

# Memorandum



(S) To : SAC, LOS ANGELES [redacted] (C)

Date 6/25/91

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b6 -1  
b7C -1

From : SA [redacted]

(S) Subject: [redacted]  
[redacted]  
OO: LOS ANGELES

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This communication is classified ~~"SECRET"~~ in its entirety.

RE: Los Angeles airtel to FBIHQ dated 1/2/91.

For the information of SAC, [redacted]

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(S) [redacted]

[redacted] This memo is to serve as notification that the [redacted] of this case should be closed. Writer has recently been notified that computer records show that LA [redacted] is still assigned to writer. It is herein recommended that computer records be amended to reflect that LA [redacted] was closed as of 1/2/91 with referenced airtel to FBIHQ.

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CLASSIFIED BY NSICG F54M93K42  
REASON: 1.4 (c,d)  
DECLASSIFY ON: 04-25-2039  
DATE: 04-25-2014

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JUN 28 1991  
FBI - LOS ANGELES

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KAK:rs

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RALPH KAPLAN:

Good morning. Last week's program was with Mr. RAFIK GUNDANG (phonetic) who is consul for the South African government and is involved in the things that are important to their, uh, to their country. However, we talked about MANDELA before he came here and we both decided that we would meet again after Mr. MANDELA had left the United States and this I plan to do after the next important message. (Pause) Welcome again RAFIK for coming back. Thank you that you are with me. We are still alive despite the fear that we all had that Mr. MANDELA might turn over the United States completely.



RAFIQUE GANDAT

~~RAFIQUE GANDAT~~ (throughout)

Well I'm glad to be here.

KAPLAN:

I know but tell me, what was your first reaction when Mr. MANDELA left uh Los Angeles for Oakland?

GUNDANG:

Well uh, when, well while he was here uh it was an opportunity for American people to see him, to hear him, to indulge in some hero worship and uh we fo..felt that it was an important visit and in the interest of democracy Americans ought to hear all points of view and Americans heard his point of view. What I was disappointed with was that more scrutiny ought to be placed on his statements.

KAPLAN:

You said something that actually is, has, contains a deep truth. He wanted us to hear his point of view but he was totally in.. uninterested in hearing our point of view. It was at all times totally monologue.

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KAK:rs

GUNDANG:

Right. That's what I, I, I find a problem with uh, with uh these organizations, the ANC and some of these uh so-called liberation movements. They speak about democracy but to them democracy means their point of view and nothing else.

KAPLAN:

The more the pity. I spoke to a great many people who were present at several of his meetings. Some of them were those that gave money and were actually pulled in see but very much in shock about MANDELA's being so totally, I can only say stubborn. It is believed that he can, he can worship communism, he can worship uh KHADAFY, he can worship anybody he wants. And he can give everybody that is UNT advice of how we should act reasonably then, by the way he did also talk to Mrs. THATCHER.

GUNDANG:

THATCHER, right.

KAPLAN:

And, and thinks that we, we, see it's a second coming. We felt almost as if he was to here to become the, the foreign God of the United States.

GUNDANG:

Well I was telling my wife UNT in passing that if I had to go to any country and if thousands and thousands people told me how great I was, after a while I start believe that.

KAPLAN:

You know, I don't want to be unfair because he is a great man in his way. I accept the 27 years of suffering which changes...

GUNDANG:

Right.

(S)

KAK:rs

KAPLAN:

..a man. But I couldn't understand why suddenly someone should come almost directly out of prison by suffering 27 years and speaks almost like an American fundamentalist.

GUNDANG:

Right. I also have uh the greatest respect for the man for the cause that he stands for. The cause for democracy, uh, freedom, uh, the franchise for all South Africans regardless of race, color and creed. I respect all that. Uh, as a South African, as a representative of the South African government, we do question his strategies in order to obtain that democracy he speaks of. And he speaks of a democracy where uh, he still speaks of, of nationalization in an age when so..uh, socialism is, is dead. It's just a matter of time before it's, it's buried. He still speaks of the UNT struggle when the pr.. President DE KLERK speaks about peace and, and national reconciliation. And I have some, some questions as far as, uh, you know, I mean that is concerned with regard to Mr. MANDELA.

