

- J.F. If I can just start out by asking you where you were born and when?
- F.G. I was born 16th. May, 1951, that is in Cape Town - first of the four children from a working family - that is my father was a labourer and my mother was a domestic servant.
- J.F. What part of Cape Town?
- F.G. Elsie's River - it's a ghetto, you know - it used to be a mixed place, Coloureds and blacks, but today it's for Coloureds.
- J.F. And as you were growing up did your parents have much politics - what kind of?
- F.G. Not really - mother had really nothing (.....)
- J.F. So what do you think were the influences that made you political?
- F.G. I won't say that my parents influenced me political - I will say the suffering which I went through influenced my political thinking - how they work hard for make sure that I get my little education - how they work hard to make sure that we had something to eat, you know - they really suffered - that's what really made me to be political aware.
- J.F. You're just saying the conditions around you?
- F.G. Yes, environment, political situation - and another thing you should know - Cape Town was reserved for so-called Coloureds, you know, for a long, long time - I grew up within that political mood - black had no say - black were perceived and regarded as migrant people who are just there to provide labour for the industry - those are the political issues which made me to be political aware very early in my life.
- J.F. You're saying that now as a kind of fact of history, but growing up, how did you know that it was a Coloured preference area - did your parents ever say : Well, we Africans are just - they can boot us out tomorrow, or how did you know it?
- F.G. You see, I think again I'm wrong - let me correct this to say my parents were not politically involved - they were because every now and then they will relate the suffering of a black man in that part of the world, and also in South Africa, right, but at that point in time I will say they could do nothing - this was a period of that line - you know, they were - after 1960s - I'm sure you know the history of South Africa - after the system managed to suppress and to ban many political organisations, there was a lull, and then I grew up within that lull, you see - hence my parents maybe were afraid to tell me : Look, this is the right direction, follow this - you know, they might have been the members of the ANC, but this was some kind of a secret to them - it was only known to the few who were not supposed to know it.
- J.F. So how did you get to know that secret?
- F.G. That secret, as I grew, as I mixed with my colleagues, somewhere I was introduced to one of the trade unionists, greatest (?) trade unionists of our times in that part of the world - that is the late Elijah Loza - that's how it all happened - but when he introduced me to the movement I was already political conscious, you know - I had hatred for anything that was white - for anything that was white I had hatred, which, you know, that hatred needed some kind of a guidance, and then it was through that old man that right politics were instilled in me, and then I got direction - I became a fully-fledged ANC member.
- J.F. How old were you then - when is this?

F.G. That was very early - when was it - during early '70s - I think it was around '70 - round '7 (?) - before 1976 - it was early '70 - 1970 - that was when I was introduced to the ANC, and it was during that lull, which means even during that lull political cells - I discovered that there were some political cells of the ANC, and then I become part and parcel of those political cells, which exploded in 1976.

J.F. Just to take it back, tell me a bit about this hatred for whites - what - because that - sometimes when people just say something, it's nice if they give an example and explain what they mean.

F.G. I'll give you an example - you know, my experience, my sufferings - because there were times when you could sleep without eating, you know - you had to struggle to get money for school fees, uniform and the like, and you had no time for your mother to look after you - when you come back from school there was no food - you have to prepare everything for you - that happened very early in my - in my age.

And then you know very well that your same mother, who has no time for you, is busy, busy helping the white (.....) looking after their children, but he couldn't come (?) and help you in your hour of need, and he has - she has to be there in order to survive, right - and then, you see - and when your mother comes back home, she will start telling you all the problems she's encountered - although she's working there, she's not trusted, she's branded this and that, she's given certain names, kaffir, all those things - things like those, you know.

And then these things, you know, you keep them, although you are young, and then they bottle up in you, and then you develop that hatred for the system, right - you become very cheeky, but I will say I - I never call a white man baas in my life - I never did it, even the - in my - in my young youth I never called a white man baas, because I hated it - even when I started to work late in '70s, I had problems at my work because they used to call me a young hotheaded boy - that's what they called me, because I was rebellious - I - I couldn't take everything.

You know, I remember I used to work at the (.....) registration office - we were not supposed to use certain forms, because they were being used by whites - I defy all those things - and the only thing I was good in my work - they couldn't kick me out - but I was just defying anything, but as I say to you, I had no political direction, I just had hatred for the white man, until I met this old man.

J.F. Who introduced you to Loza?

F.G. Well, it was a certain friend who was already involved, and that's all - I cannot mention his name because he's still back home.

J.F. So just think about the - if you can just think back to when you met him - just tell me what you thought and a bit about his influence on you.

F.G. No, you see, what happened we were so close, right, and then we used - I remember we used to discuss politics generally, and this was the time when the political movements were banned and these homeland politics, you know, were flourishing, I say, all over the country - homelands were being created, all those things - we used to discuss this, right - how dangerous are - were they, all those things, and then as I - I mean what I think this man discovered was that I had the potential, but I had no direction - hence he said to me one day : Look, I want you to meet somebody who might help you in this one to (.....) - that is in your political, you know, political work.

F.G. I was willing - I didn't know what was going on - I said : No, I'm prepared to meet him - late after work met and then he explained everything - I thought that he belongs to the ANC, all those things - I said : O.K., I want to learn - but still you must remember ANC was not well known in South Africa - I just agreed because I wanted to be directed political, but later I discovered that I was following the right track, that is the right politics, right.

After that I stop hating the white man just because he happened to be white - I happen to be anti-system (?) - in other words, I accommodated a white person, but before I had no room for that.

J.F. Had you not heard of the ANC before you met Loza?

F.G. No, there was, well, talks about the ANC, but as I told you, it was secret for the few, you see - there was a lull - you know, during that lull everything was crushed, right - it was dangerous to talk about the ANC all over - hence certain individuals who belongs to those underground cells kept this to themselves - maybe taking one underground and teaching those cells, those teaching of the ANC, but it was not known publicly, not at all - it was known to the few - we used to read about it, that's for sure, but we were blank - we couldn't budge (?) about the ANC, the principles of these (?) all those things, because these things were denied to us, even the Freedom Charter - we could not have the Freedom Charter - it was difficult to have a Freedom Charter.

J.F. Had you heard of....

F.G. We heard about it but we didn't know it - we just - it was after I became one of these cells that I had that access to the Freedom Charter.

