

- J.F. I start out with everyone with when were you born and where, but why don't you just say what you think is important in - maybe the idea is to see how people developed in a non-racial direction.
- F.G. Ja, I'm very unlikely to do much personal interviews, to be honest - I am not happy on that at all.....
- J.F. When were you born and where?
- F.G. Johannesburg, 1932.
- J.F. And was it just - what can you say about you developing in a non-racial way? Where you grew up, your family's background, were they political, were you exposed to the race groups?
- F.G. Families were political. We were exposed, I suppose, to whites and Coloureds. I went to a Coloured school when I was very young, briefly, because there was no Indian school near there, and I was too young to go to the main Indian school, but I think it was basically a family ethic where race didn't matter.
- J.F. A family ethic of direct political awareness?
- F.G. Not conscious - well, the family was political because they'd been involved with Gandhi, but it was also a - I suppose a - brought up with the notion of social responsibility rather than political, you know, positively political.
- J.F. So were they in the Indian Congress?
- F.G. Yes, but part of my family was in Mozambique, so we were all over, but my grandfather had been in congress, my cousins were involved with congress in the '30s and '40s.
- J.F. And what did your parents do?
- F.G. We ran - we were, I suppose, one of the few industrialists in South Africa Indian industrialists (.....) from Mozambique, and we had a branch in South Africa of - of oil - oil processing.
- J.F. And what do you think - just because of the time and we can get into theory, which I'd actually quite like - I find very few people satisfy their theoretical needs - can you just tell me what motivated your non-racialism why....
- F.G. Well, it wasn't a motivation about being non-racial - you were non-racial (Laugh). You didn't think in those terms.
- J.F. But being from a successful industrialist family there wasn't a sense of the other - the Africans were below? There's no way you can join hands with them in the struggle?
- F.G. No, it didn't arise because this notion of social responsibility - you know, you did - I mean you were brought up with the notion that if you were privileged, you therefore had to contribute, that privilege imposed a responsibility on you - and I mean it was always drummed into us from when we were kids, you know - do you realise other people are not educated What are you doing about it. So that kind of thing, and very much more pronounced in my father than any other members of the family, and that had a tremendous impact on us.
- J.F. Was that (.....) or what was your father (?)
- F.G. Yes.
- J.F. With a G?
- F.G. With a G.

- J.F. What organisations were you involved in? I'm just interested in how you went from social responsibility to an ideological framework.
- F.G. Well, the thing was, you know, you - I think people of my generation, we were - you were part of congress, you grew up in it - you didn't formally go and join it, and I think this is the important thing - family members - I spent part of my childhood in India for a very brief period, and they were involved there as well, very politically active, again with the Indian congress, so you know, you grew up assuming you were part of that organisation, and I just I suppose drifted in (Laugh) you know - I mean it's that kind of thing - people in school with you, people who are your friends, and when you were - I was at university abroad, but I used to go home for my vacations, and was involved with all the political people - you spent your holiday sitting in the congress offices - you just did it.
- J.F. Which university did you go to abroad?
- F.G. I was here, and then I was at - for a very brief time at Barnet, Columbia.
- J.F. Where's here?
- F.G. In King's College, London.
- J.F. And what - I just don't know the background that led to you leaving - what, just in a brief way....
- F.G. Why I left.....
- J.F. What you'd been involved with before that?
- F.G. Right, no, the reason I left was I was about to - I'd qualified and I was about to join chambers with Bram Fischer, and this was in '59, when the ANC had already taken a decision that they were going to set up an external mission. Now I had, because I had studied abroad - I knew most of the East African leadership, and I'd been working as a freelance journalist for some time before that, so I knew people, and I suspect that - I never found out quite why, but I was asked to help bring out Oliver Tambo and help set up the external mission, so I just intended to do that and go back to my law practice (Laugh) or to start a law practice, but in fact in between what happened - Sharpeville happened - the ANC was then illegalised - you see, it's not often appreciated that the external mission was not set up after the ANC was made - I mean in chronological terms yes, but the decision - I mean the ban was anticipated by the leadership - they had clearly assessed and decided that there was going to be a ban, and therefore it was important for an external mission to be established.
- J.F. And looking back at history, did you understand the Indian political movement such that there was a parallel movement in the Indian congress in the '40s like the ANC's youth league? Is that what you came out of (?) and you saw?
- F.G. Yes, I wasn't part of that - that went - that I think was a little ahead of me, but I was I suppose a precocious child inasmuch as I finished school at the age of 12, so (Laugh) I was floating around before I - I was too young to go to university or, you know, I was always with a much older generation politically than my own, so I was with people who had been part of that process, so you know, that was - these were people who were involved in that whole movement.
- J.F. I was just interested in that comparison because initially the ANC youth league was more nationalist and less progressive, which wouldn't that be the opposite of the Indian youth league - Indian congress youth league or - I'm trying to look at how ANC youth league - ultimately the ANC went to a non-racial perspective, but if you look at the '40s and the youth league through (?) the early '50s, especially the '40s, that was the time of less non-racialism with the....

F.G. Yes, but you see, this is the point I raised when I raise the historical thing - I think you've got to go back - you can't look at the youth league as the beginning of non-racialism - I think that - that's where a - I mean if you look at the actual founding congresses and the national convention of 1909, you have (Interruption) - if you look at that period, there were long speeches about the evils of racism and they talked about - I mean in the found - you know, the 1912 speeches and the 1909 convention it wasn't - they were talking about uniting the African people in (?) tribalism - they were also talking about non-racial South Africa - it was a very conscious thing - it wasn't an accident, and even the Cape politics - you know, the early African organisations, they were talking of a non-racial South Africa and they were - they saw themse - they were seeking a place for the African people within a non-racial society - they were not talking at any stage of an African exclusive - I mean the ANC has never been an exclus - exclusivist movement - whilst it has said Africans - you know, they're organising Africans in the first instance - they've never actually said specifically that it is South Africa for the Africans.

J.F. (.....) during - with some people in the youth league including.

F.G. Yes, but we were (?) saying, but that's not the ANC - that's what I'm trying to say, that the tradition of the ANC was a very different tradition, right, and I mean they co-operated through the - the early part of the century in the 1910 - I mean the women's anti-pass campaign was a anti-pass campaign of Coloured and African women together, and they formed the African and Coloured women's organisation for the 1913 pass campaign, so it goes back.

J.F. It goes back, but it does meander in other ways (.....) and his idea of the non-tribalism is a lot different than Mandela after the youth league.

F.G. Yes, but I think there - what I'm trying to say is there's a whole historical process, and that was the mainstream of the tradition - the people who at any stage have talked of black exclusivism have been against the tradition - you see, what I'm trying to say is it wasn't a tradition the ANC started anew in the '50s - the conditions were then right for a, you know - for it to take a particular form, but it was a tradition that went right back. You had the non-European conferences and attempts (?) to form non-European united fronts - the whole range of organisations and attempts to come together, which were - didn't come to anything for all sorts of reasons and that, you know - different reasons for that, but they were - my main point is that they're part of that mainstream.

J.F. How about if you look at where the support for that came from? There's a lot of history written about South Africa, not necessarily by South Africans, which talks about Africanism as being the real grassroots feeling, that that actually - they wouldn't talk about the working class, but the kind of basic African perspective would be much more comfortable with anti-white kind of - there isn't that much natural tendency to be non-racial. I'm not saying I subscribe to that, but....

