

- I.T. I was born in the - in 1909 - I was born in 1909 and grew up in a - in a - in a farm in - in the district of Queenstown, place called Bailey....
- J.F. Bailey?
- I.T. Mmm.
- J.F. B a i l e y?
- I.T. That's right - named after the great grandfather of this young fellow who had....
- J.F. (.....) Bailey?
- I.T. Ja.
- J.F. And what kind of an area was it - was it a rural area or was it a township?
- I.T. No, no, no, it was - it is farms.
- J.F. And what did your parents do?
- I.T. Well, they were farmers.
- J.F. On their own land?
- I.T. Yes.
- J.F. They owned the land?
- I.T. Yes.
- J.F. So it wasn't in a bantustan - it wasn't....
- I.T. No, no - no, no, no, in those days there wasn't - it was not in the Transkei - let me put it this way - my grandpeople - now, you see, I always say grandpeople to trace my history - I refuse to talk about it because I say - the things that I say it is my own history is not true to South Africa, if you catch what I mean - he gives a very wrong impression of South Africa, because I happen to be as a person born in a particular place in a particular way which is not typical of a black man's life in South Africa - see, that is why I always refuse to - when journalists come to me I refuse to - to - to - to do that....
- J.F. Tell me what wasn't typical - what was the atypical aspect of it?
- I.T. First of all, my father was a farmer - his people - he came from people who could be called not farmers but landowners - they had so much land they couldn't really farm it - it's only when it came to my father that he now farmed his - his area. Now to give you an example - I'm talking about size, do you know - how do you measure land?
- J.F. In acres.
- I.T. In acres - all right - now land is - we measure in morgens - now his land was 500 morgen - now a morgen is just - is just a little more than two and two acres (?) you see.

- I.T. Now his portion of the land was that. Now when you - now when (?) journalists from Europe come and ask me, you know, what was your experience and so on, how were you born and what not, and my giving them that history it gives a totally different impression of - because it is a lie, you see what I mean.
- J.F. So how - that's very interesting because if indeed you came from a background that wasn't typical but your family didn't have the problem of land that is usually at the core of the South African question - how was it - what are your motivations traced to then - if you took the average typical African South African they would say they came from, specially younger ones, through the bantustans and division of land, they might say : Well, I didn't have land (.....) this was my motivation - where did your motivation come from, do you think, if in fact the land question wasn't a pressing complaint?
- I.T. What is your question - how did I come into politics?
- J.F. Yes.
- I.T. Right - during the depression of....
- J.F. '31.
- I.T. Ja, '29, '31....
- J.F. (.....)
- I.T. Ja - you know, it was '28 in Europe (?) - came to us about '31....
- J.G. 1929 in South Africa.
- I.T. That's right, ja. Now I was at - my father died in '29, and I was at college - and then there were always about three or four of the children at a boarding school. Now when the depression came my father died - after that my mother couldn't afford it, and what was worst was the lawyer - you know, there was a firm of lawyers in Queenstown, and most of the farmers around there - white farmers and all - had them as their lawyers. Now one of them happened to be a compulsive gambler (Laugh) and after a time he started using up, you know, monies of all the widows around - my mother was one of those widows and (Laugh) the rest were the white widows - in the end he was brought to court, he was convicted and so on, so then we became broke (Laugh) if you see what I mean.
- Now then I said to my mother at the time : Look, you know, when a wife is left behind and the father dies - I mean the husband dies, and the husband was going to do something, now she feels obliged to carry on that. Now I was supposed to go to do medicine - so now my mother felt compelled to do so, but there were other girls there at - at college, and I asked my mother to let me go out of school to go and work because I am a man - I can go and work.
- My sisters, if they didn't have the education would have to go and work as domestic servants, and the idea that a sister of mine would go and work for a boer as a domestic servant was revolting to me. They would either have to do that or get married to the same - to the first man that came.

I.T. Now so I had to relieve my mother of the, you know - answer a promise (?) - and she agreed, and I went to Cape Town, fortunately - now I always say now my mother - my father died at the right time, because I went to Cape Town and I met these people - during those days, '30, '31, '32, there was the, you know - an upsurge in intellectual - intellectual - you had intellectual - the spirit of the revolution had gone the way - all the way round Spain and it - it arrived in South Africa at the beginning of the - of the '30s.

So at the universities of Cape Town you had now intellectuals who were to the left - and then I met these people - their brother was - the eldest brother was, I think, the second doctor, black doctor, in Cape Town.

J.F. Who was that?

I.T. Her (?) eldest brother.

J.F. What was his name?

I.T. Gool - A.H. - now G.H. Gool was the younger one, that's the politician - that was our generation. Anyway the point I'm making is that I got there and I was supposed to work, and I said I would work and - and become a lawyer and join, you know, and apprentice as the lawyer (?) - but at that time nobody would take me, a black man, as a - as an article - they told me to go to the Transkei - but at that same time - at that same time I met them, and we were attending clubs, political clubs or, you know, lectures - various groups having lectures, political lectures - and I became absorbed, and that did it, and for me now this was a way we would get freedom - so I always say my father died at the right time and....

J.F. When you say....

I.T. And say - saved me from becoming what he wanted me to become, and if I had become that I would have been just one of the petty bourgeoisie who'd be selling out people without knowing I was selling them out - that's what I mean.

J.F. What did he want you to become?

I.T. He wanted me to do medicine - I wanted law but he wanted me to do medicine - then I would have come back and I would have been an ignorant fellow who thought he knew all about - all there is to know, and I'd be selling people without knowing that I'm - I'm selling them out - this is the point I'm getting at.

J.F. And when you say met them, who was them?

I.T. Her, her family, (.....) and her brother - G.H. Gool - Dr. G.H. Gool.

J.F. Gulam Gool?

I.T. Gulam Gool.

J.F. And what organisation were they in when you met them?

I.T. We started to - together - we were now young, both young - he had just come from - from England - and I had come from home - and he had started a practice - and so we attended these lectures - they were left lectures - it is from this that our ideas were formed and - but these were by whites.

- I.T. Now at the time I listened very carefully and I said : Yes, these are white people but they seem to be talking sense, but never mind whether they mean it or don't mean it, it does seem to make sense to me - this is the way we'll get our liberty.
- J.F. Which whites are you referring to?
- I.T. To (.....) clubs - these were - now they're different clubs (?)....
- J.G. British (?) clubs - there was a club - there was (.....) of the Communist Party.
- I.T. There was the Communist Party on the one hand....
- J.G. The Communist Party Group....
- I.T. Ja, and then....
- J.G. (.....) - and there was a group of 15....
- I.T. Of 15.
- J.G. Ja - there was also....
- I.T. Young radicals....
- J.G. Young - young fellows - they were called a Group of 15.
- I.T. And then there was a Lenin Club.
- J.G. Then there was a Lenin Club.
- I.T. And then there was a Spartacus Club.
- J.F. And these were mainly whites?
- J.G. Yes.
- J.F. All whites?
- I.T. No, there were all whites in it (?) - they would....
- J.G. The Group of 15 were Coloured and African - the Communist Party worker groups were all made of different kinds, and the Communist Party also had youth groups - then the....
- I.T. It is from - it is from these groups that we began to get ideas and - and then we went to go and study ourselves - and then finally we formulated our own way of getting somewhere.
- J.G. You must remember that time there was a great upheaval in South Africa because of this, the same period, the depression, and the depression brought hundreds of unemployed on the streets.
- J.F. I just wonder if I should - it's because it's not picking up on this microphone - maybe I should let you tell it and come back to that - what you're saying isn't being....
- J.G. I'm just trying to enlarge upon.... really there were lots of unemployed - that 1929 depression that went on to 1932 - that was a worldwide depression, and if you look through the Life magazines (?) of 1931 you'll find that in New York there were thousands of people standing on the streets of New York - soup kitchens - we know what happened in England too, and it was a worldwide depression.

I.T. Right.

J.G. I'm now (?) talking about Europe - and in South Africa it was the same thing, and the unemployed marched and had meetings all over - at the docks, in the streets, on the Parade - you know, then to Cape Town - you know, the Parade then was the big meeting place - and so the ideas, revolutionary ideas were all in the air.

And then of course remember there was also 1922 there was the white strike, miners strike - that of course (?) is a long time - distance away, 1931, but the unemployed was a great (?) factor.

I.T. The - the - the - the important thing for us was that there were these - there were these various clubs that propagated the different ideas....

J.F. Different from what - when you came....

I.T. Different from amongst themselves - each group had its own ideology..

J.G. A milieu.

I.T. Ja (Laugh) and....

J.G. A milieu was one of enlightenment.

J.F. But when you came from Queenstown had you had no exposure to politics?

I.T. Nothing.

J.F. Had you ever heard of the A.N.C. or any of those existing groups?

I.T. Oh, well, the A.N.C. was - had been born in 1912, you know what I mean, but there had been the - you know, the - the uprisings like Kigima (?) and shooting down - mowing down of the population - and Masabalala and so on - but these didn't - didn't touch me as a person. It is only when I got to Cape Town and there was this - this stimulating (?) intellectual activity, and we came at the right time - she's....

J.G. Schools were - schools and colleges were dead, I may say.

J.F. Were what?

J.G. Dead - non-political - apolitical.

I.T. Ja, and as it happened, the University of Cape Town got some of the, you know, world (?) famous people who were also left - fellows like Farington, you know, who wrote - the author of A Greek Philosophy - fellows like Bordma (?) the author of - what was his name - on language - the - The Loom of Language....

J.G. Bodma (?) - a German....

I.T. Bordma - that's right - now these were intellectuals of no small standing - they'd come from Europe, and they were all left, you see (Laugh) and we - we went to the various clubs where they gave the lectures, and this stimulated us.