J.F. Before you met Loza had you heard of the PAC?

F.G. Well, like in (?) ANC we have heard about it - even about Sharpeville and the like, we heard about it, but the problem with it after I have become one of these - have become one of the members of the underground cells, it was nowhere to be found in particular in our region, whereas it used to be powerful in Cape Town.

J.F. But when you'd heard of it, since you were so hateful of the whites, did you - did no-one ever say : Oh, the PAC they're anti-white, that's better - or do you ever remember any discussions that the PAC didn't have whites, the ANC did have whites?

F.G. No, you see, I became clear about the politics of the PAC when I was already settled politically - it had no room in me, that was the thing.

J.F. So you met Loza, and how was it that you stopped hating the whites - just explain a bit how that happened?

F.G. No, you see....

J.F. What did he say?

F.G. No - ja, he - he taught me - he taught me, I'll say right politics, because what he told me is that it is good - he told me that that is a starting point - it's a process, you must hate, and then out of that hatred I'll build something out of it - that he really did, right - he taught me right politics, and those right politics were able to drill me, right, to say : Look, hate the system, that is the apartheid system, but not the man just because he happened to be white, right.

F.G. This is a kind of a process, I'll put it that way - it was a process - it was a process, a political process, and it is a stage which I feel each and every individual should go through, but it's not an end in itself - it's some kind of a - a certain stage, like what we can - a kindergarten, that's how - that's how I feel about it, but we have to overcome it - if one doesn't overcome that stage, there must be something wrong somewhere.

J.F. So where did he take you - he said : O.K., fine, it's a process - but how did you move to the next - can you just remember - I'm just so interested that you stressed the hatred of the whites and how that was moved - I don't want to gloss over it.

F.G. No, you see, this was move, as I say to you, it - it's - it was a political lecture which made me to understand the behaviour of a white man in South Africa, right - I knew why the whites - that is the Afrikaaners - behave in that fashion - why they were all out to suppress and ultimately destroy the black man - I know that the cause was economically - they were there to defend their economic interests.

And then as a cadre of the ANC, it was my duty to spread this political lecture to them, so that they can know that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, right - you know, there was a heavy teaching on Freedom Charter, and then after that I became a changed man - I understood the - the thinking of the white man after that - hence gradually I overcame that hatred, because well (?) I would say I was thinking like a child really, highly apolitical child.

J.F. And did you never get influenced by the BC?

F.G. You might not believe it - I must say it - when the BC came I was already graduated from that stage - as I say to you, if maybe it came earlier in the forefront in the - in 1970 I might have been caught up, but when it came it had no impact on me whatsoever - I had friends who were there - no, not me, I was already an underground cadre.

J.F. Do you remember discussing with friends who were BC?

F.G. Ja, well, you see, we discussed with them, but the problem with BC people, they had no alternative - how can I put it - they had nothing to give, right - they had that hatred for the system, which was good, but at the end they had nothing to give to the people of South Africa - look, we get rid of the system, what do you offer - unlike the ANC - but at the same time I understood them, that this is a process, but at a certain stage they had to overcome it, to actually - to overgrow it, but some of them were reluctant to overgrow that - they took it as if this is an end in itself, which was not the case.

And some of my friends even today are still preaching the BC movement, which is nowhere to be found in South Africa - it is here and there, not all over the country - it is not an end in itself.

J.F. So where did you move to - you kept saying it's a phase and (.....) was a phase - where did Loza move you to, what were you....

F.G. You see, my belief is that from being aware of yourself, who you are, all those things, you have to go - to go to a next stage and then and black (?) and what else, right - therefore, as I said to you, after I've overgrown that stage I joined the ANC and I found an ideal political sanctuary, right, hence to-day - even today I find for me in this national democratic struggle ANC is the end in itself - there is no another movement, you see my point.

F.G. I expect - I expect the same these guys, same thing - from BCM to graduate, to move forward, but some of them are not prepared to do that, but the majority has done that, I'm sure you know - very good guys from BCM who have graduated.

J.F. When you were with Elijah Loza, did he ever use the word non-racialism?

F.G. When we were?

J.F. When you were with Loza, did he ever use the word non-racialism - do you ever remember talking about non-racialism?

F.G. You know, Loza was a worker, right, a typical worker in the true sense (?) of being a worker - he never used such terms as non-racialism and the like, right - he will just tell you straight : Look, the country we are fighting for is the country where black and white will live side by side - simple language, not this academic language - that's how we argued (?) - I never remember him talking about non-racialism and the like.

J.F. But when he told you this country, black and white are going to live together, and you had before come from being so anti-white, did you never have to question it....

F.G. Yes, yes, yes, as a student it was my duty to ask such questions - how can you say one, two, three (?) belongs here whereas he came from Europe, and at this point in time (.....) one, two, three, you see my point - I - that was my duty as a student, not to accept things as they come - I ask him those questions and he had to answer, but using the Freedom Charter as the basis.

J.F. So how did he move you away from that hatred of the whites - how did he get you to say yes, you accept the Freedom Charter - what was he saying to you?

F.G. No, you know, first thing, you know, he uses our history as our guide, like going back to 19 - to 1692 - is it 1652 when these - was it 1652 when these Dutch people came here, right, and then he said : Go throughout Africa and find out when the whites arrived in certain parts of Africa - you'll find out those whites from Holland who came to South Africa at this point in time have nowhere to go - we have got to face that reality, right - where do we want them to go - do you want to chase them to the sea - and then he said secondly : Look South Africa, compare it with other African countries - it is well developed - if we get rid of these people, who's going to man the infrastructure of this country - are we not going to go to square one - are we not going to destroy what has been produced by black - both blacks and white?

Thirdly he said : If we get rid of these whites, are we not going to call other - like if we get rid of the whites, other imperialist agents will come and colonise us, because we'll be having no manpower to man the economic structure of the country - don't you think it is better to live with the people we know, right - we know their good (?) points, right - our mothers are staying with people - we are their boys in the gardens - we know their mentality - as a result, ultimately we can manipulate them - and then I said : You are right, it's better to deal with an old devil than a new devil, right - I mean this was some kind of a political lecture, an opening to me, right - it was really an opening to me.