F.G. But they don't add - adduce any evidence for it - they say it - where's the evidence for it?

J.F. Do you think that there's any way of - is there a convergence of class and racial and non-racial analysis that you see?

F.G. I - I don't think the African perspective came from any class awarene - I mean the ANC perspective was a class perspective - I'm not suggesting that, but I don't think that non-racialism is automatically in ideological terms necessarily always class - I mean they came from it from this - I suppose this ideological great liberal tradition, and they took it seriously....

J.F. Who's they?

F.G. The ANC - you know, the early part of the century.

- J.F. Right, but then that would definitely be the ANC of the doctors and the lawyers and the professional class....
- F.G. Yes, yes, yes.
- J.F. And I'm saying what about the working classes? What about the Indian women in the markets....
- F.G. Well, that - that came much later - what I'm trying to say - now let's deal with the ANC, because the Indians might be a different position - I think there's a different position - but from the ANC - so then the class thing and the - the working class mobilisation of this came with the Communist Party and came with the unions in the '20s and '30s, I'm not disputing that, but I'm saying they were able to do it much more easily because they were working within the mainstream of the ANC, which had already established this notion, unlike a lot of other African countries and African political parties, which never had that very clear conscious commitment to non-racism.
- J.F. So you're saying that the trade unionists and the Communist Party could take the petit bourgeois notion and then at least it was existing and then apply it in their work....
- F.G. They - they - it wasn't question of taking - they were part of that, you know, because they also came - if they were part of the ANC they - that was something they had all imbibed.
- J.F. But it's a top down and bottom up way of - the....
- F.G. Yes, but I mean again I - I - I mean while the ANC leadership was petit bourgeois, the point is at that early stage there was - I mean there was nothing else, so there was, you know - maybe not in the leadership, but they were part of the ANC - they saw themselves as part of it.
- J.F. I usually structure the interview with much longer scope, so I'm kind of jumping all around, but maybe I should take it from just moving into my theoretical questions? Is non-racism important. Is it central or is it peripheral?
- F.G. It's central - has to be in - in the context of South Africa we're talking about (?) - ja, because I mean you're working in a racist society, you're working within an - a dominant ideology which uses racism, and therefore if you want to function politically within that, you have to relate to racism, either positively or negatively, whichever way, but you can't ignore it, and therefore if you're moving progressively democratically, you relate to non-racism as (is) something you have to relate to.
- J.F. But do you relate to it as ideologically rooted, or is there another stronger ideological strand and non-racism is a kind of overlay?
- F.G. Are you talking of me as an - I mean who are you talking of now?
- J.F. I'm talking about you as a ANC theorist, and I'm going to also ask you to talk about Indian movements.
- F.G. I don't think in the ANC theorist the - I think non-racism was the dominant, because I mean again I mean the ANC is - does not analyse South Africa in pure class terms - I mean it's not a Marxist party, it never has been, doesn't claim to be - there may be individuals in it who are Marxist
- J.F. As you were becoming more politicised, as you were active - let's take it first inside the country, was - I'm asking this now from afar and from a bit of a distance perspective, but do you remember it as being part of the debates - that's why I was asking about the Indian congress youth league..
- F.G. Part of the debates about?

- J.F. In ANC circles, in resistance circles, did you ever in the '50s, which would have been I guess when you were getting most active initially - was non-racialism as a word even discussed, as a concept?
- F.G. Yes, I mean it was what you were - I mean we had - we were proud of the fact that we'd come together, that we worked together - this was something - it was seen as an achievement - and I mean the whole debate leading up to the Freedom Charter, I mean that was about obvious - I mean it was the major thing - and then the division and the split of PAC in '58, you know.
- J.F. How did you see that split, being right there on the scene, seeing some of the debates?
- F.G. No, I wasn't - I mean I was very young - I was sort of one of the cannon fodder (Laugh) you know what I mean, I - we were discussing it amongst ourselves and we would talk in the office, and I mean Kathrada was my contemporary, right - we were together - I mean if you want to sort of put it in generational terms - but this was all - we were all inspired by it, we....
- J.F. By?
- F.G. This whole notion that the ANC was prepared to stand up and be non-racist - I think there were - if we can move to the Indian side, there was some concern amongst Indians that this was - it was the right thing, you know, certainly, but there was concern that perhaps issues were being lost, the movement was losing touch with the grassroots because issues were no longer being taken up, but to what extent this was because of the non-racial congress alliance, or to what extent it was because one had got bogged down in the treason trial, was a debate that some of us were - used to toss around - you know, was it the fact that we were bogged down in the treason trial....
- J.F. That caused what then (?)
- F.G. That I mean the grassroot Indians were raising in the late '50s, that O.K. we've got an alliance, we agree it's the right thing, but what issues are being taken up, how are - how is the Indian congress dealing with issues of day to day concern with the Indians - the Group Areas Act all it - everything was being done on the Group Areas Act - there were consistent hearings being organised everywhere else, but what about other issues - these were being lost sight of, you see, and some people said this was because the ANC was, you know, setting the agenda....
- J.F. And it was Africans dominating the ANC?
- F.G. Ja - well, the ANC was African - and others were saying no, it isn't - it's got nothing to do with the fact that we working within a congress alliance - it's just that we're all bogged down with work - we're bogged down with that - treason trial's bogging everybody down - and so these were different perspectives that were being discussed.
- J.F. What about the critique of non-racialism - if someone said no, it's actually because the Indian working class isn't instinctively non-racial - the Indian working class is saying remember 1949?
- F.G. No, nobody talked in those terms of the Indian working class - you know, that just wasn't on - you talked of the Indians and you spoke of the majority - if at all you spoke about anybody you'd talk of the traders - it worked the other way round, the - the - the recognised perspective was obviously you - if you were part of the progressive stream, you saw that as what you were talking about, so the others were the - were the traders, not the....

J.F. You mean the ones who would say remember '49 would have been the traders?

F.G. Ja, and you got - you got this in - because you had a different organisation - you had the Indian organisation, which was opposed to this alliance - you know, you had an Indian congress, and you had a formal body that was formed, the Indian organisation - you had a Transvaal Indian organisation and a Natal Indian organisation, right, and so these people were part of that tradition, right, and not all of them, but you see, a lot of them - because they were basically - the traders were Indian nationalists also, and they had this tremendous influence from India - part of Indian nationalism, which - and where Indian congress was saying unite with Africans - so a large number of traders were also part of Indian congress.

J.F. The new Indian congress the (.....)

F.G. Ja, we talking of the '50s now when there was only one Indian congress, you know, the - the battles were in the '40s, so you had - so that was accepted (?) - now you had, for instance, a strike - Lion Match - I think it was Lion Match, I can't remember - where Indian workers went on strike and were replaced by African workers, and it was very interesting the way that debate took place because the progressives were saying: You see, we should have formed one union, and then you wouldn't have had this problem. The reactionaries were saying: You see, if you unionise and you make demands on your wages, you'll be chucked out and the Africans will take your jobs. It was the same strike, the two sides both saw it as vindication (Laugh) of their positions. In other words, we were all operating politically and you used whatever you could to enforce your argument.