- J.G. I remember with great happiness listening to Faringdon - Faringdon was an Irishman.
- I.T. Wonderful lecturer.
- J.G. He was an Irishman with a wonderful gift of language, and he spoke on Greek science (.....) the like of which I've never heard before - it was a marvellous stimulation, and was an orator of the first water - that was Faringdon.
- J.F. So you - when you came to Cape Town had you been to university at Lovedale or had you been....
- I.T. I'd been to Lovedale - I practically grew up at Lovedale - I went there as a youngster - I was 14 when I went there - then I went to Fort Hare, but I didn't complete - my father died in '29....
- J.F. So you left Fort Hare then?
- I.T. I was at Fort Hare then when I came out.
- J.F. What work did you do in Cape Town?
- I.T. Oh, all sorts of things - tried to do....
- J.G. Odd jobs.
- I.T. Odd jobs....
- J.G. To live - in order to live....
- I.T. Ja, in order to live - but in time what I did was just to get a hawkers licence so in order to be able to have the right to be in Cape Town, but now I - I was now absorbed in politics - and then in time we came together and, you know, our group was now helping me to - you know, to - to live - and she was teaching.
- J.F. So what was the group that you're talking about now?
- I.T. (Laugh)
- J.F. The people....
- J.G. No, no, well, now (.....) - he's jumping stages - so now we come to this era of the attending the lectures - attending the lectures - well, after attending the lectures and listening to politics we decided then to become members of this left group - and then....
- J.F. Which group was that?
- J.G. That was the Lenin Group, but I think the Lenin Group split - it's so long ago that I wouldn't know.
- I.T. Ja, then it split, and it went one - one - one lot.
- J.G. And then the Lenin Group split - went on the one side - and it was a question of they were going to form a party, and they had to work out certain theses - now these theses was on the question of the interpretation - now I want you to keep this part under your hat - we'll discuss this later, whether it should be inserted or not, because these are very personal things.

- J.G. Now the split took place in the Lenin Club on the question of the thesis - what is the prognosis for the revolution in South Africa....
- I.T. Everybody spoke revolution.
- J.G. Everybody spoke about a revolution - now you must remember we were young - we had no idea about revolutions or whatever - all I knew was about a French Revolution, and that was all - and we all knew as children, you know, what it was - but now it came to the South African revolution it's a different matter - and discuss (?) what is the prognosis for the revolution in South Africa - and one side took a prognosis of the - you will correct me if I am a bit (.....) or hazy on this matter - whether it should go through the national movement, or was it a question of fighting at once or (.....)
.....
- I.T. A - a - a - ja, a - a proletarian revolution.
- J.G. That is it, you see - there was the two points of view that emerged - a proletarian revolution like a revolution in Europe where you had a proletarian - a proletarian - class conscious proletarian leading a revolution.
- I.T. (.....) - now this was - this was a crucial question - now this is where we broke with - completely with the Communist Party altogether - although we were never part of the Communist Party but, you know, we - we attended all, as I said - now there was a difference now. The Communist Party argued that South Africa is a - a highly industrialised country - then the revolution would be the same as that of England or Germany or so on, so they must form a party to form the revolution.
- Now we said : No, that can't be - you've got to organise a national movement, because you can't organise people on the basis of nationalisation of the mines - it has no meaning to a miner - and nationalisation of the land - the land is already nationalised in South Africa - it belongs to the - to the government - so this has no meaning - so we said now : No, in South Africa we have to have a - a national organisation with a demand for democratic rights - what they - what they call bourgeois democratic rights, which we were denied.
- J.F. Let me just make sure - as I said, I want to make sure that I'm looking not just at history but at the particular area I'm looking at, which is non-racialism - if I can just step back briefly - when you were growing up in the Eastern Cape area - that's an area that's very much predominantly African and Coloured or Indian - then you went to Cape Town - was that at all a step for you to be involved with people of other race groups, or did that come naturally to you - did you - was that the very first time you were exposed to people who weren't African - had you had any exposure to whites, Coloureds or Indians in your early years or up to in Lovedale?
- I.T. Well, at Lovedale we had, but not - not whites - Coloured and - and - and Indian, but not whites - the whites were teachers, you know.
- J.F. So before you went to Lovedale did you have any racism in you in terms of were you anti white or were you anti Coloured or Indian - did you have any of those feelings?

- I.T. No, nothing, nothing - this is precisely one of those things I say, you see, it won't be true for South Africa - you see, if you can imagine that milieu, I had no cause to be anti anything - see what I mean - anti any white man....
- J.G. He wasn't working for whites.
- I.T. You see, for me there was nobody higher than my father (Laugh) - you see what I mean....
- J.G. And a question of (?) class here, you see - the landowners - the white landowner's son next door....
- I.T. Ja, they - they - the - the richest farmers in the area were - were north of us - now we would meet but, you know, the Afrikaaner at those days was not like the Afrikaaner of today. You see, the Afrikaaner of those days they knew only two things - you are either a man or a skepsel - do you know what a speksel is?
- J.G. A thing.
- I.T. You know, a - a (Laugh)....
- J.G. A skepsel's a thing.
- J.F. A thing?
- I.T. Ja, a skepsel, ja - you know, like you've - it's something like we were - we were less than a Kaffir, a skepsel. Now if you possess the same things as they've got then you are a man (Laugh) - you see what I mean - that was the Afrikaaner of those days.
- J.F. And your father wasn't discriminated against by them?
- I.T. No, my father was a farmer and were entitled to all the privileges of farmers. If he wanted to buy a gun he would go and buy a gun and have a licence.
- J.G. I just read (?) now when Denis came (?).....
- I.T. No, the boers....
- J.G. The depression came you never got anything....
- I.T. No, no, no, when the boer - by this time the - the difference was this - when - most of the farmers after the depression were bankrupt, but the government gave them so-and-so but didn't give us that - mind you, we did not ask either (Laugh) but we wouldn't have got it, I know.
- J.F. And did your father employ people at the farm?
- I.T. Yes, you couldn't run a farm like that without - they just couldn't...
- J.G. Squatters.
- J.F. Squatters?
- J.G. On the farm.
- I.T. No, they were not squatters, Jane - they were employed - they were paid.
- J.F. So when you went to Lovedale was that the first time that you mixed with Coloured and Indian and....

I.T. That's right.

J.F. And you didn't - that wasn't anything even just on a kind of straightforward level of being something different - you don't recall that as being any step when you first had a Coloured friend or when you first....

I.T. You know - you know, the peculiar thing is this, and of course I understood (?) it long after when now I could analyse things properly - now the other fellows came from say, the reserves and so on - now they - some came from places where they were under chiefs, and they believed in certain things, you know what I mean, that kind of life which I did not know because I grew up in a farm, so I didn't know about - so much about the customs and that kind of thing - I had to come across this later when I was older - consequently when I now met the - the - the Coloured boys and the Indian boys I - I - I took to them quite naturally because they lacked the same thing that I lacked - you know, the - the - the tribal customs (Laugh) - you see what I mean - so it seems - so that it wasn't anything strange to me for them, no.

J.F. And then when you went to Cape Town - I'm interested that you were drawn immediately to these left groups - at Fort Hare you didn't have any involvement with people who became youth leaguers....

I.T. No....

J.F. Any of those - did you know the Mandelas and the Sisulus and the people who - the type of people who later.....

END OF SIDE ONE.

I.T. was my letter to Mandela....

J.F. No, I did - I didn't - ja - I know that you did write (?)

I.T. Ja, so they were a younger generation - I was already in politics and I used to go travelling - you know, travelling and lecturing, and I would go to Fort Hare and then I would also address them there.

J.F. But I'm saying when you were at Fort Hare - how long were you there - how many - is it (.....) - was it years or months?

I.T. Yes, yes, years (?) years.

J.F. And during those years did you come across people who later became in the A.N.C. at all, or were you - were you political at Fort Hare at all?

I.T. I wasn't political.

J.F. You just wanted to acquire an education, a degree?

I.T. Mmm.

J.F. Why was it that at Fort Hare you didn't get awakened to the nationalist movement or to left politics - that you didn't discover Lenin there, and yet you discovered left politics....

I.T. It wasn't there - there was no-one there that would - you - you - you never heard of it.

J.F. You didn't hear of left politics, but what about the nationalists, the A.N.C. type....

I.T. Yes, but then we were busy playing football and (Laugh) so - so you didn't.

J.F. So why were you open to moving in a very left direction, not nationalist, not just simply Africanist, but why was it that after having no politics and having what you yourself describe as a petty bourgeois background that you moved right into in Cape Town into the far left?

I.T. It is because of, as I say, we - we were lucky in the sense that I arrived in Cape Town at the time of that - that - that awakening - intellectual activity with the - with these intellectuals from overseas - and my approach to the whole thing was - was - was intellectual and - but for me by this time I'd understood - you'll laugh when I say (Laugh) by this time I'd understood that I was not a person, a full person - something I didn't know (Laugh) - I - I had to discover that I was not a full person, and that of course, fortunately for me I discovered it late - by this time I couldn't be broken you see what I mean - and it makes - it makes that much difference.

If you discover it at an early time you might - you - you - you - you tend to be, you know, not apologetic, or crushed - you tend not to - to - to grow up as a - regarding yourself as a full person, you see what I mean, and when you are older you have to struggle to become a full person, but I - I - I - to me I was a person, and I had to discover that in the eyes of the other fellow I am not a full person....

J.F. You mean the race problem?

I.T. Ja, the whites.

J.F. That's interesting because most people in South Africa would have first moved through a nationalist phase and then moved on to understanding socialism or understanding a left analysis or class analysis, whereas you went first to the class analysis and then to the colour analysis.

