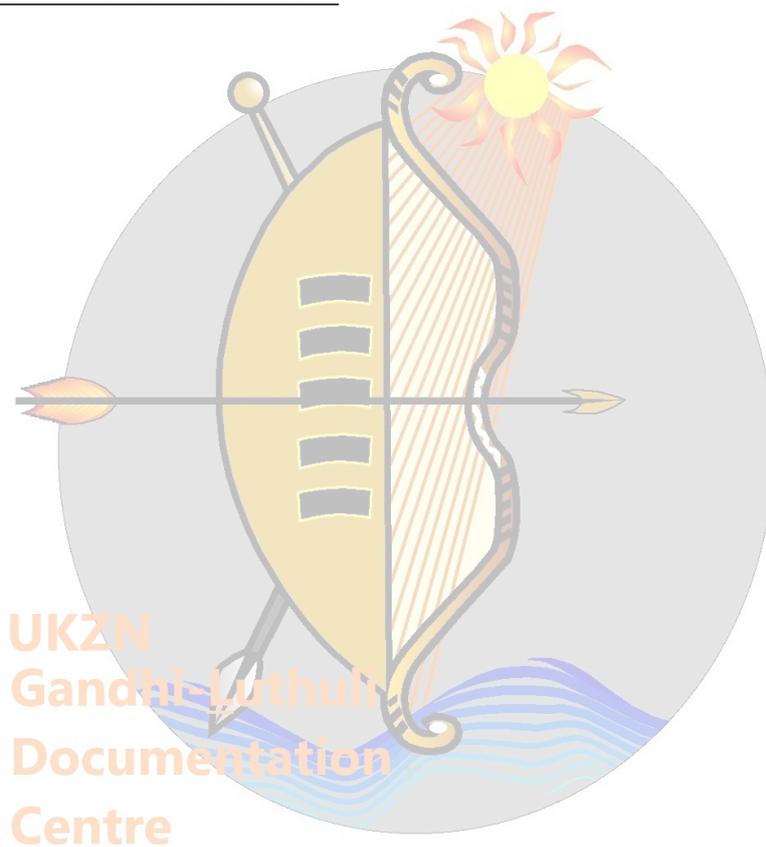
PD: Well I think the Government has done a tremendous job in a very, very difficult situation, in that it has begun to attempt to create a unified society out of a very divisive society. It has had to consolidate a number of forces and it has done this fairly effectively. I believe that that there is still a long way to go, but it is getting there slowly. And to reconcile a society like South Africa with the few resources and the few attempts of reconciliation have been remarkable in the dividends that it has paid. There are areas that concern me. The attitudes of people towards Aids, especially amongst younger people, is something that worries me. We freed this country for you. Now if you are going to play Russian Roulette with your lives that for me is stupid, that this has got to end that we have got to develop a new idea, we have got to find a new way of thinking about sexuality, about our sexuality which is a, a very important thing. I believe that the Government has done a tremendous amount in terms of delivery of services to the people and I think that that is wonderful. But I think that the Government needs to address other issues that it has not addressed yet sufficiently well. It needs to address issues of racism in our country. I believe that it needs to do a tremendous amount in terms of sexism and attitude towards girls in particular, women, or the female gender. It needs to be, there is a lot that needs to be done there, and it needs to be done urgently. I don't think the Government, that Government is doing enough in that regard because we have absolutely horrific situations developing with abuse of girls, women, children, the elderly.

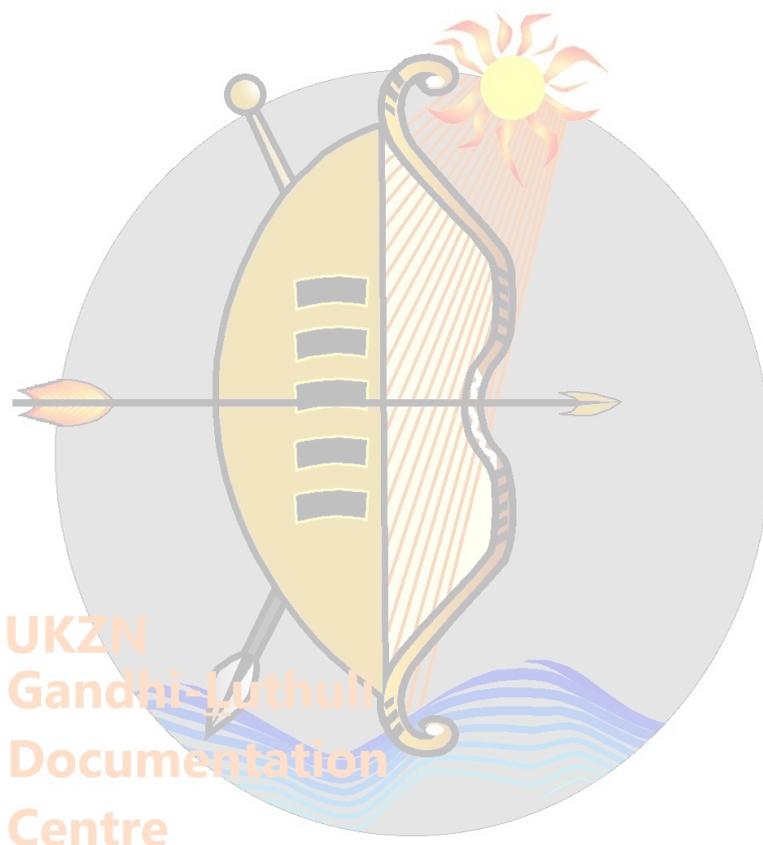
Generally the non-productive elements in our society are being dealt with very shoddily. We believe there's got to be a concerted policy in order to change this.

DS: Once again Mr. Dullay thank you very much for your contribution.

PD: You're welcome.

END OF INTERVIEW





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