Now there's no question that running through the Indians at all times there's always this fear how does a minority cope - I mean I think it - it's foolhardy not to address that and to assume that it doesn't exist, and I - I regret some of our people do assume it doesn't exist, or somehow it's bad that it exists - I mean I think politically we have to recognise that things like this exist, and politically you cope with them and you educate people, and you don't say it - it's no good saying don't be afraid, because that doesn't solve anybody, because people have genuine fears, and they have an example of '49 - you've got to explain what happened in '49 - you've got to explain the - the Bothelezis today - you have to explain minorities and their role and the fact that they can be natural scapegoats in these sorts of situations - I mean this is part of a political education process, and to an extent that a political party addresses itself and political leaders address themselves to it, to that extent they can succeed - you don't succeed if you demand commitment out of fear, or give people panaceas and say: No, everything will be fine - because it won't be fine - minorities inevitably are scapegoats, and you have to address yourself to that, you know, it - it - and I mean the way I do is, you know, the extent to which, or the way I personally would say (?) the extent to which - I don't think I think of myself as an Indian, but the extent I - talking to people who raise it even today, I say the extent to which you are part and parcel of the ANC, and part and parcel of the UDF, and part and parcel of the democratic movement, you determine policies, you set the agenda, and to that extent you're able to participate in making your future secure.

The other way there's no way you can be secure, so the choice is not between security within a racist system and taking a chance outside, but with a guaranteed lack of security (Laugh) in a racist system, and working towards the other, you know - towards achieving a security for everybody outside - so I don't know if that's theoretical, but that's practical.

J.F. So you were in '49. Do you remember what people were saying? Do you have any memories of what '49 meant?

F.G. I was out of the country at that particular time, yes, but I mean the aftermath because people were talking about it for a long time afterwards - there was a lot of people fear (?) - oh, you know, those Africans - they were genuinely afraid - they saw it - it was a sort of lack of civilisation - it was racism - perceived in terms of racism, but racism combined with experience and fear that they had experienced, and the question was what do you do about it - you see, there was a recognition after that that it wasn't enough to go and sign pacts at a leadership level, that you had to try and bring people together, and this is the problem in South Africa, given the divided societies, how do you bring people together - now it was easier in the '50s - it's very much more difficult today....

J.F. Because?

F.G. Because we're so much more physically separated, you see - it was much easier at that period, but much, much more difficult now.

J.F. That's the perennial critique of non-racialism, the leaders are together but what about on the grassroots level?

F.G. Ja, but that's why you've got to get at the grassroots, and it doesn't have any meaning if it's just a question of leaders shaking hands with each other - it has absolutely no meaning, and you've got to get at the grassroots and you've got to do what I was saying, address the fears that - accept first of all that the fears are not unnatural - recognise the vulnerability of minorities that is almost intrinsic in that kind of society, and then deal with those issues, both in your political education and in trying to - to structure political movement in action to take account of those facts.

J.F. Can you cite any specific instance or something that was written or some historical - something you'd point to that shows the success of dealing with directly head-on addressing the minority mentality fears, where you think that now that was a way that it was dealt with....

F.G. Well, I mean I think the way the Indians overall have rejected the South African Indian Council, I mean that - a whole lot was written, lots of people - the whole build-up of community organisations at home - all of this is, you know, examples, and of the recent past where this was - after the first - after the '5 - I think it was after '49 there were joint committees set up precisely in (?) recognition, conscious recognition that it wasn't enough for pacts to be signed - you had to work with people, people like J.N. Singh and Ishmael Meer were part of a formal committee - I don't know if M.D. was - I don't think he was, but I couldn't be - wouldn't - wouldn't swear to that - there was actually a formal committee set up in Natal to deal with this specific problem, and based on the conscious recognition of the need - similarly after the '59 - and I think the success of it was in the '59 quote, unquote, riots, when it wasn't Indian shops that were touched, wasn't Indians that were affected - it was a clear attack in - in Cato Manor, where there was a specific attack now on municipal beer halls and so on.

J.F. I accept what you're saying - I think it's well argued, but how do you deal with those who look at some elements in the NIC specially, although also the TIC and say : Look, you know, you just continually have a kind of merchant class petit bourgeois mentality, where - just that kind of criticism which comes out of some ideological critique about their class position and also comes out of, I think, some individuals - it also comes out of the critique of the ethnic organisations, which then they'll say : Look at NIC, that just shows four nations doesn't work.

F.G. Ja, but I think therefore it's got to be tackled by the ANC and it's got to be tac - primarily by the ANC, and I mean I think there are - I mean NIC's there because partly of historical reasons - I think the - I would personally - but I don't want to deal with here - I have criticisms of some of the things that the NIC's been doing in the recent past - there are genuine problems there which need addressing, which in the 1980, '81, '82 - this whole growth of community organisations and so on could be - was not built on, you see - we - you need more input - but you see, it's one thing to accuse someone else of being the leader when I'm not prepared to make a stand myself - the people who are doing the criticising, you know, all these petit bourgeois leaders, they've given time to it - they have set themselves up as targets - now I think before you criticise, the person who's doing the criticism has to be asked : What did you do about it - are you prepared to spend the time, are you prepared to become a target of the state, are you prepared to face detention, are you prepared to be charged with treason?

You see, these are - these are practical, you know - it's one thing - I mean it's very easy to sit in universities, specially if they're abroad, and make these critiques - the question is on the ground what will be (?) done. Now sure, there are people on the ground who're doing things who are critical, but that has to be resolved within the organisation, and there the ANC can also give a lead - and you have the problem in Natal because overwhelmingly on top of this, you've got the Buthelezi factor, where you haven't got a threat of being used as a scapegoat, you've got a consistently spelt out one, you see, which makes it much more difficult because, you know, you're asking people to have faith when every few days they open their papers and see another threat, so it's very difficult, but that calls for - it's a greater political challenge.

J.F. But would you accept the having a separate organisation - the question continually is how far should the ANC go, how far should resistance politics in South Africa go in setting up non-racial organisations within the framework of (?) setting up separate ethnically based organisations?

F.G. You see, I mean again we talking, you know - are we talking theoretically, are we talking of the reality of when the NIC was revived - you know, I think the - it's one - totally one thing to talk in theory.

J.F. O.K., the NIC was revived again in '71.

F.G. Now it was easier to revive it than to have set up a totally new organisation.

J.F. The Nic - look at the TIC - the PAC was pretty dormant and then out of the blue in '81 it was reconstituted. That's a lot different than (.... ..) Ramgobin coming out of the lull and really....

F.G. Ja, but it was reconstituted because then you already had an NIC, right - now you needed an organisation that people could relate to - you had Lenasia residents associations, you had Laudium, you had all these community organisations - there was a feeling to bring them together - the Indians were used to an Indian congress, this was the way - the fact that you've got a TIC or a - you see, effectively you could equally say why do you have a Soweto civic association, which is all African - the - the reality of the geography of apartheid is that you are going to have these kinds of organisations - they are not important - by focusing attention on the fact of whether its membership is exclusive or not is - is - is a diversion - you've got to look at the nature of the organisation - an (?) NIC that was democratic that had an input from the grassroots would be a different NIC from one that was elitist, was basically leaders operating in a vacuum, without the grassroots support or with - with grassroot support but without a grassroots feed - you know, infeed - and that is the crucial issue you have to address, not the issue of who's allowed, because de facto organisations are almost inevitably racial, except at an absolute national level - you can't - you can't do it otherwise.