F.G. And then he said : If we want progress in our continent, let's accept these whites as true citizens of our country, but the task is heavy - we have to force them to renounce white supremacy, right - and he made some example, very potent example, like I mean we've got to be objective - see Africa today - you'll find out in many places when blacks took over, many whites ran away, right, and what happened after that - chaos, right, because why - you know, development it's some kind of - it is a process, right - some of us have not as yet reached a certain technological stage, and these whites have reached that stage - we need them, but they have to renounce the white supremacy.

And in the - in a South African case we have no choice, we have to live side by side with them - we really need them, and we are sincere - and another point which you should remember - you know, the Afrikaaner has been enjoying the fruits of that country - I mean it's hard for anybody to just get rid of his wealth overnight - it's going to take time for these people to realise that they are on the wrong side, but a good thing with an Afrikaaner, unlike a British guy, an English guy, if he crosses the Rubicon, he crosses it - an Afrikaaner, if he likes you he will tell you : I like you - and he's going to be sincere to you - he won't (?) at your back trying to say this, as the English people, and if he hates you he tells you : Look, Jy's a kaffir, go to hell - you see, they have that element of honesty, unlike the British, you see.

That's why ultimately I realised that these people really belong to our country and we have to learn to live side by side with them.

J.F. You've been talking about the whites all the time - way at the beginning you talked about the Western Cape being a Coloured preference area - how was it growing up with the Coloureds - you had them with you in Elsie's River, but yet you seem to be saying there was resentment, they had rights, you didn't?

F.G. Well, I must say it - I mean you can even at this point in time, if you take a black child, that is an African, and you take an - a Coloured child, so-called Coloured, and then you compare them politically, there's a big difference - the black child politically is more matured than a Coloured child - this is also historically - you know, for a long, long time the so-called Coloured people have been regarded as second class citizens, right - they were used by the system to be our supervisors in all economical spheres, like in forms they were looking after us, literally looking after us, getting better jobs, better paid, better schools and the like, but the ANC lived up to its name, right, and its principle - it preached to the Coloured community and said : Look, yes, on short term basis (?) you are benefiting from the system, but on long term basis you're security's with us.

Hence - hence Coloureds today are politically aware - they are really growing, I must say it - they are really coming, coming very fast - they have rejected this (.....) - that's why even today people like Hendrickse and the like are vacillating - today he's with the people, tomorrow he's there, you know - he's having a pressure (?) from the Coloured community, which is really on the fighting side.

But then, you know, as I say to you, this is a process, a proper (?) process - you cannot reach a certain stage overnight - it needs some kind of a political (?) education - it took time for the Coloureds to realise that look, we don't belong to this side, we belong to that side, right, but in the early '70s, before 1976, I will say they were still blundering (?) not knowing which side to support, but ANC kept on saying : Brothers, you belong to this side - we never rejected them.

J.F. But even in your anti-white hatred stage did you have resentment to the Coloureds?

F.G. (Laugh) it's a tricky question - you see, let me put it this way, for a guy like me, who grew up within the community - within the Coloured community, you know - we were living together in the shanties and the like - that was not so pronounced, I must say it - that was not so pronounced - you could not under - you could not see it - we were playing together - we were really playing together, but later when Africans were divided, were changed to so-called Langa township, Gugulethu and the like, right, even then - because I grew up with these people, right - we mixed with them, we school with them - I can't say I hate that - I had that hatred for the Coloured community, the one I had for the whites, no not at all.

And I think another thing which really helped me not to develop that is that even when we were having crisis at our schools, the people who used to help us - like Afrikaans, you know - we were forced to study in Afrikaans - the people who used to come to our schools to teach us were Coloured teachers - that's why I say with me I - I hadn't - that problem was not there, but for the whites, I must say it, it was there.

J.F. Can you tell me a bit about - going back a bit - you schooled until what and then you worked?

F.G. I schooled - I'll tell you - I finished my primary school, right - from there I went to Langa High School, right - I must say it, things were really terrible - we were destroyed in our schools, right - we were not given a chance to pass because everything was done in Afrikaans, which was really foreign to us - things like biology, social studies - we used to call it social studies, which is history and geography put together - we used to do them in Afrikaans - they were difficult - as a result, we were forced to memorise them - that made most of us to drop from school, and I was one of those people, drop out from school.

But because I wanted - you know, I had that goal that one day I want to be something among my community, I want to help them - I started to work late '70s, right, and then privately I passed my matric.

J.F. What work did you do?

F.G. I was working at the - at this bantu admin - they used to call them bantu administration office, you know - I was operating a computer there - and then privately I finished - I finished my studies - that is my matric - unfortunately, later, due to my political involvement, I was kick out of my work, because I was branded as an agitator, you know - when these rent boycotts started, I don't know how it happened but the - the authorities called me - that is, you know - and I was staying in Cape Town, but after that I was transferred in Paarl - it's a small town outside Cape Town.

There was a problem with the community (?) - that is between the office and the community, right - the people didn't want to pay rent because it was too high - later I was told that I'm the one who was advising these people, coming with Cape Town ideas to Paarl and was out to - to destroy the township (?) politically - I was kick out, told to go back to Cape Town where I belonged.

F.G. Well, after I was kick out from this job, I joined ministry, right - I had a feeling that I must be sincere - you know - you know, from my boyhood I was dedicated to the church, but somewhere I drop out - that is during these political activities, hatred for the system and the like, because we had that feeling, although it was not so grounded, that the church is part and parcel of the system - it's a foreign thing which came to Europe to suppress us, and it's very rich and we're very poor, and I had hatred for the church, although really earlier I was dedicated to the church.

But later I decided - I believed very serious with the church (?) and then I decided to join ministry, right, and then in 1980 I went to the college - that is St. Bedes College in Umtata - that's an Anglican church - when I was there, you know, I was already involved politically, and when I arrived there I was so shocked to see, you know, what was going on within the church - everything was just abstract - I mean my head was too political, I must say it - was too politically - and I decided to challenge the status quo.

I remember the principal of that time, you know, writing letters to the bishops that : Look, he's convinced that I don't belong to the church - I'll just come here to promote my political interest - he labelled (?) me in - in and out, and there were some students who were guarding my movements - you know, I was (?) trying by all means, you know, to have something tangible against me so that I can be kick out - it's very easy in any theological school to be kick out.