I.T. Mmm, then I - well, when (?) I went, as I say, it is - I was fortunate - you've got to understand also the milieu at the time - what was the milieu, the intellectual milieu at the time at the universities and in Cape Town in general - this is the point.

J.F. But when you say in general there weren't lots of other African people who were in the same Spartacus, Lenin, Group of 15 - that was that wasn't exactly the dominant milieu.

I.T. No, no, no, there weren't many blacks - it was very, very, very small, as a matter of fact.

J.F. That's why I think for you to put it down to the existing milieu isn't very....

- I.T. No, no, what I'm saying the existing milieu (?) I mean that particular little place that I was placed in as a person, you know what I mean - I'm not talking about generally in South Africa or even in Cape Town in general, but this specific position in which I had these friends who attend these clubs - that's the milieu.
- J.F. And those friends who attended the clubs were mostly not African, weren't they?
- I.T. Well, of course not, ja.
- J.F. And that wasn't difficult for you - that didn't bother you that there weren't as many African people involved?
- I.T. Given my - given my background it didn't.
- J.F. Once you - O.K., for you personally, but did it bother you that the masses of the African people weren't involved - whether you were getting involved in something which the mass of working class people and African people weren't open and accessible to?
- I.T. Well, right - now once we were in this and we - we've now - now we began to study revolutions in general - one of the first ones was the French Revolution - we had to study all that, and then the question of classes and so on, and then later come to the Russian Revolution. Now by this time we had begun to think in terms of class, but at the same time we understood that oppression in South Africa presents itself in a particular way - consequently - let me say before I go further on that score, I would say this - we had already, because we were - because we were thinking in terms of classes and we were seeing what - what our people were doing, we began to look at the leadership.
- We found that the - the - our people were kept back by the - by the - by the leaders - they were separated by the leaders - we discovered afterwards and we formulated it this way, that no one section in South Africa can liberate itself without the others - the Coloured people cannot liberate themselves, Indians not, Africans not, without the others - that's the way we formulated it after we'd been studying all the time.
- Now when we said people have been deliberately separated in order to be kept backwards, that the liberals in fact were the ones who taught - first of all they separated us and then taught us politics - you - we - they had - they had - what do they call them now - the joint councils - you know, they had the - the African/European joint council, a Coloured/European joint council, the Indian/European joint council - now the European was the common factor, you will (Laugh) notice, but we - we were never brought together, the oppressed people.
- Now this is one of the things we understood from at an early stage and we said : Once you come to the conclusion that no - no one section can liberate itself you've got now to understand that the first thing to do is bring them together and then fight the same battle together. So now for us then, because now we had learned about the French Revolution, we had learned about the Russian Revolution, and we'd studied it, and let me tell you now one little secret, once - how I came to (Laugh) - to know where (Laugh)
- J.G. (.....)

I.T. (.....) had invited me to - to a camp - no, no, this thing's being recorded - I was going to say she had become an expert in the French Revolution, and I discovered this and they (there) was arguing with the - against the members of the Communist Party who were supposed to be leaders, and here this young woman, who was a student, stood up to them on this question of the French Revolution - so after that I said : I must go and learn about this French Revolution too, secretly (Laugh) - and so I said : That is (.....) - anyway the

J.G. The trouble with the Communist Party (.....)

I.T. Anyway the point is that we said when we settle down now to do serious politics outside the clubs first thing to do was to ask the question what is the problem - now what is this problem that is to be solved, because before you solve the problem you must be able to state it - so then we went down - settled down and we came, you know, briefly to this conclusion, that the problem in South Africa is a - a - a land problem - and if I could give you now as it is today it was not then in those days - I mean the figures.

You know, in South Africa less than five million whites own 87 percent of the land, and the 25 million blacks do not own but are legally entitled to occupy only 13 percent of the land - now naturally the - the - the figures were different at that time, but the - but it is - it was - it is the proportions are the same - so we said now : For as long as that is the position it means that the black man will always be a servant, because he can't live without being a servant - he has no land to live on, and - so now this is the one conclusion we came to.

The next one was, the one problem was the question of lack of rights lack of rights - so now the question is how to solve these two problems - once you've stated them - and we realised that without solving the land question it's impossible for us to solve anything else - it's impossible to solve even the political question, you see, and these two questions, it's the agrarian question and the national question - they meet at the base because they are - they - they - they are the same people - these landless people are the same people as rightless people - you see what I mean, blacks - so the two problems meet at the base and they have to be solved - then it is from there that you start now to reason how do you solve it.

Once you have stated the problem then you have to start beginning now - once you have stated the problem that is the beginning - to state a problem is - is already the beginning of the - of the solution.

J.F. So which years was this - when you first came to Cape Town was which year?

I.T. I was there (?) '32, '33.

J.F. And what years was it when you're talking about having finally tried to talk about assessing the problem?

J.G. In about '26 (?)

I.T. No, in '35, '36 was when we went out now openly.

J.G. It was just before that that we went out, didn't we - I'll make it '34 then.

I.T. Ja, it was about '34, thereabouts.

- J.F. And when you say went out did you start any other organisation or - what did you mean?
- I.T. And then into public politics.
- J.G. Then we went to organise - we went out in the public to put our views at - in the - what (.....) would say - wait a minute - that's when we started to water the garden.
- J.F. And what do you mean exactly - you mean that at that point you....
- J.G. The African people met in '35.
- I.T. Fortunately there was that crisis of 1935, '36.
- J.G. You remember when the African vote was threatened.
- I.T. Was taken away.
- J.F. Right, and with the Native Bills....
- J.G. And a convention was called of all the organisations, all the leadership - leaderships of various organisations....
- I.T. Every existing organisation was there.
- J.G. By that time there were hundreds of organisations representing all sorts of organisations that....
- I.T. (.....) - there were 150 organisations represented by about 500 delegates.
- J.G. Ja, there were teachers organisations, peasants organisations, trade unions - there were national liberation organisations, there was branches of the A.N.C., there were municipal bodies....
- I.T. Civic bodies....
- J.G. Civic bodies - all sorts of organisations.
- J.F. This is the All Africa Convention?
- I.T. That's right - that was the first time now we came out.
- J.G. That you will read about in his book.
- I.T. That's right.
- J.G. So we don't want to (.....) on that.
- I.T. That's right - so now all you want to know is - is prior to - to - to this time.
- J.F. No, I'm interested in all the way up through the years - all I'm trying to focus in on is the issue of race and class and how you saw the race issue....
- I.T. That is the point you come to - now once we understood what the problem was then we - for us it became clear that the race issue is a - is a camouflage - or not a camouflage, it facilitates - facilitates exploitation.

- I.T. That in fact the real problem is the exploitation, which means class, and the race question is the - I said camouflage - what other word can I use....
- J.G. (.....)
- J.F. And when you say we came to that conclusion are you speaking as a small group of intellectuals in Cape Town or are you speaking of a mass based organisation?
- I.T. This what we're talking about now about what we found and our analysis obviously is not a wide thing - it's a small group in Cape Town, and it is this small group from which we - we arose with these ideas, and we entered public politics for the first time in 1935 during that crisis, and straight away we - we - we were preaching our own ideas.
- J.F. But again when you say you entered it, you went to the All Africa Convention as a delegate from what, the....
- I.T. Oh, there was a - the - you were....
- J.G. I represented the New Era Fellowship - he represented....
- I.T. The Voters Association - African Voters Association.
- J.F. It wasn't the Young Mens Ethiopian Society that you represented?
- I.T. No, no, no, no - you see, at that time - before that time we were only in the voters lists - we voted with the whites, and I was a voter, although I never voted because I never saw the - the point in my voting for somebody and I can't be voted for (Laugh) - anyway I wasn't books (?) as a voter, and so the voters in the Cape Province had this organisation, the - the - the Voters Association - African Voters Association, and I belonged to it.
- J.G. I don't know what my brother belonged to, because he also went - but we had already started study groups of students - we had formed education fellowships, New Era Fellowships for (?) university students and high school students - I was also in the Teachers League by then.
- J.F. And so you went to that All Africa Convention - I'm just thinking again to get to the issue of race and class.
- I.T. Ah, you were talking about that - that - it was in that conference, when they were talking about the name they decided now this organisation which has brought all organisat - but - by the way, this convention was called because there was no existing organisation that could call the people together - the oldest organisation, the Congress, was practically finished, so they - they called this - now question now - this is now - this must now be permanent.
- J.G. In 1937.
- I.T. They took a - '35 they took a resolution it must be made permanent...
- J.G. Not '35, later.
- I.T. Now....

- I.T. No, no, no, it was 1935, and then in '36 it gave - the constitution was passed - the resolution was passed in '35. Now to come to what she wants, for the first time the people now they were asking what should be the name, so now the (Laugh) - they - it was to be our (?) All African Convention, but then somebody says....
- J.G. But who is an African.
- I.T. But who is an African - there are those people there - there's Dr. Gool there, for instance, there's Miss Gool there, and - and - and the chairman was Prof. Jabavu, who had been her Professor (Laugh) at Fort Hare, and you know - and - and Jabavu was so proud to have - see his students there - he says : Miss Gool, behave (?) (Laugh) - they were there, and now are they African or are they not African - so this for the first time had to be thrashed out, and it was decided all oppressed are African.
- J.G. All those born in South Africa.
- I.T. Ja, and oppressed.
- J.F. Which one is it though - all those born in South Africa or all those oppressed, because that's certainly a distinction - you said that your own background that you were not oppressed.
- I.T. No, no, of course we were (?) oppressed - we were denied - we denied - we were denied a vote - I mean franchise.
- J.F. So it was an organisation for all people except whites?
- I.T. No, it wasn't that at all - you mean the convention?
- J.F. Well, this definition of African that you were telling me was....
- I.T. Ja, ja, ja - so at that time....
- J.G. (.....) in Africa.
- J.F. But I'm saying those are two different things - you're saying it was all those born in Africa and you're saying it was those oppressed....
- I.T. No, at the convention you - you're thinking in terms of the Unity Movement now, which was later - but at the convention itself it was the oppressed people - now oppress - it didn't matter whether you were a millionaire - if you were black you were oppressed because you haven't got the right, you see what I mean - but there were no millionaires, by the way (Laugh)
- J.F. So you're saying black meaning African, Coloured and Indian?
- I.T. Exactly.
- J.F. And was that a watershed - was that the first time that black - African was taken to mean Coloured and Indian as well, or had there been other groups?
- I.T. That was the first time that - that the conference....
- J.G. That was the all-embracing term for the first time, African - the - Africans included the Coloured and the Indians - it was the first time in the history of South Africa.