- F.G. You can't have a civic association in a African township and say it must - its doors must be open to everybody.
- J.F. But you could argue, and I - not necessarily I agree with it, but you could argue that a leadership - that the movement moves forward and that the (?) for example, release Mandela committee, it's not called African arm of UDF, and in fact possibly whites could join it - some people see it de facto as....
- F.G. It is de facto that, yes, because there was no other way for the Africans to organise.
- J.F. But even the fact that it's not called that - the Coloureds are very adamant about - they would never call anything the Coloured anything, it doesn't matter if it's the Cape or Transvaal.
- F.G. O.K., but that's fine because they have a problem with calling it Coloured - the Indians have no problem because they've got 90 years of history of an Indian congress.
- J.F. But I'm just saying when does the point come? When South Africa's liberated do you continue to have Indian organisations for Indian areas or how do you move....
- F.G. Well, let me put - let me say tomorrow morning if the ANC is not banned, do you think the Indian congress would have a separate existence?
- J.F. Not tomorrow, but I'm saying what's the projectory? How do you see it?
- F.G. No, no, I'm saying when the ANC's no longer banned, you wouldn't have a separate Indian congress.
- J.F. Do you think then it would have?
- F.G. Well, the ANC's doors are open - I mean what, at that stage are we all going to resign from the ANC and go into the Indian congress - of course not. You see, I - I think this is - is a diversion because it doesn't - it - it serves not to address the problem of the character of the organisation, which is far more important.
- J.F. Which is?
- F.G. Which was whether that's a democratic organis - does it address the issues - does it address the issues of all sorts of groups?
- J.F. What about that question of the Coloured view of - I think it's really - I like the fact that you immediately isolated the minority - it's minorities we're talking - we're talking about an African continent, an African majority and these various minorities that have to make their way. In your studies, in your understanding, in your experience of talking and being an ANC person, can you give me some understanding as to why these two minorities in South Africa, which have some things in common - they do tend to intermarry more than other groups etc. - have such a different political understanding, have - the Coloureds don't want to use the word Coloured - they - most people would tell you CPC wasn't....
- F.G. No, but I mean it's obvious because who - I mean the Indians are part of - I mean the word Indian it - it's like if you'd called it the koelie congress, the Coloured - the Indians would have had the same reaction, right. Now there's a debate amongst the Coloureds, you know, and the - because the Coloureds were - it was seen as a word of denigration, and therefore they react against it - I mean it - I think it's as simple as that - I don't think there's anything else (?) whereas the Indians they're - they're Indian - they're proud of their culture, but they see themselves as South African, and they have fed into the South African culture, which is you see (?) the congress food, congress events, the extent to which there's been an intermingling of cultures.

F.G. You know, that's there, and more of it will grow, we hope, and more of it has to be encouraged, and today's teenagers frankly the culture's American (Laugh) not - I mean but you know, this is the reality and you take pride in - in your own history, you don't deny it. Now when you've had a history of slavery, right, which is the sort of - and of constant attempts at contempt, you then get - you get different kinds of things - you get the kind of BC in its positive sense, which was there in the early BCM, which was there in the ANC youth league, which was saying we should be proud of what we are, you see, there's nothing wrong with it, right, but it's like people saying they reject their slave names in black America, and the Coloureds see this as their - the equivalent of a slave name, and that's why they reject that notion.

J.F. That explains the notion. I think that's a good point of - in terms of the name of it, but you could have the release Mandela committee, which is just for Africans. You could have some - it just seems that there's also - maybe I'm wrong, but it seems there's also a lack of effective ability to organise an organisation in the Coloured group areas. People will talk about the CPC in the '50s not - there's no - you can't argue that it was as effective as the Indian congress and the ANC, even.....

F.G. But I think that was not because of an organisational problem - I think at that particular stage the Coloureds were still ambivalent about where they stood - they hadn't been organised. You know, the Indians had a - again a long history of resistance, which went back, whereas the APO had been there at the turn of the century - the APO had effectively died out, and there was no real alternative towards it - there'd been nothing else set up. The APO was non-racial - anybody could be a member of the APO, Coloured or African - Africans were members of the APO, but most of them were Col - Indians were members of the APO, but most of the - you know, majority in it tends to be seen as a basically a Coloured organisation, but it didn't - you didn't have within the APO, or within the Coloured community, I suppose, the equivalent of the youth league or the anti-segregation council of the Indian congress - you didn't have that reform within the organisation itself, so the organisation died, and nothing was set up in its place till the '50s, when the Coloured People's Congress was set up, but again it was - I don't know to what extent that was set up as a wing of the congress movement, and to what extent it was a grassroots demand for the organisation NIC (?) whereas Indians - partly I suppose because you were rejected, partly the Gandhian tradition, partly I suppose the strong cultural roots, you know, you - I mean why do I wear a sari - because I got chucked out of a post office a few times in South Africa - I'm the only member of my family who does.

And I went home and I wore a sari and I said I - because I was in the - I looked white, and this was the time when they begun to segregate I - and they thought I was a protester, so I got chucked out, so I went home, I wore a sari, went back to the non-European queue - after that I discovered it was very comfortable to be in a sari - I mean at that time it was a political statement, now it's very comfortable - but I'm sure in different ways a lot of us did the same sort of thing - you were asserting an identity because you were denied one, or the one you were being, you know - you were told was a second class one.

J.F. How did you feel when the youth league was - the ANC youth league was at its more racialist stage, and when the PAC ultimately made its debut (?) Did you feel....

F.G. Now hang on, you're talking of '5 - you know, that's ten years apart - PAC was much later.

J.F. That was '49 - '59 - you can handle them separately, but in different stages in South African history it seems that there was overt anti-Indianness....

F.G. Right, now I think the youth league - I'm guessing because I don't know - I think the - the youth league - probably most Indians were not even aware of the problems - you would have had a small group that were aware - because it was essentially at that stage a intellectual movement at Fort Hare and so on - I suspect, but I don't know, right - I don't know how many people were fully aware of it - it was in the early '50s I think some of us became aware, but by the time I became aware of it and knew people like Nelson and so on there - that rac - you know, that period had passed.

The PAC was a different thing because I think the main thing there was that the fact that the ANC refused to compromise - you remember PAC came after the Freedom Charter, and the fact that the ANC was not prepared to seek cheap support, you know, or not prepared to compromise at the cost of possibly losing support, gave people much more confidence.

J.F. Did you ever - did people talk about it when the PAC broke away that they're anti-Indian?

F.G. Ja, I mean everyone knew about it, but I mean you know, you were starting from a process within - movement within the congress alliance, so you didn't, you know - in my - anyway - as far as I was aware, you know, we didn't pay much heed to it, because by then, you know, towards the late '50s we were even working out of one office in Johannesburg - we didn't even have separate physical offices.

J.F. There was (.....) criticism of South African Indian congress as a political ghetto was in the ANC NEC report of 1959, so obviously there was debate?

F.G. Ja, within the ANC, right, and there was actual - I mean they - people like Nelson and all had challenged Yusuf Dadoo's right to speak out and so on....

J.F. Challenged?

F.G. Yusuf Dadoo's right to speak on a platform and so on - there had been incidents - this was in the very early days.....

END OF SIDE ONE.