But the good thing about it is that I was highly discipline - maybe it's because I was not smoking, I was not drinking - if I was doing one of these, or particular drinking, I'm telling you, it was going to be easy for him to say no, this is a drunkard, all those things - but he had nothing against me, besides to say I'm too political and I'm using the church for my own political ends - furthermore, besides to say my ultimate goal is to take control of the college and to use it as the base - he even mentioned that - as the base for the ANC.

He mentioned that, although he was not aware that I knew those letters, because somebody show me the reports - he was writing to my bishops.

J.F. Who was that?

F.G. The principal of this college, who said I was using the - the college for the - as a transit base for the ANC people, all those things, and you know, there were some people who were just always monitoring me, who are visiting me, there were no (?) - all those funny things - even my prayers, you know, because what we did there we turn up St. Bedes upside down politically, and then really ultimately the students started to support me politically, although initially they were reluctant, you know - and then this was reported to the system (?) - that is the Transkeian security - they called me in, they told me straight : Look, we know you, right - we know who you are, and we are watching you.

I mean they were clear - they said : Look, at the right time we are going to act on you - and then I finish at St. Bedes, right, and then I move to - to the university - I had to finish my degree, one year - and when I move to the university, immediately I was elected as one of the SRC members, a publicity secretary.

F.G. Again the security people called me, said : Look, why are you joining the SRC - I told them : Look, I'm an - I'm a student, and I'm elected by the students - and then at the same time St. Bedes, who was experience political crisis, right - student were antis - anti-this guy, this principal, and then he used this to say : No, the man who started the whole thing is that guy at (.....) - and again I was called in to answer about what was happening at St. Bedes.

Ultimately the universi - the - what do you call it - the - the theological school was closed and all South African students were kick out, even lecturers - and then later same thing happened at the University of Transkei - it was closed, and then actually I was banned from coming to Transkei after that - fortunately I was through with my studies.

And when I arrive in Cape Town the system - that is the security people were really there (?) checking me every now and then - they used to come to check if I'm still around because, you know, I was working in the Coloured area - Coloured community, travelling between home and Coloured (?) comm.

J.F. Which was that?

F.G. That was in Belgravia Road, Athlone - do you know Cape Town - I used to work at Belgravia Road, St. Johns Church there, as a curate - you know, well, it's a very rich middle class community, but I must say it, I was well accepted there by the people - you know, an interesting thing is that after I finished my - my college, right, studies, I had to go back to Cape Town, right, to work, particular in the township, right, but black priests where I was supposed to be stationed said he was not prepared to take me, my own black - black brother.

He was not prepared to accept me because he said : No, this guy is political, he wants to use the church - hence I was stationed at the Coloured church, you see - that's very interesting - it shows the thinking of our priests at that point in time.

J.F. You mean the Coloureds accepted you?

F.G. I was accepted with the Coloured community, but my own black priests was not prepared to accept me.

J.F. And how did the Coloureds you dealt with in the area you were....

F.G. I must say it, you know, I was very happy with them - very, very happy with them.

J.F. Which denomination are you?

F.G. Anglican - the then archbishop was Russell - you know Russell from Durban - he was the archbishop - I must say I was happy among the Coloured community - I was there until I left the country.

J.F. Which was when?

F.G. That was in '85 - was it '85 - I think it was '85, and then I ran to Lesotho because the political pressure from the security was heavy - they were really waiting for the right time to (.....) at me and to arrest me - hence I decided to leave for Lesotho, from where I - you know, I was attached to the university, doing some research there, but there things become hot again after the coup - we were rounded up and then deported to Lusaka, but for me I think that was a blessing in disguise to be deported to Lusaka, because I was able to join the department - that is the religious department, which was called then Church Front, and to re-establish it, you know, reconstruct it actually.

J.F. Was it not - did it need re-establishing?

F.G. Yes, it did - there was nobody qualified - let me say a priest to man it, to make it more effective internally and internationally, you see - I'm the only priest in Lusaka at this point in time - hence I say for me I think the spirit of the Lord was at work (Laugh) to bring me all the way to Lusaka so that I can be involved in this work.

J.F. So who was in the department, just you?

F.G. No, at this point in time we are four now - it's expanding - it's really expanding, and we hope by next year we'll have more than four, and we hope to open offices Harare, Angola - we have one already, somebody in London who - who's running an office.

J.F. Who's that?

F.G. You know - might know Mayson - Cedric - he's just joined the department - he's our man in London - we hope also - because I'm working very close with churches in West Germany - we hope to open an office in West Germany also - we are really expanding very fast, and then this happened (?) - for instance, you know, the department was established when - around May - around May.

J.F. Of '87?

F.G. Yes, this year - it was established in May - to make it a broader interface (.....) you know - that's why I say we have really worked hard within a short space of time, and we hope to move forward (.....)

J.F. Can I go back in your background a bit - you schooled and then worked and you worked at that bantu administration office - when you first joined it what year was that approximately?

F.G. I started to work there in 19 - 1970.

J.F. Before you met Loza?

F.G. Just same year I met Loza - I remember I started to work there around April - that was when I left school - I finish my education there - that's '69 - and then around April I worked there - it was during my work there that I was introduced to Lo - you know, at the bantu administration office you have access to many people of the township - you begin to know the entire population - that's how I come across these people.

J.F. And did - you didn't see any political problem in working for bantu administration office?

F.G. That's why ultimately I was kick out, as a threat.

J.F. But to join it initially - you joined it.

F.G. No, then there was nothing because, you see, what we have to understand in our situation, particular blacks by then - we were not supposed to work in certain sectors, right, like blacks were not supposed to work in hotels - just think (?) a hotel - you were not supposed to work in the hotel....

J.F. Just Coloureds?

F.G. Coloureds, right, around the Cape - you were not supposed to work even at the garage - garage - it was a, you know - a privilege for somebody to work at the garage - you were not supposed - well, it was worse with these big firms, you know.

F.G. It was well, we have to work with trucks - construction like (.....) Stewart and the like - that's where blacks were supposed to work, to be teachers - well, to work within the bantu administration office, because you were dealing with your own people - jobs were very limited, and even if you went to certain places.....

END OF SIDE ONE.