- J.F. And for you yourself as someone who'd been so involved in the struggle in your way, was that an important step for you to see that people - not just those who were African in an orthodox way were included - did you feel that that was quite important?
- J.G. I - that - you know, I was prepared - if I can go back - I was prepared to meet some opposition because of - of colour - and I don't say that when I got up to - to come out for a boycott of the bills (?) that I didn't meet opposition because of my colour.
- J.F. You did meet some opposition?
- J.G. I did - I was - my whole - at the end the vote was taken against what I said, but I don't know up to this day whether the vote that was - I was voted against because of my colour or because of the ideas.
- I.T. It was - it was the idea, because they didn't want - you know, they hadn't reached a stage of the (?) - now I think when I - when I - I'm listening to you at cross purposes here - I think you were asking subjectively - that's what you were asking, and she missed that point - the point about it is that she had been prepared by the fact that when her brother came back from - from - from overseas as a doctor, and they were children, and now they were - she asked him (them) where would she pay for (?) you know, got them educated, you know, they - there - there were no high schools that time for them - he paid - and then when they passed the so-and-so, matric, they asked them: Where would you want to go to - University of Cape Town or Fort Hare - now Fort Hare was known at that time as the native college.
- Now they were young and they had seen no, man what happened - they chose Fort Hare because Cape Town - they lived in Cape Town, they were born in Cape Town, and in any case they would be isolated there amongst whites, you see what I mean, so they - they chose that - it was romantic. So that was the first time she met intellectuals, black intellectuals - because Cape Town is the home of the Coloured people - no blacks - educated blacks went to Cape Town - the only blacks who were there were those who were working in the building constructions, you know, dark - what they call darker (?) fellows - they call them dagga (?) boys, you know what I mean, and the milkman - that is the only black they knew in Cape Town.
- So she had this opportunity of being educated at Fort Hare with the blacks, and that is why in fact when this thing came she went to Bloemfontein.
- J.F. For the All Africa Convention.
- J.G. Why do you think I went?
- I.T. Why do you think other Coloured people didn't go to add their (?) - Coloured intellectuals.
- J.G. I went there because I was political.
- I.T. Ja, but then you were - you were - you had already been brought into acceptance of equality.
- J.F. Were there many other Coloured students at Fort Hare when you went?

- J.G. When I was here (there) there were - there was men, and there were two women.
- J.F. So it was quite unusual for a Coloured person to choose to go to Fort Hare, or was that the only place you could go - I'm confused.
- J.G. There were - there were Coloured people who came to Fort hare who lived in P.E., Port Elizabeth, you see - after they passed matric they went to Fort Hare - and there was a young girl from Alice - that was just a village - who also came to Fort Hare, who was educated at Lovedale and went to Fort Hare as a natural sequence of education - now we who came from the Western Cape to go right down to the Eastern Cape....
- I.T. That was unnatural.
- J.G. that was unnatural - that was out of the ordinary.
- J.F. Where should you have gone then - where would you have gone - where did most Coloured people go from Cape Town?
- J.G. Went to Cape Town University.
- I.T. But most Coloured people didn't go that far.
- J.G. We were the first - after Mrs. Gool and her sister passed matric my sister and I were the second group to pass out into matriculation.
- J.F. Maybe I could just ask you a few questions, then we could come up to the All Africa Convention, because I've asked you about your background but I haven't asked you as much - I'll just do it also in the same rather brief way....

END OF SIDE TWO.

- J.F. just ask you if you could briefly in the same way tell me about your history - where you were born and when.
- J.G. I was born in 1902 in Cape Town.
- J.F. In what part of Cape Town?
- J.G. Oh, I was born in a place - it was called (.....) near the gardens, near Kloof Street.
- J.F. And when you grew up was it in a very Coloured environment totally, or what were your influences?
- J.G. It was a kind of a Dutch house in a white area.
- J.F. And how did it - why was it in a white area - was it just - was it a mixed area or was it white?

- J.G. It wasn't mixed, but we were - we were often pestered by the Afrikaners, who said that the house rightfully belonged to them and wanted to buy it and so on and so on.
- I.T. (.....) It was a - it was structurally an old Dutch....
- J.G. It had a gable, you know.
- J.F. Cape Dutch.
- I.T. Cape Dutch with 14 rooms, you see.
- J.G. And you know the City of Cape Town's Professor of Architecture used to come there regularly to measure the roof and measure the gable and look at the pedestal on the gable, you know - they used - it (?) used to be something like a, you know - what do they call it - a carving of a young child, and he used to look at it regularly to find out if it was a masterpiece or not.
- J.F. So how did you come to - just tell me a bit about your family background if you can.
- J.G. Oh, my fam - my father was a - what can I say about my father - my father started as a poor man but became a small merchant, you know, import and export, and after he made a little money decided that he would buy a large house for the family, because it was a growing family, and that's where he bought the house.
- I.T. Your mother.
- J.G. My mother was a Malay and belonged to an old Malay family.
- J.F. So culturally in your family did you grow up - did your parents imbue you with a feeling that you were Coloured or that you were part Malay, or was there an ethnicity that you grew up with?
- J.G. Oh, yes, very much so - I was brought up in a authentic, shall I say cultured Muslim style and manner.
- J.F. And did your parents feel that they were superior to Africans?
- J.G. Oh, yes - not superior, different - they were different - they were - they met them, you know - acknowledged their presence and so on - but they were different, completely different.
- I.T. They - her parents had the opportunity of meeting the Jabavus - you see, that is that - that - that enlarged their so-and-so, not - not just simply the bricklayers or the dagga fellows.
- J.G. Ja, my father had travelled all over the world, you see - my father was a - was a man who travelled - he had come from India, had gone to Mauritius, and from Mauritius he had come to South Africa.
- J.F. So was he an Indian background?
- J.G. Yes, but he was very - he wasn't a typical Indian in a narrow sense, you know what I mean - he had a lot of French manners and - and a culture of French about him.
- J.F. Wasn't it unusual in that day for an Indian and a Coloured Malay woman to marry, or was it not so unusual?

dhow?

- J.G. No, because all his friends who came with him - there were four of them who came with a dahl, the time when gold was discovered, or diamonds - they all married Malay women - none of them married the pukka Indian women, they married all the Malay women.
- J.F. So you didn't grow up with an identity of being Indian or Coloured - it was a combination - because some people grow up with a feeling that they're Coloured and that's that, others that they're Indian and that's that, but you had both influences.
- J.G. Well, I was brought up as a member of a community, and that is the Moslem community, correct, and I was taught the Arabic lessons, the usual Arabic lessons in a Mosque, because I was a little girl and I attended the Arabic classes at night after school, but a difference grew - slowly differences grew, because my father had sent my brother to - from Egypt to England to be educated - they'd gone to - I don't know which year they went to Mecca, and then from there en route (.....) - so the Malays were very much attached to the Turks at that time - you know, it was the Sultanate, the Kadee (?) business, and so they went to Cairo, and there my eldest brother went to school in Cairo.

And then they made (.....) and then from there he went to Guys in London to be educated as a doctor - and when he came back - that is when I was a child of seven or eight when he came back.

- J.F. So where did you get your politicisation from - what were the influences that led you to be someone who was active in the organisations you were?
- J.G. When I grew up I was taken from the mission school to the first Coloured school, secular school, you see, by my brother, who was an Englishman, black Englishman.
- I.T. We used to call him a black Englishman (Laugh)
- J.F. Because he'd spent so much time in Britain?
- J.G. Yes, he was brought up by our - can I say an Englishman of the upper strata, you know, and he had got - imbibed all their attitudes and all their whatever it was, and he wanted to do - he wanted to give his sisters a good education and teach them some independence, so he took us first away from the mission school, got us to what was then the beginning of - what do you call the school in Cape Town - Trafalgar School - Trafalgar School was then started by Harold Creasey (?) - it was the first Coloured BA, and he opened the first Coloured secondary school in a two roomed house, and my brother took my sister and me from the mission school and put us there, where we had a very bad, poor education - we had a better education in the mission school, I may say so.

And then we went through Trafalgar until Trafalgar got a bigger building through the years - over the years it got a better building and has (?) more teachers and so on, and then that is where I passed matric - anything more?

- J.F. I'm just wondering - then from matric you were encouraged to go?
- J.G. Yes - then the - the teaching was so poor at the school because of the lack of teachers, no labs, so when we complained to my brother about this - I may tell you the background of my brother, what he did.

J.G. (.....) still that though (?) in many ways he was what you would say a conservative - he wasn't a reactionary, but he was a conservative, but after dinner every night he would sit and say : Well, I want you all to sit down - girls, I want you to listen because I'm going to read you a chapter from this or that book, and we will discuss - and he would read us from the latest book - I still remember Welles' The Time Machine, or I remember one of Dickens' books, you know, all that, and my mother just lapped it up - and when he would go to work my mother would say : Now, come along, where is that book he read last night - read me the next chapter before he comes - so hungry she was for something to open her mind - she was always wanting.