F.G. .... no, I wasn't - I mean I was around - I didn't do anything spectacular when I was at home - I was involved I suppose just the routine work with congress. I came out not because I was wanted or anything, but I came out, as I explained earlier, because I was supposed to come out and help to set up, you know - help to get Oliver Tambo out, and then I was going back in, so in a sense I had - I didn't leave South Africa to escape any police action or anything of the sort.

J.F. And when did you go to university?

F.G. In the '50s, and I was about to finish - and I was about to start practice I studied overseas in Kings College, London.

J.F. Some of the year (?) you went overseas to study because you were quite young. What year was it that you went?

F.G. I first went - I finished my schooling overseas as well - '48, '49 - but I spent a lot of time at home in between - I'd spend two years, then I'd come out and then I'd go back.

J.F. And your schooling, meaning you finished high school?

F.G. Finished high school overseas.

J.F. Where was that, in London?

F.G. In London.

J.F. And then you went back to Kings College and got your law degree?

F.G. Ja, that's right.

J.F. What year did you get your law degree?

F.G. I got my first degree in '55.

J.F. Meaning what....

F.G. I then did my bar at law.

J.F. And then you left in '59 and did you have any particular position....

F.G. No, I mean as I said, I left in '60 - I left the morning of - after Sharpeville, when I was advised that - you see, the idea was that I knew, I suppose, a number of East African leaders and so on, and I'd spent a year travelling around working as a freelance journalist at this time, just to see the world, so I'd got to know a lot of people - I'd got to know all the sort of newly emerging and East African leaders at least - they were politicians then, they were not prime ministers and so on - they became that later on (Laugh) so when I suppose the decision was to set up the external mission they wanted somebody who - I don't quite know - I never found out why I was asked - things happened too fast after that ever to find out - so I was asked to go out and set up for - to arrange to bring the people out who were going to come.

Remember at that time Tanganyika was not even independent - I think the nearest independent place was Ethiopia or something like that, so you would have to carry a lot of - cover a lot of hostile federation territory and what - and so the question was how do you come out, how do you set up an external mission, you know, the - the questions. So I was supposed to do some exploratory work on this and to help somebody who subsequently I learned was Oliver Tambo to come out and sort of ease his pass - that was really all I was supposed to do. And I mean the last time I saw Bram Fischer ever was I said : Look, I'm going to be delayed in joining you, but I will be coming quite soon (Laugh) - not knowing what was - and then the night of Sharpeville I was contacted and told I should go and see my family - my family were in Mozambique, so I went - that was it.

J.F. And then since '60 have you been in London....

F.G. No, no, I was in Tanzania and all over the place - in those early days I was with the ANC, but I was also working as a journalist - you know, we didn't have a big full time mission.

J.F. You're going to make it difficult for me to write this and I....

F.G. Well, you don't write it.

J.F. I won't write it, but....

F.G. No, you don't write it....

J.F. I have to do (?) a paragraph or just....

F.G. Oh, that's - I'd worked as a journalist in East Africa.

F.G. Well, I edited a paper called Spearhead, and then I was correspondent for The Guardian and The Observer and the BBC - I was stringing for them in Tanganyika. Then I came to London and then I worked here as a radio producer. Then I went to Oxford, and while I was at Oxford I was asked - Tanzania was nationalising its newspaper, so I was asked to go back there and train their journalists and edit the paper when they nationalised it, so I did that for two years. Then I went back to Oxford, finished my doctorate....

J.F. In - doctorate in?

F.G. History and political science - and that was it.

J.F. And this Spearhead was what kind of paper?

F.G. A political monthly.

J.F. Of Tanganyikan....

F.G. No, it was - it was African, but Southern African primarily - it only lasted two years.

J.F. And then did you come to join the London office....

F.G. No, I mean I'm - you know, I've been working full time with the ANC, but mainly with headquarters, not with the London office.

J.F. Were you based in Lusaka....

F.G. No, you can work with headquarters and be based anywhere - that's nothing.

J.F. And do you have any portfolio I can refer to? No? How was it that as a woman and as an Indian woman you were so independent and - wasn't that unusual, specially....

F.G. Not as far as my family were concerned....

J.F. (.....) but for the rest of the population?

F.G. I don't know - I really don't know - it's difficult to judge - probably, yes, but there are people who are, you know, I think - as I said, I was trying to explain it's a particular family background - no, I mean honestly I don't know - how does one explain that - I don't know - I mean I think it - it's just a family background - you know, you were never consciously doing anything - it was - I mean it wasn't that you rebelled against the family or anything of the sort - it was just that was accepted by my parents - it was understood - my sisters the same sort of thing - I mean we all, you know - it's the kind I suppose - and my cousin was I think - I think was the first Indian to go to Wits - first Indian woman to go to Witwatersrand....

J.F.. Who was that?

F.G. Alice Ginwala in '40, '41, something - I think she was - I wouldn't swear to it. So I mean it's been a - you know, it's sort of normal (Laugh)

J.F. When you were involved with - when you knew these East African leaders - back to my topic - did you sense that they had any concern for non-racialism or that they specifically were pan-Africanist or Africanist or national....

F.G. It varied - I mean I think it varied - we were here as students, you know, we - in London we were students - I don't think there was (?) - you know, if you - I don't think there was any conscious racism there at all - we worked together, but we were all working in our own little groups. And then of course in Tanganyika there was a very conscious non-racism of Nyerere....

J.F. (.....)

F.G. Yes, I mean you know, it's one of his outstanding things and what (?) he stood for. I mean he's the one who refused to join the Commonwealth in 196 - when Tanganyika was about to become independent - he's the one who said that there can't be room in one commonwealth for non-racist Tanganyika and the racist South Africa - that's what led to the expulsion of South Africa, because in a sense he put the choice to the Commonwealth.

J.F. But were there any debates in the student days where you saw other parts of Africa having a concern for non-racialism or saying: How can you in South Africa have your own version, it's not for us in Kenya?

F.G. No, you see, the thing is the point was in say, Ghana, I mean the question doesn't arise - you know, I think we've got to avoid putting different situations onto different situations. It was in Kenya - well, in Kenya at that time people like P.O. Pinto, who was my contemporary, I mean he was one of the people who worked with Kenyatta - and what was his name - Ramez Gatima (?) - I mean Indians were involved with Kenyatta in the early days of - of the Kenya independence movement, you know, so I mean I - this is what, you know, you shouldn't - you - that time I mean I think it was the move away towards racism, rather than a move away to non-racism. That was part of it - I mean going back in the history of Kenya, like elsewhere, you know, Indians were build - few of them, not all of them, I agree, but there were Indians associated with -

Similarly the Uganda action group - people like Shafiq Arain and all were involved in Ugandan - with Milton Obote and the Uganda Congress Party....

J.F. People like?

F.G. Shafiq Arain - he was then high - he was Amin's High Commissioner - no, Obote's High Commissioner here - S h a f i q A r a i n - and there was a group called the Uganda Action Group - they were part of that. They were part of Milton Obote's - you know, people who - the equivalent of our Indian congress reformers, if you like. You had - in Kenya you had people like P.O. Pinto, who was assassinated - his initials were P.O. - and Pinto - P i n t o. I can't remember some of the other names - who were actually - they were pe - there was an Indian who was detained for many years by the British, so you know, there's - there's a whole range of that - I mean similarly with the federation, Indians were involved.

I think the whole issue of, you know, the Ugandan Asians is totally distorted East African history, because people haven't studied it - I mean there wasn't that kind of racism there (then)

J.F. What about the issue of this thing called the four nations thesis - what is that?