F.G. Even when you - you - you get a job maybe in a garage, you need the permit - you didn't work there without a permit, that was out - and when I started to work at the bantu administration office, for me as a new student out of school, it was some kind of a - an easy job, right, but later I could discover that I could not last, because what happened is that you had to interpret the oppressive system, and now you became the part and parcel of that - hence later these people discover that I was working close with the community - in a way I was revealing their secrets - if they planned this (?) the people will be knowing and start initiating means of checking (?) that, right, but within the staff somebody maybe discovered that and (?) said : This is the guy responsible for that.

Ah, well, the people will tell you I was an - I was an asset to the people when I was working there, very close with them.

J.F. Can you tell me since you're out of the country, without mentioning any names - can you tell me a little bit about working in the political cells - it's just that people who don't have anything - who aren't in the country any more who have been involved politically have often spoken about their work - obviously without jeopardising any....

F.G. Come again with that question - rephrase it.

J.F. I'm just giving background to say that if you can speak about it, the question just would be you met Loza, he told you about the ANC - can you just tell me a bit about what that meant then - it was the very lull period, it was underground, there was no aboveground - did they say : O.K., we've told you about the ANC now?

F.G. No, you see, then, as I say to you, after the suppression of the progressive movement within the South Africa, there was that lull, political lull - even those who were involved were very sceptic, very suspicious of anybody - they were not prepared to dish out their political knowledge - this was only for them - but later certain individuals within those cells started to reach out, and fortunately people like Loza reach out to people like us - we were young, we were daring, you see my point - we were ready to pay the highest price, the ultimate price for what we believe in - we reach out - hence we were able to establish cells within the country very, very fast.

And when 1976 came about - that is the uprising - we were able to coordinate (?) work very easy - hence the ANC started to take the whole thing - we won't say '76 is the product of the ANC - no, it is not - but we were able, within that political situation, to come out and become THE movement because we were there, we were young, given direction by these veterans telling us what to do, telling us to move from that corner to that (.....) - telling us to monitor what's happening and come back and analyse the situation - that's how we were able to capture the political mood of 1976.

J.F. What do you mean capture, what do you mean - what did you....

F.G. We were able to capture what was happening, to contra - that to say we were able to control the situation, to take over, right - to take over complete up to today - I mean if you find out, ANC after that became THE organisation, right, it is due to those cells, which were ready to move, which were ready to mobilise, which were ready to re-organise and to win over more cadres for the ANC.

J.F. What kind of work did you do in those cells?

F.G. (Laugh) political (?) work.

J.F. Without divulging anything that's going to jeopardise I guess..... a sense of what the political cells were doing - what kind of debates were going on?

F.G. No, you see, first and foremost in (?) political cells people have to understand the Freedom Charter - that is the basis of our political analysis - we have to question it where we are not satisfied about it - from there within the cadres, leadership is established - those who are seen to be capable are earmark for leadership within the ANC, and each and every cadre in that cell has to establish a cell, right, throughout - this has to go throughout - throughout your area, let's say (... ..) - throughout your area, right - that's how we were able to spread very, very fast, and that's why well, I'll say we were not so strict about securitywise and the like - hence we found out most of the students who went out in order to acquire, you know, the skills necessary to fight that regime went out through the ANC.

If those cells were not there - if those cells were not well established, those cadres, those young 1976 student could not have come to the ANC - furthermore, they could not have gone outside, but the cells were ready to receive them and then to send them everywhere where they could acquire those skills - how the contact was made is not important, with the outside world, but the contact was dynamic - hence flood of them was able to get out.

J.F. And when you were working at that time, given the fact that there was such a lull period and the ANC wasn't know, how did you find the response of people - were they a bit nervous initially when you said ANC were they - did they have some prejudices of - some people have said to me - some people thought in the early '70s oh, the ANC, those were the people who tried to fight but then they didn't succeed, or those are the people who left us and didn't - ultimately weren't able to assist us or - but they just had heard only propaganda about the ANC - or did you find readiness or what did you find?

F.G. No, there were those who were ready, right, but there were those who were not impressed - I mean in any political crisis you get people who will be impressed and the other not - that's also what happened in South Africa - you know, it was the duty of the cells, right, to work, right, to reach out to these students to convince them but look, this is the right movement, right, but we were able to do that - I must say we were able to do that - hence today we are reaping the fruits - I mean I'm not boasting - I'm really not boasting, but I don't say we're 100 percent successful in that - certain (?) didn't join the movement, but the majority joined it.

J.F. And did you find that there were people who were influenced by BC who said : But how can you be talking about working with whites - did that come up, that BC was the very separatist thing....

F.G. Yes, it did - it did, but you know, the problem with the BC, they had no programme of action - that was their disadvantage - they had no programme of action, unlike the ANC - we had the programme of action - hence they lost many people - I think BC, I really must say it, it was really powerful, but it had no programme of action.

J.F. I'm asking the questions about non-racialism, but do you think I may be getting too focused on it - was it not an issue or - I'm just....

F.G. It was - it was, I must say, you see - for instance, the others - it's very easy for any cadre - you know, for instance, they will say : Look - most of them discover well, that ANC it's a well organised structural underground (?) all those things, and they are ready to help here and there, right - BC is there - it's not banned, but they are not ready to help people - there's - they cannot take you anywhere - they are busy talking all those things.

O.K., maybe some of them will say : O.K., we'll join the ANC in order to acquire one, two, three, but later we know where we belong - but if you come across well trained ANC people - that is political - and then they tell you, they teach you about right politics, you'll never be the same - same, I will say - maybe some of them joined it in order to acquire only (?) these skills, but when they go through our political education, they discover (.....) BCM is a process - yes, I'm right to hate these people, the whites - there's nothing wrong in that - it is a certain (?) process, and then from there I should develop another stage, right, it - it's right, but BCM is not an end in itself - that's what is important - I'm sure some of them discover that.

(.....) with the ANC I will say most of our outstanding cadres are from BCM - outstanding cadres are from BCM.

J.F. Why do you think that is?

F.G. They've discovered that BCM is not an end in itself - it's a certain stage, necessary stage, you see.

J.F. O.K.....

F.G. I mean take people like - even back home in South Africa you'll find out people who are running the UDF are former BCM people, SASO people - they are very dynamic, but they are growing, which is important.