And when we read poetry or Shakespeare at school she would say : Now, you were reciting something up there about the Merchant of Venice - read that part about - about the Jew - has not a Jew (?) something - then we would recite to her in the kitchen while she was cooking.

Now I just want to say that - you see, the background was not typically Moslem now - you see the change in the background now - you perceive the change in the background - the culture now becomes now the culture of any young person growing up - any young person growing up in the international sphere.

I.T. Can I say this - we said we used to call her brother a black Englishman - why - he was culturally English in every sense - even his music was the classics, you know, Beethoven and so on - that's how - that's how they got their background - he made the difference to - to - to them.

J.G. That's what - the background he gave us - and we grew up with that.

J.F. Was it your idea to go to Fort Hare or was it your family's, and what did the family say when you said you're going to Fort Hare?

J.G. Oh, it happened like this, you see - Fort Hare students had come to Cape Town and they had had a choir - there was a choir, and we persuaded I don't know who - anyway we went to listen to them in the City Hall - they had lovely music - Jabavu was all there, and everybody knew Jabavu - Jabavu was famous all over, you know, after all this (?) as a black professor - everybody was proud of Jabavu, and there was conducted, and we invited them to have tea at our place, and we told my mother we going to invite all the students for tea, and we had tea and ice cream and all of them and - but we asked them how Fort Hare was, and we were impressed with the students and they were nice young people, and we had passed and we were happy with them, and when my brother, when we did - when the results did come out we said to my brother - he said : Well, have you decided where you want to go - and we said : Yes, we would like to go to Fort Hare - we've heard it's all right - we can do so many courses there and so on.

So he was shocked - he didn't want us to go there, and he consulted my mother, and my mother said : Certainly not, they're not to go there - the whole community will rise against me - they can't go there - they can't go there - they are two girls - you know, men or boys are all right, they can go all over the world - and after all, my young brothers they had gone to India for their education - one had gone to Egypt, another had gone to India, but now these two girls we were (?)

- J.F. Was it a racist response - was it because there were African men there that she didn't want it or because it was far away and foreign, or what was the reason?
- J.G. There was a mixture of reasons there (?).
- I.T. It - it's - it's more complex than that.
- J.G. There was a mixture of reasons, you know.
- I.T. (.....) the cultural, you see, because the Malays have a culture of their own different - different to that of the Coloured - the Coloured person - you know that in Cape Town you had (?) the Coloured people - now they had their own culture, which comes from, you know, doesn't matter, they are born there, but the Malays brought a culture of their own - their language and everything else..
- J.G. And songs.
- I.T. Ja, songs and everything, and now they - they - and they're also Moslems - it's another difference, Christians and Moslems - now they are going to go far away, and these are girls.
- J.F. And when you say we wanted to go, who wanted to go - who wanted.
- J.G. My sister and I.
- J.F. Just you and your sister?
- I.T. Ja.
- J.G. Becuase we were the ones who passed.
- J.F. And how many were you in your family?
- I.T. We have to count (Laugh)
- J.G. We were nine.
- J.F. So you went to Fort Hare and - I'm just looking for where the politicisation came - up till then you were interested and you - but you didn't talk about anything overtly political.
- J.G. I'm sure my - my mother - my mother was - did not know the Africans - had suspicions - there was a racial - there was a racial connotation to that.
- I.T. Yes, yes.
- J.G. There was a racial connotation to that - though of course my grandfather, who did convert blacks to - to - to Islam - convert blacks to Islam, you see, for him there was nothing, and for her if you were - became a Moslem there was no difference, you know what I mean - but now these were Christians, and I was thrown flat right in the centre of - of the Christian community and blacks too - it was a whole mixture of all sorts of things - your religion, colour, race, all these things came in there, and culture - you see what - what - what a complex thing that was.
- J.F. But none of those fears that your mother had you shared - you were - it was fine for you to go to Fort Hare - you didn't worry about culture, religion.

- J.G. As (?) any young person we were only trying to get out of the parental what you would say rein, you know, that was keeping us locked up.
- J.F. So what was the experience like at Fort Hare - did it - was it an influence politically - was it the influence politically or how did you - what was the experience?
- J.G. Socially it was horrible.
- J.F. Why?
- J.G. Because it was run in a mission - in a missionary way - the girls especially had a hard time - we were all put in a dormitory, and this dormitory was blocked off in little cubicles, you know - cubicles - and we had a hot bath once a week. There was also the question of - of food - was mealie meal most of the time - and I'm not going to go in the particulars of that....
- J.F. It was something you weren't used to?
- J.G. I never got used to that, I may say so.
- I.T. But can you imagine for yourself (?) - what part of Africa (.....) do you come from?
- J.F. No, I'm from the United States originally.
- I.T. Oh, you don't know in South Africa (?) - I was going to say, can you imagine now, and from the point of view just pure - you know, just food alone, the condiments of, you know, the mode (?) of the people from the East - she's brought up with that, and she now has to go to a - a college where she could have porridge and (Laugh) boiled meat (Laugh) - boiled meat twice a week, and you know, that kind of thing.
- J.G. And gravy the rest of the week - and then - and we may eat a mealie cob - ja, I've eaten mealie meal without any condiments - that's what we used to get - and bread, and sometimes the bread used to be so mouldy the boys used to stand at the matron's door and protest week after week - anyway....
- I.T. Anyway the point was....
- J.G. As they said that it was all part, but....
- J.F. Did you regret then going there?
- J.G. Not at all - not at all - not at all, and my classmates were very fine young people - I enjoyed their company, had lots of fun, and we all worked very hard - some of the professors were very good, some were very arrogant, and some were indifferent.
- J.F. But politically what happened.....
- J.G. Politically zero - I was also zero.
- J.F. But that wasn't an influence - it was more of a social influence on you.
- I.T. That's right.

- J.G. Well, no, it was just - just a place where you could - where you could meet people - meet other people, learn to know people, appreciate people....
- I.T. Politically it was zero, but....
- J.G. It was a great experience.
- I.T. You cannot erase the fact....
- J.G. I can never forget....
- I.T. For the first time they came out of Cape Town and met the majority section - the intellectuals of the majority section - that they could never get rid of....
- J.G. I - I met the blacks there who later on became leaders of their own community - I met Matthews there - you remember Matthews of the A.N.C. - he had passed out and had become head boy - I met his wife there - she was also a student. I met most of the leaders then of the next generation who ever became political, and I met a - I met the African intellectual - I - I met the African - I - I began to understand them and learn to know that they were no different to anybody else.
- J.F. Which year did you go to Fort Hare?
- J.G. I came away in '26, and I went there three years before that - it must have been '23 or '22 - I was 20 when I went there - 20 years of age when I went there.
- J.F. That would be 1922.
- J.G. 1922 - that's right - that's about it, '22.
- J.F. And you got a BA from there?
- J.G. No - I took economics, and they had no professor for me for my second course, so I had to come back to town, work, and then engage a teacher.
- J.F. Back in Cape Town?
- J.G. Back in Cape Town - I had to work, and the same thing happened to my sister - she did some other course in philosophy, and she also had no teacher for her - that's what happened there, you see - present you with a first course, but they don't have a professor for the second course, which would become your major - you had to have two majors - have English as a major and another subject as a major - you don't get it (in) - and so she and I - she worked one year and I paid for her tuition and so we went on, until only in '31 I got the - I got my BA.
- J.F. And what kind of work did you do after that?
- J.G. I went to teach in a primary school, and because I didn't have Afrikaans - I didn't know Afrikaans, you see - I did Nederlands, so I did - I just worked in a - by then I didn't care for getting into - I applied two or three schools - I didn't get it because I didn't have Afrikaans, and I never bothered because now I was deep in the political business.

- J.F. So you got involved politically when you came back to Cape Town again?
- I.T. Mmm.
- J.F. And what were the influences on you - who did you meet or how did you get political - was it with your (.....)
- J.G. Ah, that's too vast a question.
- J.F. If you can isolate (?) for me.
- I.T. From that time on our histories become....
- J.G. Intertwined, ja.
- I.T. Because it - it's what we've already described.
- J.F. But for you it was when you came back from Fort Hare and you were working - what kind of jobs?
- I.T. A teacher.
- J.F. A teaching job?
- J.G. Mmm.
- J.F. So you worked at teaching even before you got your BA?
- J.G. Yes.
- J.F. And did you get involved with the teachers league or....
- J.G. I got into the teachers league.
- J.F. What year would that have been that you got into the teachers league?
- J.G. It was - I can't say, but it must have been about '28, '29, somewhere there. By then a militant group had grown up, you see - oh, no, it must have been later - it must have been later when the militant group grew up in the teachers league - you know, the idea of democratic rights, and not only fighting for increasing wages, you know, increasing salaries - only about '34 (34) when this business of political rights came up - it was in the '30s that all this started.
- J.F. Maybe I can ask the questions that now - directly framed in terms of my area of looking at race and class and this non-racial approach - so you came out of Fort Hare and began to get involved - would you say immediately that you've always been non-racial or did that - was that something that was enhanced because of going to Fort Hare, or was that something that was only - only came out from your left politics, or how would you say that you understood the issue of race in your own experience?
- J.G. When I was young I had no thought of race, although I may say the Afrikaaners, you know - there were always Afrikaaners who were living near us, and these Afrikaaners were always making snide remarks, but my mother always said : If they make any snide remarks just make snide remarks at them too - so whenever they did that we did that, and whenever they did this we did that, so it was always quits, you know what I mean.