F.G. I don't know, what is it - tell me - I've never heard of it.

J.F. Back in 1981 when there were all these debates about the re-founding of TIC, there were articles in Whip saying there were people who rejected the four nations thesis.

F.G. Yes, but I think it's like, you know, people set up an Aunt Sally called the four nations thesis, and then they spend their time knocking it down. I don't think people involved in TIC or within the democratic movement were arguing about the four nations thesis. I think for them it was a very simple practical thing which we discussed already - don't need to go (?) but if (?) the TIC was there, they didn't theoretically set out to set up a body which didn't exist or, you know, go out of an alien tradition, so I think, you know, that - that I mean all I have to say is what I've said before - I don't want to repeat it.

J.F. What is the national question? Are we talking about it when we talk about non-racialism?

F.G. I don't know (Laugh) - depends how you define it.

J.F. Can you define it?

F.G. No, wouldn't try to - it's too long - I mean it's not something for a brief interview anyway.

J.F. I think it's something for this topic. Maybe you should recommend something I could read from, because I don't think I can not have (?) an understanding of the national question. Is it the same as non-racialism? Is it this debate?

F.G. You see, I think one of the problems I have is you talk of this debate, but it's because you've decided to work on it that it is a debate, but for most of us it isn't a debate (Laugh) - that's why the difficulty arises, you know - I mean sure, if you talking of South Africa, obviously there's a national question - if by that you mean that you have four sep - I mean South Africa P.W. Botha has - I don't know - what at the latest count (?) - 15 nations theory, right - you're all different nations, and now the indaba even has a separate Afrikaans speaking and English speaking in their constitution - I mean this is nonsense - I mean you can go on like that and raise a problem and then debate it and theoretically analyse it and say it's all wrong, but it - it's patent nonsense - you don't need the theoretical analysis to see that.

Now within the Freedom Charter we talk about the fact that all national groups will have, you know, language rights and so on protected - now these are practical things, but they can only be resolved (?) within a democratic society - as far as the ANC is concerned, it's been made very clear that in any future democratic South Africa we will not accept either rights defined in racial or ethnic terms - we will not accept a devolution of power into units which are defined racially or ethnically, right - so in that sense the ideology is non-racism, right, and not group rights but in - protection of individual rights.

On the other hand you have the Freedom Charter, which does talk about people's rights to language and so on - now the exact mechanisms by which these will have to be given expression will have to be worked out within a democratic South Africa - the commitment to allow people to have those national rights, to allow the flowering of the different national cultures, have got to be worked out within a democratic context, you know - that - that's really the basis.

The national question emerges within a Marxist context, and the ANC - to come back to it - is not a Marxist party, so it has not worked out that kind of assessment of the relationship of class and nation - you know, national rights and class rights, and that I mean is not something that is - the ANC's debate, if you like, comes within the context I've expressed it - in the context of the Freedom Charter.

- J.F. So do you think it's worthwhile doing this kind of project? Is it worth looking at non-racialism? Is it....
- F.G. Ja, no, I mean I - it's worth looking, fine - I'm not saying - but what I'm saying is the difficulty comes in when you say it is the debate, but you know, most of....
- J.F. Not (?) the debate, but it's to a certain extent a debate. To a certain extent - COSATU said to CUSA : You're not coming into the union because you won't accept non-racialism, we accept it.
- F.G. Well, it depends what you mean by - I mean I wouldn't see CUSA as a racialist body.
- J.F. Well, they refused to accept non-racialism.
- F.G. Ja, that's why I say I think there are different interpretations of this - you see, this comes in when people who've argued that the BC movement is non-racist, or is racism - I've always opposed that notion - the organisation later became - but the fact that the ANC until very recent - till '69 didn't accept non-African members, didn't make the ANC racist.
- J.F. Why not?
- F.G. Because again it depends on what you mean - you see, the first instance - the first - I mean take this question of BC, which is the other (?) thing, with you - in that kind of society the first priority has got to be to acquire self - to - to - to reacquire a confidence which has been sapped away from your people, where everything you do is second class, you are second class - it's a mental colonisation - I mean it's the way ruling classes have maintained, and how racism has been sustained - it's been sustained by inculcating (?) the ideology of the superior race, but far worse in my mind is by educating and inculcating culturally and otherwise a - a mentality of a subservient race, right - now how do you overcome that - it often manifests itself in an aggressive response - that's not a healthy response - and you only overcome that by a very conscious teaching - I mean simplified (?) the black is beautiful notion, but as an end in itself it's not an answer - you can - it's only positive to the extent that it is used as a tool - that it becomes racism when it becomes the end, the object, which is where the BC movement and perhaps AZAPO have ended up with it, and that's where I would disagree with them, but it - it's very positive in giving people that confidence, right - now this was necessary - it was necessary within all colonial groups.

Now the best way you do this - when you've got very physically divided groups with different economic and other status, it's very difficult to give people confidence, because if you imp - suddenly imply a blanket society with pure merit and nothing else, the whole history of - of acquired skills, of a culturalisation into a modern technological world and so on, will mean that the people not of the majority will have the skills and on merit will dominate - I mean that - that's a fact, right - just on pure merit they will dominate, so how then are you going to give the other group - aware of a long history of racism - the only way you do is either parallel development (?) saying : Look, within this group we keep it - we keep the leadership of this group - we address the issues of this group - we each teach ourselves a - a - a self - a self-awareness of what you are, of who you are, of your identity, and the political consciousness and the political advanced is then how you relate to other groups - that's where the advance comes in - it doesn't come in by denying your culture or your history - doesn't come by my denying I'm an Indian - it - in order to prove my South Africanness, I don't have to be not an Indian - Freda doesn't have to be not a white in order to be a South African.



F.G. You're aware of it, but you then have a proper relationship with other people in that society, and that is what you build on, that is how you move, so that that first process of self-awareness is only characterised as racism by people who are lacking in confidence, and it was essentially white liberals and whites within the democratic movement who reacted against some of the BC and we (?) immediately labelled it as racism - you see, people like Barney Pitso, if you've talked to him - he would deny that it was ever racist, because they are talking about what I am talking about.

J.F. And what about in the new South Africa - I thought you were coming to that when you were saying that on merit alone....

F.G. That would happen, you see - that would happen, so that in the first instance this is why the ANC's doors were closed, this is why all these things had to go in stages, which is, for instance - now Nyerere is a noted non-racist, right, but TANU, the Tanganyika African National Union, did not admit Africans till after independence - non-Africans till after independence, because it was very important for Africans to see Africans in the leadership, right, and if you just - you know, merit is technical merit, we talking about - if you talk in terms of merit in terms of the ability to mobilise, then all sorts of other forces come into play, the ability to communicate, language and so on, and then you wouldn't have it, but there's no mechanism for selecting leadership on that basis - the tendency is that because you operate in another world, in a modern technological world, people see the need for leadership qualifications to come out of the ability to operate in that world - the fact that that ability doesn't necessarily go with an ability to operate in the world of the oppressed is not often recognised - do you see what I - and therefore if you're going to have people with the ability to - you know, they're different value systems - and perhaps the best way is to close that society for a while.