J.F. Do you remember in Cape Town in '74, '75 when there were a few incidents of pamphlet bombs and things?

F.G. Ja, by the whites, you know.

J.F. Did you know....

F.G. I know those guys, but you know, as I said to you, things were so deeply underground - we had no contacts with those people - it is now that I know who are they.

J.F. Cronin and (.....).....

F.G. Ja, it is now that I know who are they - dedicated comrades, but they had their own cells.

F.G. And at that point in time it was not wise for us to work hand in hand with whites at that point in time.

J.F. Why?

F.G. I mean the situation was still unfolding, right - they would jeopardise their security, and we would jeopardise our security - it was better for them to concentrate in their area - hence when they were arrested, they were not able to reveal everybody, you see my point - same applies with us there - if some of us were arrested, if we knew them we would reveal them, which is very dangerous, you see - that's what is important (?) with underground cells.

J.F. But were you in Cape Town when those bombs went off - did you remember anyone speaking : Oh, I saw it in town, I don't....

F.G. I was there - I remember some of them at Mowbray bus stop, right....

J.F. Mowbray?

F.G. Mowbray, you know the - there's a suburb next to University of Cape Town - we called it Mowbray - there was also right in town - I still remember them, although I cannot remember the speeches which were uttered after those, but I know the incidents of those letter bombs - they used to refer to them as bucket bombs - that's how they referred to them.

J.F. Because the pamphlets were in a bucket?

F.G. Ja, something like that, you know - they used to get (?) bucket bombs.

J.F. So how did you hear about them - did other people tell you or was it on the news or how did you....

F.G. Oh, no, people took (?) them I mean - people had the pamphlets because they were (?) just blown during the pick-up hour.

J.F. At the bus stop?

F.G. At the bus stops, main - right in the heart of town, main streets, all those things - they did a good work, I must say it - they really worked..

J.F. Tell me about how they worked?

F.G. No, I don't know (Laugh)

J.F. I know you don't know the details, but I'm saying for you - I'm specifically interested - you didn't know....

F.G. For us - for us, they spread the message among the whites very effectively.

J.F. Among the whites?

F.G. Among the whites, and there was also a heavy publicity on it, press and the like, and blacks again discover look, the ANC's alive, and the method which was used was really sophisticated - as a result, it was said these are well trained people, you see my point - now people said : Ah, our boys have come back - things like those, because we were told that there are some people who went outside to train - they'll be back one day, right, and this was also after the Wankie and Sipolilo campaigns, you know.

- F.G. There was that link with those things, say now they have managed to come back, and there was always headlines on papers - think it was good (.....)
- J.F. So you didn't see the bomb go off?
- F.G. No, no, no, no, no, I happened not to be in town.
- J.F. But what did people tell you - what did you hear?
- F.G. No, they just - people just say (.....) - they just pick up papers, that's all.
- J.F. And did anyone tell you what was in the papers?
- F.G. I mean it was ANC propaganda - it was ANC propaganda, and it was - had headlines on local papers, Cape Times and (.....) - although I - you know, I cannot remember it word to word (?) what was happening or in details, but it was a good propaganda for the ANC.
- J.F. I'm just interested because when I interviewed Jeremy Cronin, he said that Mountain Qumbela had actually seen one of the pamphlets that was blown.
- F.G. Ja, people took them, yes, that's right - people took them to the location, they read it - I also know Qumbela - most people took them, those who happen to be in town - others, you know - for instance, there were some people who had some contacts with few whites - others got them from whites, you know, and people like Qumbela were leaders, you know - they will bring those papers to you, but you don't ask questions - that was the policy - if you receive a letter (?) you don't ask where did you get it, no.
- J.F. But you weren't involved with anything like that?
- F.G. (Laugh) I was still a - a maturing cadre then, I was not involved.
- J.F. So your work was really just to learn about like reading group, that kind of a....
- F.G. Ja, I was still learning how to establish cells, how to win more people on the ANC side - that was my task then, nothing else.
- J.F. And there was no police penetration of your cells (?)
- F.G. No, not at all - police then were very ineffective, I must say it - very ineffective - actually (?) they relax - they thought now things were normal in the townships, all those things.
- J.F. And to get people to join a cell didn't they - as soon as they heard political underground cell ANC, weren't they a bit scared....
- F.G. No, no, you must remember then the political mood was growing up at that time - people wanted to be involved - people were sick and tired of what was going on - hence it was easy to recruit people, it was no problem - people were ready to fight, do anything.
- J.F. Did you have to meet really secretly or....
- F.G. Yes, of course - I mean if you are a banned organisation, you don't take chances, you meet secretly, strict orders, no compromise (Laugh)

J.E. First you went to St. Bedes, then you went to Unitrac (?)

F.G. Well, at Unitra you know what they did - when I was at St. Bedes I was doing diploma in theology, right - at the same time I was doing my degree with Unitra, right - '80 (?) I started at St. Bedes College, and then '81 I studied (?) in St. Bedes - no, at University of Transkei - in other words, when I finish my diploma in theology '82, I had to go and finish my - my degree at University of Transkei, which was one year now left, and then from there I had to go to UCT again after I've left Unitra, to do my honours.

J.F. UCT?

F.G. Ja, but in - in political science.

J.F. What year was that?

F.G. That was '84, under (.....) - you might know (.....) - and Giliomee - you know Giliomee - that was my lecturer - we used to clash about South African situation - he used to say South Africa is in full control, but I didn't want to expose myself - I had a problem, you know, because I knew South Africa is in crisis, but he used to say no, South Africa is in full control - that is the government - Giliomee was my lecturer, very naive - very naive.

J.F. And Shryer....

F.G. Oh, conservative - he was head of the department.

J.F. How do you spell it?

F.G. Shryer it's a Jew - Jewish name - it's S c r - it's S c h r - is it - is it S c h r i r r e - I'm not sure - highly conservative guy.

J.F. And how did you find it being on a white campus?

F.G. It was terrible - for instance, in our class, honours class, I was the only black - I was the only black - it's terrible, I must say it - it's terrible.

J.F. Why was it terrible?