J.G. But in regard to the blacks I didn't - I didn't have any racialism because I never met any. And then after I went to Fort Hare and met the blacks then I took human beings as human beings and not as people of different colour or different races, just as human beings. And when I entered the movement that (?) feeling of - of - feeling of human being is a human nurse (?) if you like it - a feeling of humanity, you know - feeling for humanity, and feeling for a love for people just grew and grew - then it became deepened and deepened as I saw the sorrow and the suffering of the people. I wasn't sentimental in any sense, but I knew that only a political solution would do it and I had to be firm with myself to discipline myself to work out and fight for - for their freedom as well as for mine - and so thereafter the idea, but I could see round.....

END OF SIDE ONE.

J.G. hard (?) to - even to - to tell the teachers, the Coloured teachers in the (.....) that their - their membership should be open to all....

J.F. What did they say?

J.G. Oh, they can't, so it (?)....

I.T. We are professionals.

J.G. Ja, we are professional - this is for Coloured teachers - the government would never admit this - it's a Coloured teachers - we are registered as a Coloured teachers - we can't have Africans as - we can't mix with them socially, they're different.

I.T. They're different.

J.F. So when - how did - who convinced them - did you convince them - how did it change, because it was - wasn't it a non-racial organisation ultimately, or was it always....

I.T. And later she - later - she was one of the first of the progressive, as you know - she was there (?) talking, but we say, you know, we had the - the opportunity at that time to grow at that time - what were we talking about?

J.F. I'm just asking how did the teachers league, for example - did you convince them to change or were they always a Coloured....

I.T. That's it - now this is the point I must make - you see, she was one of - one of the first in the teachers league to try and introduce the radical ideas - the rest were really backward. Then because we - we now as - as a little group in Cape Town working there had founded for the students who were at the University of Cape Town - we founded a New Era Fellowship, and which we ran - we gave them the ideas which were already acquired - now these young boys now became teachers, and then that made a difference in the - a qualitative difference within the teachers league, and they then now fought to bring the teachers league as a league into the federation of the Coloured people, which was the anti K (?)

- J.G. Yes, and then this left wing - this left wing, in due course, captured the executive, you see, and as soon as they had (?) the executive captured the - the organisation - the right wing left and founded another organisation, and then....
- I.T. Under the supervision of the government (?)
- J.G. Ja, and this left wing organisation had the name the Teachers League of South Africa, and the new executive now started with new ideas opening this, that and the other, and then brought up the new ideas of non-racialism and new syllabuses and various other, so that at every conference these new ideas were being pumped - pump, pump, pump - and the young teachers now came in (.....) so that every discussion that took place, even on the question of language - on anything it was possible there was a quickening of the intellect, you know, and discussions went on and the arguments went on, and the old (?) ideas were exposed and the government was exposed, and old ideas that had been practiced and accepted were now being, you know, thoroughly analysed and exposed, and so the Teachers League became progressive, and gradually the young teachers took up the struggle....
- I.T. (.....) - should point out that, you know, as I said, you know, you're a minority in the - in the (.....) Teachers League, but we had formed this NEF for the university students who were - who were mainly Coloured.
- J.F. The new....
- I.T. The New Era Fellowship....
- J.F. Did you give bursaries or what did you do?
- I.T. No, no, it was just an organisation - we formed it for discussion group, and we were now practicing, you know, how to project our ideas also to them. Now perhaps it will be a help to you if I tell you that it was fellows like Ben Kies, van Schoor - and who were the others - somebody there she will know.
- J.G. Dudley.
- I.T. Dudley - ja, Dudley - now these were the young people who were at the university - so now then they came now into the Teachers League of South Africa and that swelled now the - the progressive group.
- J.G. Maurice (?) - a lot of people.
- J.F. Just tell me in - what was it that swung them - how - you told me what organisations you worked through and how you achieved that, but on an ideological and on a - just in terms of the understanding and the acceptance on an emotional level, if you will, as well as the intellectual level, how did these people finally move - was it such a big battle - you talked about the fact that you were one of the first Coloured women to go to Fort Hare, about how when you even mentioned African involvement the Teachers League said : Oh, no, they're different - how did you manage to build up a core - what was it ultimately that the people grew to accept - was it just that they met different people and they weren't so different, or what was it?
- J.G. Objective - objective.

I.T. Objective - you know, you - you - you're quite right when you talk about, you know, people thought this way - the way was it difficult - it was difficult, and to tell the truth (Laugh) now her brother, Dr. G.H. Gool, who was a friend of mine....

J.G. Don't say Gool (?)....

I.T. No, but she doesn't know....

J.G. She does.

I.T. As opposed to A.H. Gool, you see what I mean - A.H. Gool is the old one - the youngest one, you know, was - was - was Dr. Gulam Gool. For a time we were isolated - if - if we went to Johannesburg - we went to the convention....

J.G. Ten years (?)

I.T. If we went to the convention after it had been - because we fought to keep that convention going against the old leaders who now wanted to get rid of it because we were introducing the ideas of boycott as a weapon of struggle, that kind of thing, and we - we were isolated. We would go to Johannesburg and go to the Indian people, you know, their own, and we had - if we heard there was a meeting at night we go there they - they will stand and stare at us like this, you know - these two people, he is going with a black man and so on - but we expected this and we didn't mind, but now they resist, you see.

Now when we go from Johannesburg to - to Natal - by the time we reach Natal (.....) knows that we are coming - the Indians there already know we are coming.

J.G. Let me put it this way - you're always trying to tell me to....

I.T. (.....)

J.G. (.....) - the reason why - the reason why at a certain period, after this long period of isolation, the people slowly began to accept our ideas, was when the government started introducing Group Areas Act - this act of discrimination, that act of discrimination, this thing, this, that, that and the other, when the laws became openly - openly fascistic - then they understood what we had been saying....

I.T. is true - what we'd been saying in the convention now in 1943 they - they - they passed a law against the Coloured people, and without mobilise (?) the Coloured people in exactly the same way as the convention into a - a federation - and we told them that now it is the turn of the Coloured people to be treated like what they call natives....

J.G. Ja, that's what we said and....

I.T. You are going to have your own....

J.G. Separate body....

I.T. separate bodies and so exactly like the blacks, so - and when....

J.G. You will have your (?) quisling class - we use the term quilising and we use the term the leader goats - those are the terms we used - we invented those words - the leader goats.

J.F. What does that mean?

J.G. The leader goat who will lead the sheep to slaughter - you remember, when the sheep are led to slaughter in the slaughter house it's the goat that leads them - now there are leader goats that will lead you to slaughter.

I.T. Sheep never can go to - to a - into a (.....) - you need a couple of goats - they're intelligent - they know - you drive them but they know they walk straight to the....

J.G. They are the leaders who will be bribed by the government to lead you into the slaughter house.

J.F. So you're saying that once they realised the objective was common they had no trouble....

J.G. That was the objective conditions, and the people realised what we said was the truth.

I.T. But you see, the point is these things were said beforehand and they became true, and that makes a big difference.

J.G. Up till this day many people say Tabata the prophet - they call him Tabata the prophet - he prophesised that this would happen - this would happen - you go to his home town - Queenstown was the nearest place - what did he say in that year about the ntsikas - those were the pillars - the pillars that - that they - the....

I.T. Hold up the - the (.....) structure....

J.G. The structure - the superstructure - the ntsikas.

J.F. What's ntsika?

J.G. The pillars.

I.T. Ntsika is, you know, a heart - a heart is held up by poles....

J.F. And those are called ntsikas?

I.T. And those are called ntsikas.

J.F. And - n t s i k a.

J.G. That's what Tabata said.

I.T. Ja, and then we were talking about the whole structure, the herren-volk structure - how is it maintained, who supports it, and we say : It is we ourselves who support it and the quislings, and what is necessary in order to bring it down is to chop the ntsikas....

J.G. And out with a boycott - don't support the segregated parliament, the segregated this, the segregated that.

J.F. I understand the points you're saying, but if you looked at the situation as it developed in the '40s and the '50s did - why didn't you try to work from within the A.N.C. in that it was a larger body - did you have any workings - any association....

J.G. Very good question - a very good question....

I.T. First of all....

J.G. A very good question....

I.T. In 193....

J.G. You must ask where was the A.N.C.

I.T. In 1936 when they were taking away the vote and giving us the dummy councils - you know about that, don't you - the native representative council - now we advocated (?) boycott of these, so that was the policy of the convention, but the liberals and the Communist Party pulled the congress out of this....

J.F. Out of what?

I.T. Out of - out of the convention, because it was there and the decision - we were all bound by this decision to boycott those things - so then the congress came out - pulled out of the - not - not as such - it was first this province and then that province branch and then that province branch, because nobody at that time could come out and say: Let us break away from this - nobody could say so, because the word was unity, so they had to pull the congress out in this way - Dube pulled out the Natal branch and they made him - they gave him the title of Dr. Dube (Laugh) - and then somebody pulled out the Transvaal branch and so on.

So now the rich years politically in South Africa came after '36, because now we posed two contradictory policies, and we went to the public - now we said boycott them, so then the congress said: Let us take what they give us....

J.G. Half a loaf is better than no bread.

I.T. Ja, half a loaf is better than no bread - or lets take what they give us and fight for what we want. So our argument was how do you accept inferiority and fight imperiority (?) at one and the same time, you see what I mean - so you either accept inferiority, in which case then you - you work (?) these inferior bodies - or you reject and build your own bodies - so that was - it was the richest years politically from - from '36 on right through the '43....

J.G. Up to '48.

I.T. up to '48 - those were the richest years when now the population came up, and so much so that most of the bodies created in the rural areas like Bhunga were destroyed - people now rejected them.

J.G. And get that in their awakening.