Now the question of positive discrimination - when you talk of on pure merit, the question of positive discrimination would come in - it's a question that we argue about in the women's movement (Interruption) - I personally (?) would not oppose positive discrimination in principle - I do not see it as racism - it's got to be done - it's got to be done consciously - it's got to be done with an awareness of what we're doing - and it's got to be done for a limited time - and I would say that's there for women, it's there for all racial groups, so I - that's why I say I wouldn't necessarily automatically say CUSA - AZACTU was a different thing - I'm not - I wouldn't say (?) AZACTU, you know, the Azanian....

J.F. AZACTU?

F.G. AZACTU, ja, but I don't think necessarily that - you see, CUSA - I mean why is it non - you know, the fact that they unite all blacks - the problem is with the dominant whites - because CUSA has Coloureds and Indians in it - its general secretary is an Indian, right, so that they are not racist in - in - in a black - in an African exclusive sense, right - they are trying to unite the oppressed in a closed sense.

J.F. That worked in the '70s, but in the '80s....

F.G. But that's a different - what I'm trying to say, it's a different - I mean I wouldn't - I mean fine, COSATU took a position - I have no objection to that, but I'm saying automatically I think - I don't know how this question arose, but when you brought in CUSA, you know, I'm just saying. I wouldn't necessarily automatically label it - I think one would have to look much more at the details of the situation before one labelled it one way or another.

J.F. .... worthwhile to probe this issue of non-racialism. Do you think that it's a dead issue, it's been dealt with, or do you think that there's....

F.G. Well, probing it for what reason - I mean I assumed that you were writing a book, and everyone's entitled to write books for whatever they want.

J.F. Well, I hope that the book I write will be politically useful. It seems to me....

F.G. When (?) it adds to information, yes, it's useful.

J.F. But do you - what I understand you were saying you don't see it as a pressing issue in....

F.G. I think it would be more useful if this was dealt with - I mean I - perhaps I took it for granted it was being dealt with in the sense in the context of counter-posing it not against so-called black - CUSA and so on, but counter-posing it against the notions of group rights, of pluralism, of - that I think would be useful - you know, what is this thing called non-racism - how do minorities protect themselves, right - that - how does a minority safeguard its cultural rights, if you like, its language rights its political rights, in societies like South Africa - does it do it by demanding separate rights, by insisting that rights are defined in ethnic or racist terms - or does it do it by what I call non-racism, and I - I assume that's what you're doing, and then that's very valuable.

But what I'm saying is in that debate one shouldn't - I mean the focus shouldn't be on what is an apparent black exclusivism - a black exclusivism (?) has then got to be seen in the context of a political process, and black exclusivism pro - provided it - it - you see, what one needs to do - for instance, we use the example of CUSA - you've got to see what its objections are - is it saying that it is only - and I perhaps should say of CUSA before its recent federation - I don't know what's going to happen in the new federation - but CUSA before that federation had a thing of a need for African leadership for a limited time in order to give itself confidence, and all of this was being said by CUSA, right, and then I would not have - you know, I myself wouldn't feel one means (?) to it - one should attack it because it - it was something that you needed to show that this is a positive thing, but it is only dangerous when it becomes an end in itself - it's when it becomes an end in itself that it is racism.

J.F. Getting back to this minority issue then, can you talk a little bit more about that? That seems really the essential question. That's how South Africa is different from the other liberation struggles in Africa, you have significant minorities.

F.G. Ja, it's not just that they have signif - I think you've had significant minorities, but that you're starting in South Africa from a situation in which a minority dominated, and therefore the dominant minority is seeking to secure its rights - that - that's what's significantly different, because you had different kinds of minorities in other societies in Africa, you know, but they weren't - the starting difference in South Africa is this domination, and the attempt then to argue that this distinguishes South Africa from every other part of the world, and this is what makes South Africa unique, and this is why they have to - you know, they therefore challenging the notion of what is understood as democratic practice everywhere else - perhaps I come from a cultural tradition of India, which had a totally different notion of how you dealt with minorities and how different people lived together, so we don't see it in that same kind of way, but lots of other societies have the same sort of thing - these are things you work out.

J.F. There's a lot of focus on the white minority and how it's going to - obviously that's clear - but what about the other minorities, the Coloured and the Indian. I just was interested when you said that you're most interested in non-racialism addressing minorities, and I thought perhaps you might be alluding to that (Interruption) Can you speak about how you see non-racialism as appropriate in addressing the concerns of the Indian and Coloured community?

F.G. Ja, which is what I said - I think it - it's exactly the same as it's the white community - I mean I think it - all minorities - it doesn't matter what prefix it is, right - whatever racial prefix one gives it to them - or whether you talking now equally of the Southern Sotho or you are talking of the protection of the Tswana against the Zulu, I mean it - it's exactly the same situation - to the extent that you first establish a national objective of a non-racial society, a recognition that there are no definitions in that society which are ethnic or racist, or ethnic or racial, right, that rights and privileges or disabilities and whatever else don't accrue because of racial or ethnicity - I think these are ideological things which have got to be put in - whether they're put in in a bill of rights or constitution doesn't matter, but those have got to be clearly understood - that's the objective - that's the first step.

The second step is that these groups - if (?) then you are talking of a society within which you are working for a particular objectives - and these groups then have to pitch in and put what concerns them into the agenda, because by working together is how you will resolve these problems. Let me give you an example - when in '76 got a lot of kids coming out - coming out of a BC tradition, right, but who had - some of them moved in the sense of - of almost moving into a racist position - and they were shocked when they came into the camps and saw whites there - now if the whites had been there as the trainers, we would have had a major problem in the ANC - when those whites were sleeping on the same kind of mattresses as the kids, they were white kids in other words (?) also engaged in the same thing - when they were eating the same food - then when ANC talked non-racism had meaning (?) and it had meaning because they could see that it wasn't talking of (?) the theory of whites being equal - there was this white boy next to them mucking in, whose name was on the rota to make bread on this day and to sweep the kitchen on that day, just like everybody else's name - that's how they saw it, and then you could educate it - you couldn't educate them theoretically.

Now if whites or Indians or Coloureds are not there to be seen, there's no way the ANC's going to convince the African people that we be a non-racial society - there's no way you going to do it - you've got to be seen there and you've got to be seen there - within the movement it's got to be seen to be there, it's got to be seen to be there in practical terms - it requires - you see, too much emphasis is placed on the African - it requires a degree of sensitivity on the part of the non-Africans, because we do have skills, we do have a history of privilege and - which is - affects us in all kinds of undefined ways, or undefinable ways which we almost unconscious of.

Now if you're not sensitive to the history of South Africa and what oppression has meant to people, you are going to create all kinds of problems. I'll give you a particular example - publication was being produced in Southern Africa, right, and a group of very well meaning people in this country wanted to help, and they wrote a little report, you know, and asked to send it down, and I happened to be the chairperson of this committee and I said : No, I'm not sending this down - why - and I explained to them - I said, you know, they were saying that rules had to be straight (?)

F.G. I said : Have you any idea in what conditions those people work, in what conditions they were trained - I said : You're sitting here with computerised type-setting with - you know, you send out to that headline making machine for this and that, and the other - you have all of this, right, with no understanding of what brings out this publication, you are being critical of it - you're judging by your standards here - and they were all set to go out and do it - I said : Fine, you technically more competent, but we've got to learn to do it ourselves with the means we have, and we will train - and in fact about a year ago I sent that same group a copy of our ANC news briefings - have you seen them - which technically are very competently produced - I said : I told you we'd get there - we have, but we've done it our way - now that's the kind of example.