F.G. Firstly it's hard to interact with them, right - they are reserved, unlike blacks, you know - we are free, man, free and friendly, that's the thing, but the whites are not like that - one is for himself, right, and when we study as blacks we help each other, but in a white university survival of the fact (?) is they don't care for him, you don't care for them - I mean such individualistic life is not ours, it's foreign to us - that was my problem at UCT, ja - and I was happy to leave that year - that was only one year - I was really happy - to me it was no campus at all.

J.F. Was there a black student society - did you join in?

F.G. There was....

J.F. AZASO or?

F.G. AZASO was there, but I felt that I was above AZASO.

J.F. Why?

- F.G. Politically I was deeply involved - I used to have (help) them as individuals, but I was never involved in their politics - politically I was really - I was a fully-fledged MK cadre then (?) you see - that's why.
- J.F. Since - from Transkei or since you got back to Cape Town?
- F.G. Before even I went to Transkei (Laugh) I was already ANC fully-fledged.
- J.F. So you were working underground then?
- F.G. Yes, throughout.
- J.F. And - so then that was '84, '85 that you were at UCT?
- F.G. At Uc - no, one year UCT - that was '8 - '84, and then I graduated in November - early '85 I left the country - immediately after I graduated I had to run away.
- J.F. Because the police might have been on to you?
- F.G. Ja, they were about now to act - I think they had enough data (Laugh) - and then I got a message that no, I have to flee.
- J.F. You said that back in the old days the whites who did those bucket bombs, it wouldn't have made sense for them to work with blacks, but when you were in your cell in the mid-'80s in doing MK work, would you ever have worked with whites - did anything....
- F.G. No, no, no, it was strictly for us - you know, we're very strict - security we're very strict - you know, the thing is this, when you are starting anything, you have to limit your work, right, because you - you know, what you are doing is that if any (.....)
- J.F. If what?
- F.G. If there is any leakage, right, within the cells, you must be able to locate what's happening - you can't work with everybody, you know, as an ANC - that is very dangerous.
- J.F. So in fact there were only Africans, there weren't Coloureds or white?
- F.G. I won't say there were no Coloureds, but in my cell there was the only black - there were only blacks - I don't know the others, you see - you only mind your own cell, you don't care for the next one.
- J.F. And when you were so involved on the level of doing MK work - just to come back to my subject that I'm asking you about - did this idea of non-racialism ever come up - was there any - or was it - is it something that's only theoretical that doesn't....
- F.G. No, you - no, no, no - as I said, you see, within the ANC we regard MK cadres as people who have reached a certain stage, high stage of political consciousness, right - those are the people who are prepared to pay the ultimate price that is there, right - those are the people who have the highest political consciousness, right - those are the people who are ready to fight side by side with any cadre, black or white, yellow and the like - in other words, as a MK cadre I have no problem - the minute I become an MK cadre, fully-fledged MK cadre, I have no problem to work with anybody, black and white, but that has to be - come from my commanders.

F.G. I don't decide I'm a soldier, right - right, I'm being commanded to do one, two, three, right - discipline is the central (?) - I won't go out looking for whites just because I want to have whites, no - I have to - to look, you are working with one, two, three, that will be good - but I must say it, MK cadres have no problem to work side by side with white cadres - this is the case - I'm sure you have read about Sparg - the one who was - the one who was arrested some time ago and sentenced to 25 years.

J.F. The woman?

F.G. The woman....

J.F. Sparg?

F.G. You see, she's our hero - that's a fully-fledged MK cadre - we are proud of her - we work side by side with her, you see - she's white but (... ..) she's our hero - we have no problem to work with whites, that's for sure - we have no problem - that's why even here we respect people like - who are sentenced - whom can I quote - people like Beyers Naude - he's white, he's an Afrikaner, but he's one of the best leaders in our country, and we regard him as our leaders - he's one of our leaders, you see - we don't judge one by his colour now - your political work will judge you.

J.F. Can I ask you about the - just the religious thing to finish up - the main reason I wanted to speak to you was because the ANC set up the religious department and I wanted to understand that - can you just talk a bit about your religious background and - I don't know if I can ask very good questions on that, but I guess one of the things I'd be combating is someone who'd read it and say : Well, how can this guy say he's been in the armed struggle and yet he's in the church, those kinds of things.

F.G. (Laugh) I'm in the armed struggle because I take my - my Christianity very serious - that's why I'm, you know - I've joined particular the MK - I'm not afraid to say I'm a MK cadre at the same time I'm a priest, right - I'm ready to confront the enemy at any given time if an order comes to that, right - you know, I will say, you know, we are having problem with the Europeans, the way they analyse the so-called ANC violence - they are quick to say : No, ANC is a good organisation, but it should stop this violence - but you should use our history to judge this - you should face historical reality for our violence - as it has been mentioned there by Dr. Nyerere, that for more than 50 years ANC never used violence, right - we sent people to the Queen protesting to say : Look, the boers are doing this, this is wrong - but what happened - what happened during the defiance campaign and the like - we filled the jails of South Africa, people were shot, Sharpeville massacres - everywhere there were massacres - even recently massacres, but the ANC - you know, the people in South Africa used to say why they insist not answering for all these things.

People back home want the ANC to hit everybody, and we are capable of doing that, but the ANC says : No, we cannot just hit everybody like terrorists, our struggle is not - violence in our struggle is not central, right - ours is political - the armed struggle is secondary to our political struggle - if you want to talk about violence, if you want to accuse ANC of being involved in a violence, open violence, that was only in 1983 - it started in 1983 during the Pretorian blast - Pretorian bomb blast.

F.G. Even then that - that bomb was directed to the military quarters, and that was after the raids in Matola and the like - ANC had to do something to show that it can do the same thing what the boers are doing - that was time you can talk about violence - even today we are not all out to destroy that country violently, no - we just hit just in the community (?) target, and then we stop, trying to show the boers that : Look, we can do it, but we don't want to do it - that's why we feel, you know, the European people are really unfair in our struggle, to accuse us of being violence - we are not violent, not at all, I don't agree on that.

And you - later you'll discover that basically, you know, there's a element of racism in all this, because why I say that - recently during the Second World War, the Western countries, including the church, were involved in violence - it was a justified violence against Hitler, right - why - if it was justified then, why is it not justified in South Africa, when people are being butchered every day just because they happen to be black, it's not justified - there was a war between - what do you call this - Falklands and the Queen - what happened there - if you still remember what the then Archbishop of Canterbury - he justified Britain aggression against Falkland, against Argentina, right, because the white British citizen was threatened, right.