I.T. Oh, you'll get that in your awakening, ja, so - so - so that now we - our slogan was Either with the Government against the People or With the People against the Government - but you see now, at that time, you see, the congress being the bigger body - in 1936 congress could not call a conference, a national conference, because it was almost finished itself - congress had been killed by the ICU, you see what I mean - and ICU was the first African body that could boast of over a hundred thousand membership, and it killed - practically killed congress, so that they - and by then it - it also began to die too.

- I.T. So there was no organisation that could call them - so what happened was....
- J.G. National.
- I.T. Ja, nationalist - so what happened was the - the - the known leaders decided to call a conference of all organisations....
- J.G. I've already mentioned that.
- I.T. Ja....
- J.G. And now, you see, it was rich - it was rich, those years, because at the beginning they - the A.N.C. together with the liberals, together with the Communist Party, began to operate these - these acts - the electoral act - they went into parliament, they went into the NRC, Native Representative Council, but we carried on a propaganda against these dummy councils, against the white representatives in parliament who just took these - who just passed resolutions, resolutions, and they were thrown in the waste paper basket - they were ignored by the white parliament all the time....
- I.T. That's in (.....)
- J.G. Ja, and that, you see, that - when the people saw what that - what really happened then they boycotted the NRC, Native Representative Councils, until in the end the Native Representative Council fell into disarray, sickened and died.
- J.F. In terms of trying to build the ideas that you developed into a national base why didn't you - you explained why you didn't work within the A.N.C. and that this was the real low point of the A.N.C., but why didn't you work say, with the non-European United Front idea of Dadoo, or something that would have some - would play into the existing structures?
- J.G. If I may say at this point, the United Front always - there was always some idea of a united front, but these were all what we would call ad hoc bodies - there were always united fronts for this, a united front for this, a united front for this, all ad hoc bodies, which the Communist Party always advocated and which we always objected to - that was one of our principal arguments against them - why - because they didn't want a permanent organisation existing outside their organisation - that is the Communist Party of South Africa or the A.N.C. - any organisations that threatened to be permanent was killed by them - even organisations spontaneously arose and was in, shall I say, in formation of being a permanent organisation, they killed it - it had to be killed.

So they always wanted to form a - a united front on this issue, a united front on that issue, a united front on this issue, and we always opposed it, and that is why we had formed a - an anti-CAD committee - anti-Coloured Affairs Committee - and that came into being and grew all over the Cape - all over the Cape, and extended as far as Kimberley, and we had branches all over, and it was that anti-CAD committee that became a powerful part of the Unity Movement - and we won't go further into that because that's a different thing, and that takes you further away from your anti-racialism.

- J.F. I think that's quite important to the anti-racialism because I'm interested to know how - whether you felt there was a limitation that the Unity Movement had a mainly Coloured base - were there any working class African people who were involved, or was there a large contingent of working class African people who were involved with the non-European Unity Movement?
- I.T. Ja, ask yourself (?) - ask another question - were there any African trade unions at that time.
- J.F. Which time now?
- I.T. The time that we're talking about....
- J.G. In the '40s.
- I.T. Ja - now at that time the - the - the one - well, the biggest - the biggest union, led by COSA, was part of the convention.
- J.G. But one thing I may add - we can conclude on this - that during all those years Tabata went to the peasant areas, the Transkei and the Ciskei, since our main thesis was the question of land - the question of the allocation of land is the first point of our ten point programme, the democratic, we had to rally the peasants - and so every year he went for long trips to the peasants.
- I.T. And you know something the people don't know....
- J.G. And he organised the peasants.
- I.T. You know something that people don't talk about - they never, never, never - they never make a mistake - in fact I was surprised when one fellow who - what was his name....
- J.G. Some university fellow.
- I.T. Was it Bendal (?) - some university fellow brought up this question of my touring the Transkei and, you know, actually made it alive (?) - but otherwise it was never, never mentioned - never come across it - and yet the truth of the matter is this, that by 19 - the end - by the - by the end of the '50s and the beginning of the '60s the biggest organisations in South Africa were peasant organisations, and that's the truth of the matter, and nobody ever says a words about it.
- Now we're not - we - we - we are not claiming that - we are not claiming that we - we - we built them, no - what we did, we carried on a struggle - we helped them with the anti-rehabilitation scheme - and the peasants drew their own conclusions from these things, and then they started to build their own organisations, and they built them until they had the biggest organisations in - in - in South Africa.
- If you took the congress you took the pack and you took the - what is APDUSA, of which I am president - put them together, all together - together they did not make up numerically one of the biggest peasant organisations....
- J.G. Whether they're still in existence we don't know.
- I.T. They were - they - well, they went to pieces after a time - but nobody ever mentions that - just not a single person.

- J.G. (Off the record) - I want to ask you a question - the UDF - what is the UDF - what does the UDF mean to people - the UDF is a church - the UDF is the church.
- I.T. She doesn't know about the UDF.
- J.G. The UDF is the church, and is the church going to save South Africa from the - from the Afrikaaners - that's the question I want to ask you.
- J.F. Why do you say it's the church?
- J.G. Because Tutu's at the head of the UDF, and who gives all the funds.
- I.T. I wouldn't say it's the church because the liberals....
- J.G. All right, I'm putting it at the head because fundamentally it's the influence of the - the Christian group - as you say, the liberals are the (.....) or Tutu, or the group runs to Tutu (?) (.....) - are they going to bring liberation to South Africa - what have you heard about them?
- J.F. I actually wanted to ask you something that I'd forgotten from - to ask in the early part, which was back - just one little historical point, which was did you have any influence - were you influenced by the National Liberation League at all - was that part of your background or was - that was early - was that a factor in your background at all?
- I.T. Which?
- J.F. The NLL.
- J.G. Oh, the NLL was a little group that was - you know whose group it was - (.....) - it was just a small little group with Leguma, and they got Mrs. Gool in it and one or two, but it was....
- J.F. Mrs. Gool - which Mrs. Gool?
- J.G. It was Mrs. Cissie Gool - she was in it too.
- J.F. How is she related to you?
- I.T. (Laugh) She was a sister in law.
- J.F. So she was married to Abdurma....
- I.T. No, no....
- J.G. She was a daughter of Abduma and she was married to my eldest brother, A.H.
- J.F. And the APO.
- J.G. That was his organisation - Abduraman's organisation - I hear that somebody's writing up the OAP or - anyhow you heard nothing about the UDF?
- J.F. No, I know about the UDF, but as I said, I - if - we don't have much time if we should speak as much about the current issues - there were a couple of other issues I hadn't asked you about - when did you first meet - what year was that?

I.T. So long ago I've forgotten now.

J.F. It's just that some of the things that I've read in history books are incorrect because - I don't want to get the wrong history, because I know this (.....) Carter book, a couple of things you've said have contradicted that, so you know more than anyone else, so I'd like to get it from you.

I.T. It was in the first - we first met in....

J.G. 1934, I think, or something....

I.T. No, no, we first met in.....

END OF SIDE TWO.

- I.T. wonderful woman - and I can tell you this much, by the way, about her, she's the one who introduced me to writing.
- J.F. Can I ask you historically do you think that the Unity Movement was closer to the A.N.C. or the P.A.C. or could you make that - is it possible to say whether your policies on non-racialism would be closer to either one, because it's just that when you speak about Africans or those who are considered African or who are oppressed, it's a bit like how the P.A.C. defines the racial question - they say Africans are those who accept the P.A.C. basically.
- I.T. Now - now we would say you're putting the - the - the - the question the wrong way around. We are the first ones who came up with this idea of that - of that it's not a question of race, it's a question of class - and we went hammer and tongs at that. When - when - when the - the - the P.A.C. was born they were more - they were more racist than congress - congress by constitution did not permit a white man and did not permit a Coloured man, did not permit a Eur (?) until the constitution was changed outside here in Morogoro....
- J.G. Not in South Africa.
- I.T. Not in South Africa. Before they left home....
- J.G. And when was this - when was the change in Morogoro?
- J.F. '69.
- I.T. That's right - before they left Segal - Ronald Segal applied to be a member - do you know that they had had to go to conference, and the conference met and discussed the question to accept or not to accept, and they finally decided no, we - we can't have a white man in so-and-so - so I'm saying now your question is the wrong way around - for us never - there were never - never was at any time - why - because we started first - we are the first generation that did not come out - out of the tutelage of the liberals, you know what I mean.
- Before us all the leaders of the African and the Coloured and the so on, so on, were brought up by the liberals, and it was - you'll find the thing in the awakening - it was natural that that should be so, you see what I mean, because the - the English section as against the - the Afrikaaners, you know, were - were progressive - and since the Africans had to be absorbed in the system they wanted somebody who's going to help them absorb, you see what I mean.
- But then, you see, nobody is going to teach you how to liberate yourself from himself.
- J.F. The last question has to do with the class base - would you agree that there has been a proportion of the Unity Movement that have had a petty bourgeois background - if you look at Coloured teachers, if you look at your own experience....
- I.T. All of it - all of it was, and that is the very essence of it.
- J.F. What do you mean?
- I.T. (Laugh) - All of it was - you see, we said - we said : You cannot have social - you cannot fight for socialism by - in the same way as England and Germany and so on - you have to have a national organisation.

I.T. That national organisation consists mainly or - or - or it's founded under the leadership of the petty bourgeois - it couldn't be otherwise - it had to be.

J.F. Why?

I.T. It - the workers can't form an organisation that's going to liberate itself of themselves - it has never happened anywhere in the world, and it can't. Ideas come from the bourgeois class - even the ideas of socialism came from outside the workers, but from the sense of the bourgeoisie, and it can't be otherwise - see what I mean.