Now if - this is the thing, you see, that it requires sensitivity on the part of non-Africans, and an understanding, and it requires a tremendous sensitivity on the part of the leadership of the ANC, so that you defuse the problems as you go, and that's how you protect minorities - it's a similar thing you tell the women - they not a minority, O.K., but you say if women stay out of the struggle, how then do we get women's issues put on the agenda of the struggle - you do it by participating now, by raising the issues now, and in the process of the struggle you fight those out - then you don't start after one kind of liberation - you don't then put women's liberation on the agenda - you don't after one kind of liberation put the question of how you protect minorities on the agenda then - you sort it out now.

J.F. I understand that very well. What I don't understand is you said : Look, there's a Marxist analysis of class and race, and then there's where we are with the ANC - but isn't non-racialism really a definition of the enemy not as a particular race group, but as a system of oppression and exploitation, with the implication that the real agenda is socio-economic transformation and not merely Africanising existing structures? Can you really just say there's one understanding of non-racialism and then there's that Marxist version?

F.G. No, I'm not saying there's one understanding and there's another version - what I'm trying to say is when you were trying to ask questions that would relate as if the ANC had arrived at this - the ANC didn't arrive at non-racism through a Marxist analysis of society - it arrived at non-racism through a Christian liberal - I mean a Marxist would say that doesn't work, that that was the con game - I mean this was the con game that all of us in the colonies suffered from Britain - we were told about equality of peoples, of race, this great liberal tradition - it never happened in practice, but we were all indoctrinated with it - it was the way the par - you know, they kept their power, right - now that's a reality, we know, but the point is people genuinely believed it, and it was from that Christian tradition of the ANC that you get non-racism - non-racism didn't come into the ANC from a Marxist analysis of society.

J.F. Well sure, if you go back to 1912, but....

F.G. But that's when it did come in.

J.F. All right, well, maybe if you're saying how historically you can trace it, but if you ask today's ANC member, a 19 year old in (.....Phone) are they supposed to say - it's not part of their experience of any Christian liberal....

- F.G. It's not their Marxist experience either, because they don't necessarily have a Marxist - I mean would you argue that the 19 year old young man has got a Marxist analysis?
- J.F. Well, I think that that person would say they believe in non-racialism not because it's just such a nice thing to let white people join. In fact I was just interviewing someone from P.E. the other day and he was saying that (.....) - actually the fewest whites you could name there were no Bram Fischers living there, and yet they were infused with an understanding of non-racialism that was key (?)
- F.G. But where did it come from?
- J.F. I think it came from seeing blacks who were homeland leaders and police torturers.
- F.G. Ja, but was it (?) a conscious Marxist analysis?
- J.F. I don't know what....
- F.G. I think - no, but that's what I'm trying to say is - you see, because the ANC's been - I mean it's educ - it's become part of the tradition of the ANC, and this is the way it's been educating people, that the enemy is not there (?) - it is the issues - but people are not - I mean I don't - I didn't want to make a big issue out of this, but I mean this is - the majority of the ANC membership are not talking in terms of a Marxist analysis.
- J.F. I don't know, in South Africa today I think it's a false dichotomy. I think that they're talking in terms of not even having had BC tradition, if you talk to those young kids. I interviewed (.....) Jack and he said : Hey, never had BC, quit asking me about it - we come out of the politics of the struggle, which to them is you would reject any Africanisation - you would understand that race is not the factor.
- F.G. No, but that's fine, but I mean I - I'm not disagreeing with that.
- J.F. But I don't think that comes out of the ANC's historic tradition of....
- F.G. What does it come out of?
- J.F. It comes out of their political meetings and how they define the enemy, which is that they want to change that society....
- F.G. Which is fine, ja, I've no problem on that, but that still doesn't make it - you see, what I'm trying to argue is that it was a theoretical analysis and then said therefore it's on a class basis that we are the same - those same people would say that the South African working class at the moment, they will still define as the enemy.
- J.F. The whites....
- F.G. Mmm, or the white working class, yes - they will still see them at the moment as part of the enemy.
- J.F. Well, it's hard not to, but I think they'd have an understanding of why that is.
- F.G. Ja, they would still have an und - but what I'm trying to get at is that that's the bas - I mean I don't know why we....
- J.F. I don't want to get too involved in it either, but I didn't want to have you on record as trying to say the ANC tradition is Christian liberal

- F.G. But that was its tradition - it doesn't mean it's there today - what I'm saying - that's why when you raised this I said the non-racism didn't start with the trade unions or the - it started with this Christian liberal tradition - that's where it started from.
- J.F. But I think what it is about today is who is the enemy, and I think if you're 17 in the townships or if you're....
- F.G. But you see, the difference between who is the enemy is being told differently - some people are saying who is the enemy and it is the policeman - there are people in South Africa who are saying the people who - who is the enemy are the whites.
- J.F. Not very many any more.
- F.G. AZAPO?
- J.F. AZAPO (.....)
- F.G. No, no, but I'm saying no, they don't have (?) bec - in other words, there are people saying it, but they don't have support.
- J.F. Ja, but the vast, vast, vast majority is saying....
- F.G. And yet AZAPO claims to be a national forum, claim to be from a Marxist base - I would - I would challenge that, but I mean that's a personal....
- J.F. I think I understand what you're saying.
- F.G. Have you - did you see (.....) minority rights report or the (.....)
- J.F. No, I'd love to - your minority rights report as your thesis?
- F.G. Ja, I don't think we've got it (?) - the minority rights available - you know the minority rights commission in this country - minority rights group (?) publish reports - there's one on Indian South Africans - I did a second editi - both are out of date, but the second edition was about three or four years ago - I think it's still available.
- J.F. From where (.....)
- F.G. Yes, IDAF (?) will have it - my thesis - my personal copies are lent out at the moment - you have access to university in..... you had two groups of Indians - you had the passenger Indians, which was in the congress and congress leadership - it's only (?) basically traders - you had a South African born - they in fact named themselves the colonial born and Indian association and so on, because they - colonial born meaning South African born - now they - this is a bit of imperial history - you had - when indentured labour went out into the empire, there was a particular pledge given to - to all indentured workers, and this applied to Fiji, West Indies, everywhere else, that when they had completed their - their indenture they would be allowed to settle in the colonies where they were taken, with a status - I think the words were no whit inferior to other subjects of Her Majesty - this was Queen Victoria - so indentured Indians when they finished their indentures, claimed their rights in South Africa by virtue of this pledge - I think it was the Lord Salisbury (?) or somebody who'd given this pledge - that was that whole tradition.

F.G. The passenger Indians claim - and Gandhi claimed the rights of the passenger Indian from a totally different - this was this legalistic thing, but you know, it - it's a reality - where they argued that they were - after the mutiny Queen Victoria had said her maj - Indian subjects, British subjects would be equal to everybody else in the empire, right, so they claimed that because of Queen Victoria's pledge to the Indian people, they should not be discriminated against in the British colonies anywhere, including the Transvaal Indians, and this is basis also on which the question of Indians in the Transvaal became one of the ten points of the ultimatum in the Boer War, which the British served on the (?) Afrikaner - so you had these two parallel kinds of movements (?) - now when the indentured Indians became free Indians, they acquired education, and they saw their - their movement.....

END OF SIDE TWO.