He justified that war, but when it comes to us violence is not justified, why - that's why I say there's a element of racism - we are not regarded as human beings and Christians (?) throughout the world have been involved and are still involved in violence, so that's my worry with violence - this question of violence - and we'll never stop it, I must say it - the little we are doing they will never stop it - the armed struggle cannot be - we cannot - we cannot - the enemy has to stop and then we'll stop it - that's how we see it.

J.F. Why do you say it's because you take your Christianity seriously - what about those who'd say : Look, if you're a man (?) of peace you shouldn't be doing the fighting, that kind of thing - what do you mean?

F.G. But what you - you have to remember is that we are Christians in a hostile world, O.K. - we are not living in an Island, right, where we'll say : Look, we are living there, everything is at peace - not at all - you know, what we should use here to judge the so-called ANC violence, we should use the theory of justifying war, right - when are we as Christians expected to take up arms to bring down what is not of God - apartheid has been declared a heresy, right - if it is a heresy, it means it is not of God, and if it is not of God, it has to be destroyed, right - by whom - do we expect God to come down and start throwing stones around, destroying what is not of God - he has to use us - we are his earthly divine instruments - even people (.....) you'll find out throughout God used his people to punish even Israel when Israel go wrong, right - he used even pagan kings - people like Cyrus, they were used by God as his - he says : Cyrus is my servant - O.K.

J.F. He used even what kings?

F.G. The pagan kings, right, as his instrument - you see, here we should not try to limit God - he has his own ways of destroying what is not of his - same applies here - we are his instruments - the duty of bringing that regime down lies on our shoulders, squarely on our shoulders - we have no choice and there is no middle road - it is our duty - there comes a time in the life of each and every Christian to stand up and say : This is enough - and that time has arrived in South Africa - it arrived during the Second World War - it has arrived also in South Africa now - if it has not arrived in South Africa, you ask yourself why - is it because we are sub-human.

F.G. That's why I say we are fighting that (?) regime just because we take our Christianity very serious - we want to destroy what is not of God once and for all.

J.F. One last thing about the religion - how would you say if someone will say : Well, is the ANC actually a very religious organisation - do they accept religion - isn't it a very small minority (.....) the department, but it's real - just recently since you came - religion and the ANC, how do you see it?

F.G. No, you see, in order to answer that question you have (?) - for instance, it's easy for me to say : No, trying to clarify - start by clarifying is to say (?) ANC's a religious (.....) organisation, look, see this and that, all those things - but I'll ask you to use again the history of the ANC to judge it - use the history of the ANC to judge it, whether it is a religious organisation or not, right - firstly let's go back - when it was formed, it was formed in 1912 - we were not there - but if you go through that history, you'll find out the people who formed it were people who were educated in missionary schools, the chiefs, the workers - you know, you name it - from all social lives, right - and the important thing for us religious people is that the first president of the ANC in 1912 was a priest, Rev. Dube - he was a priest - you ask yourself if ANC was anti-religion, why did they pick on a priest, right.

And then there are some people again between within the executive who were also religious people, lay people and the like - the chaplaincy of the ANC was even formed then - the third president of the ANC was again a priest - the fourth....

J.F. Who was the third?

F.G. The third was Mohobe - it's a Sotho name, you'll see it there - it's originally (?) there - I think this journal (?) or the next one.

J.F. How do you spell Mohobe?

F.G. It's M - it's M k - what - - it's M a k - let me just make sure I pronounce it right - also the fourth president of the ANC was a - a minister - the current president now a (.....) Christian.

J.F. Tambo?

F.G. Yes, he's an Anglican like me - Mandela - if you read the latest journal, you'll find out Mandela is a Methodist - you read his letter there, it's a moving letter - he wrote it to - it - it's a new letter to - to one of these Islamic guys - how he's disturbed that they're not allowed to go and minister to them any more - you read it throughout - and he's telling him that I am - I was baptised and I'm still a - a practising Christian - I just want to check those names - (Tape off)

F.G. (In) other words, I'm trying to show you is that the ANC was born within the womb of Christianity - of Christianity seriously - therefore we cannot start to say ANC is anti-religion, but this accusation was purposely made by the system, that is the - the racist regime in South Africa, right, to buy its time among the political community - among the international community, and unfortunately this was well received, and you should know why it was well received by the Western countries, right - it was a justification - it was the justification to continue to exploit our country - and the reason why the ANC could not establish this department as it is today is not its fault.

- F.G. Remember inside the country the priests were deeply involved in the ANC itself (?) as - there were chaplains and the like - but when it was banned and then they had to go to exile, not a single priests joined the exile mission, no - they're all inside - we've got many priests who support us, but they cannot say it - that's why I - earlier I said it was a blessing for me to join the exile community, because I was able to revive what was started back in South Africa as a qualified priest, because you cannot take anybody to run the department, it's really out - you must have a qualified priest.
- J.F. Would you say that certainly it's only a - not most of the people at this conference, for example, who are religious - if I look at the ANC...
- F.G. No, no, no, that's totally wrong - if you judge the ANC you'll check it (?) thoroughly - you'll find out - I mean if you judge the - the ANC is the people of - ANC reflects the masses back home, that's for sure, across the colour line - we are not exaggerating when we say 70 percent - let's say 70 to 80 of the people of South Africa are religious, that's for sure - we are not exaggerating, it is like that - if they are religious, why can't we say that applies also in exile, because the people who are in exile are from South Africa - they might - some of them might not be preachers (?) in that, due to certain forces or factors, but they are religious, but after we've established the department, people are coming out like that, which is good, you know - maybe we've (?) been waiting for this moment, waiting for this department to be established.
- J.F. What is - I don't know what Yawa (?) is.
- F.G. Yawa, well, it's an original name of God, meaning Jehovah - it's a theological name, Jaweh.
- J.F. Are you married?
- F.G. No, still single (Laugh)
- J.F. And I - most people are not giving their middle names, so I'm just confused - do I call you Rev. Fumanekile or....
- F.G. Gqiba, finish.
- J.F. So I skip that one?
- F.G. Skip that one.
- J.F. That's just a middle name?
- F.G. Ja, just keep it out.

END OF INTERVIEW.