J.F. But if you took an organisation like the A.N.C., they didn't have - I guess what I'm addressing is the idea that there is a preponderance of Coloured teachers who are a minority group petty bourgeois, and I'm wondering how you can build a mass base if you've got such a core of not just a few luminaries but a core of people who are from this small uninfluential group - isn't that a handicap - hasn't that been a handicap for the Unity Movement and does that reflect anything about its ideas that it hadn't gone beyond that?

I.T. That - that's precisely where the - another mistake is made - you know something - you go to Cape Town, go to the office of the Cape Times and so on - the Unity Movement used to call conferences in Cape Town in the City Hall for two days, three days - not a thing - and the - the journalists were all there - not a thing comes up in the press.

After a time when this - year after year when this thing happened I got up at one conference and I moved that all the journalists must be kicked out - I say : They come year after year, sit here, take copious notes, but nothing ever comes out in the press - where do those notes go to - and I can tell you now when they prosecuted our fellows, you know - when the Unity Movement were now being charged and so on and so on, the prosecution had their whole, you know, whole history and quoted me from, you know, back and forth, back and forth.

All you had to do was simply to go to the offices of this so-and-so, but they never came out in this.

J.F. So what does that have to do with the petty bourgeois base of the Coloured intellectuals - I'm confused about how that relates to my question about the petty bourgeois base.

I.T. No, no, no, you are saying it's not a - not a - a - a handicap, and - and - and is that what - this is why it never went further - and I'm saying that after - what year now - APDUSA was formed - APDUSA spread like wildfire, and APDUSA - this is another strange thing - to this day we can't explain it - by this time - you know, we used to formulate a slogan and - and work up to people until they accept an idea - when they have accepted, another slogan as you go up.

At this time we had the slogan We Build a Nation - for a reason we don't know the peasantry took to this, and it meant such a lot to them, and APDUSA had had (heard) it, and the fellows used to go from Durban if they're working in town, weekends they go home to organise, they're organising a nation.

I.T. Later fellows from the Transkei - but then, you see, the Transkei fellows had been long in the convention - from the Transkei present themselves to the chaps in Johannesburg leadership of the - of the Unity Movement in Johannesburg - they said : No, they can't - they said : We want to go to the mines to go and build a nation - I was banned at that time - so the fellows referred this to me - I said : Now look - they said : Now how can - how can they - how can they do it - I said : Now look, you don't know the first thing about the mines - there - those fellows there, the peasants - there is not a peasant who hasn't a relative or other been in - in the - in the mines, and they know all the mines - if they want to go there let them go there - and you know why they want to go there - because they have been there over and over again and they know that if you want a nation - a place where all of South Africa meets it's - it's the mines - and they went there and they propagated APDUSA.

Then they - you know, they go in because they have been there - they just go in and they lie around on the grass there talking, and the whites look at them - that's a meeting, but the officials don't know it's a meeting - they're talking, but the fellows on the north discover now what is this all about, why - so they explain to them - what is it, and the persons explain we build a nation - and the fellows from the north say : Look, what about ourselves - our leaders from the north are here in Johannesburg - why don't we meet them and let them, you know, take you there - so the peasants -

These are the peasants, not ourselves, they actually brought their leaders - they met there and they had a conference, you know - you know, meeting after meeting and (Laugh) they nearly broke on the question of - on the issue of the - of - of the whites. The fellows from the Transvaal now - the peasants from our - from the - from down south had been invaded - surrounded by armies and shot and so on, and that happened over and over and over again, and - now those from the north they say at - at one point they discover there are whites in this thing, so they say : You said you were building a nation - yes, we said so - now what about the whites, what do these whites want here - they -

Now the Transkei fellows they said : Look, you know we told you about what happened to us, and you also told us what happened to us - we told you that the last revolt in Pondoland, the army surrounded us and shot us, and we ran up and we were in the mountains - we lived in the mountains. And as you must have read in the - some of the reports in the - when - in the prosecution, where they say I.D. (?) - he said that he (.....) he was convicted by that - by the court in the bushes we were (.....) to death, right - now so they - so the fellows say now : Look, we went there and the shopkeepers, the white shopkeepers, gave us food without money - we would (?) - they supplied food to us - and I said (?) : Not one single shopkeeper in Pondoland reported us to anybody - we were betrayed by the black intellectuals - these are peasants.

And then (Laugh) the others said - say now : This is our history - we told you that - now tell us when - because you also have been through the same experience - did any white give you away - no, the shopkeepers depend on these fellows - your business - no. So they said - we said - (.....) said : You say no - then don't waste our time, man, we are not here playing - if you want to play you can - you can go away. This was their way of saying, you see (Laugh) you are talking nonsense now.

J.F. And why did you form APDUSA, because there already existed the Unity Movement, right?

- I.T. Ja, APDUSA was a - a - an organisation which each person could join, and it is the first organisation which was open to all races.
- J.F. Very briefly - just in a very brief way your objection to the A.N.C. and the Communist Party was that - on ideological grounds why were you opposed to the CP and the A.N.C., and why are you?
- I.T. Because as we saw from the start, we say historically from 1922 already and 1913 and 1936 the Communist Party sold us as soon as the crisis came. 1922 they supported the whites as against the black miners - and then in 1913 the Land Act - they broke up the people - we must (?) go hand in hand to go and ask, you know, the Queen, you know, for so-and-so and so-and-so - in other words, breaking up the organisation. In 1936 they broke away the boycott of all these things, and they went to operate these dummy institutions - so we are facing two different directions.
- J.F. And when you were doing your reading in Cape Town did you read Trotsky?
- I.T. Oh, yes.
- J.F. Would you say that Trotsky's thought is part of Unity Movement ideology?
- I.T. No - no, but individuals have that.
- J.F. And yourself?
- I.T. I have - I'll be very pleased if I've - if I could be regarded as so-and-so, you know....
- J.F. As a Trotskyist?
- I.T. No, you see, this is - this is the question - when you say Trotskyist....
- J.F. You just said so-and-so.
- I.T. No, no, wait a minute - for me Lenin did not invent any theoretically Marxism - Lenin is the - Leninism is the practical application of Marxism, understand - now Trotsky, who lived later and was thrown out of Russia, analysed the existing situation today throughout the world and he used the Marxist (.....) analysis for - for the people of today, and for me Trotsky is the best who has been able to do that - not just South Africa, for the world.
- J.F. But you don't like the word Trotskyist?
- I.T. No, no, it's not that we don't like it.
- J.F. It's just I'm confused as to why you corrected me there when I said - I asked you if you regarded yourself as a Trotskyist.
- I.T. No, no, I - I - I say I'm a Marxist, and I am saying Trotsky - Trotsky is a Marxist - he did not invent anything new - just as Lenin did not invent....
- J.F. But you would be more of a supporter of Trotsky's analysis than Lenin's of Marx - I'm just wondering - I'm just trying to understand were you - are you....

- I.T. (Laugh) No, no, no, Trotsky, Lenin and Marx and Engels are the same stream - it is Stalin which is the different stream that we were opposed to, and it is this Communist Party that comes out of Stalin that we were opposed to.
- J.F. When were you banned - what years were you banned?
- I.T. I forget now - I was the first five year ban, that's all I remember.
- J.F. The first five year ban in South Africa?
- I.T. Ja - I think I came out in '61 - I think I came out of the ban in '61.
- J.F. So in '56 you were banned?
- I.T. Must have been, ja, '56.
- J.F. And Jane....
- I.T. Jane was banned later.
- J.F. You don't know what year was it?
- I.T. No (Laugh) - I've, you know....
- J.F. But were you both banned one time for five years?
- I.T. For five years - and after that we left - the organisation decided we must go out, but Jane was still under a ban when we went out.
- J.F. But you were no longer under a ban?
- I.T. No.
- J.F. And just finally could you define....
- I.T. Incidentally, though no longer a ban all my books and all my writings are under - are banned.
- J.F. And did you ever go to jail or detention?
- I.T. Well, before - before the - before - at the beginning of this I was just arrested in the Transkei, but we fought the case and so and so.
- J.F. Are there any Unity Movement people who went to Robben Island or who..
- I.T. Oh, yes, of course.
- J.F. Which ones are they?
- I.T. Oh, you know (Laugh) there was a big case that took, you know, many years now of the Unity Movement people - the Kadar-Hassims and - and - and the Vusanis - my little brother was also arrested, Max - Max Tabata - he was in jail - and my little brother was - was really sent to jail, as I always say (Laugh) for my sake, but he was in jail - Robben Island.
- J.G. It was Kadar, Vusani, Sonny Ramkateran (?)
- J.F. Sonny?
- I.T. Vankateran (?) - an Indian of Indian origin - Dan (?)

J.G. Moyi.....

I.T. M~~o~~ray (?)

J.G. And (.....) - your brother - there were two others - was seven (?) wasn't there.

I.T. It was at that - at that trial of 13 which took a long, long time - you can look it up and - and you will see how the - those fellows quoted me to - to the prosecution.

J.F. And finally can you tell me if you would support non-racialism - would you call it non-racialism or what would your views - if you could just conclude by telling me briefly your views and the Unity Movement's views on non-racialism.

I.T. Our views are simple, that racialism is used as an excuse for - it's a function of - of - of super-exploitation - that it is not natural to man to be racist.

J.G. I don't know how many times he's said that.

I.T. That's our views - it's not natural to man - it's a function of super-exploitation, and that all this talk about, you know, minor - the majority will have the - will have the - the responsibility of guarding the interests of the minority - we say it's bunkum - we are South Africans who - what is a majority of, and what is this minority of - you're either a South African or you are not - and again we say the sooner we get rid of this idea of, you know, there's a majority and minority and all that kind of thing and talk about South Africans the better it is for everybody and the sooner we get somewhere - that's our basic position.

END OF INTERVIEW.