KAPLAN:

It is UNT to, to almost an identical period, the opening up of Soviet Union. The opening up of Eastern Europe. The opening up of the wall. The opening up of practically anything. Even the situation in the Middle East which at this moment UNT is also in a way and opening up. It's a UNT and he still doesn't realize that things have changed.

GUNDANG:

Right. I, I, I think for twenty...after having been



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KAK:rs

GUNDANG: (Cont.)

incarcerated for 27 years he's come out and he speaks for and on behalf of the organization uh, that's the African National Congress and there is a fair amount of tension within the organization. There is the old school, there is the, the radical element. There is the moderate voice. And I think the UNT he's getting the better off the ANC but in the end uh it's not gonna be the international community, it's not gonna be the hero worship and internationally it's gonna matter inside. All the different players within the country will have to work out the South African problem because in the end it's a South African problem which has to be worked out by, by South Africans.

KAPLAN:

That is perhaps the most important aspect of his visit. And a bit later on I think we should discuss it rather urgently, and that is there is MANDELA's attitude to other countries. That he is totally uninterested. He, he travels around and gives countries advise of how they should live and how they should behave.

GUNDANG:

Um-hmm.

KAPLAN:

And he expects in America that people have come to applaud him don't just applaud him because he is a novelty but applaud him because he is so important that he might change the attitude of the American black entirely. That I believe is a dangerous thought if he carries that around.

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KAK:rs

GUNDANG:

Right. What I was concerned about was he, when asked about uh internal politics uh he request..uhm, stated that he does not want to interfere in the internal politics of the United States of America, especially the issue of race relations here. But then he request the whole world to interfere in the domestic politics of South Africa. You know there is a double standard there.

KAPLAN:

That's true. Let's interrupt briefly for an important message.

(Pause)

KAPLAN:

RAFIK, let's talk about that at length. Because it is so very, very important. It is unbelievable that he doesn't realize, or maybe I don't realize it, that America is not South Africa. That the American black is not the South African black. That the aspirations of the American black are totally different from those of the African black. He seems to think that he's seeking out only money here but total allegiance by the American black so they can add some millions and millions and millions of faithful money givers and faithful fighters for the cause of the black in South Africa as if they could do it themselves very much better at home.

GUNDANG:

Right. In fact the ANC uh in.. internationalized apartheid, or the issue of apartheid, and it became everyone's business, and it really became the business of the American black pop..I mean population which after the civil

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KAK:rs

GUNDANG: (Cont.)

rights campaign has uh attained uh civil rights amenities but you, as we, as you aware about the economic position, we've seen drugs, we've seen crime, and the, the, the plight of the black man in the United States of America and a lot of the, the peo..the black Americans were, were too young during the civil rights movement and now they look to NELSON MANDELA. And, it's just, what concerns me is this blind uh acceptance of the man and they seem to be blinded by uh the pain and the suffering of his 27 years. And there is that element of rationalities is gone from, from the debate.

KAPLAN:

I hope it doesn't sound in a way obscene but doesn't somebody tell him that he is not Mother THERESA and that he is not the Pope and that he is not, that he is not uh the great American black hero uh...

GUNDANG:

Right. In fact he's been compared to MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.

KAPLAN:

Right.

GUNDANG:

MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., like MAHATMA GANDHI propagated non violence and I've always had a problem with the African National Congress and with NELSON MANDELA when they propagate the arms struggle and violence. And the arms struggle and the violence today is really directed at their own people. And black people. They intimidate black people to follow their life and they intimidating black policemen uh to, to be on their side as well.

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KAK:rs

GUNDANG: (Cont.) And I, violence in whatever form is not justified in my book.

KAPLAN: The strange thing is that this great man, and in his way he is a great man, manages to go to Ireland, of all places to Ireland. And, and suggest that Ireland should be reunited and that their UNT should, should totally stop any relationships that are hostile towards the Irish question, which of course was total interference...

GUNDANG: Um-hmm.

KAPLAN: ..with the business of other countries.

GUNDANG: But apparently he had to backtrack from that and he's, uh, he said that he was quoted out of context. Cause I think he's UNT

KAPLAN: No he was not quoted out of context.

GUNDANG: (Chuckles) And that, I mean that's what he's, yeah and just...

KAPLAN: You see I can, I got the English Press daily.

GUNDANG: Right.

KAPLAN: And he was not quoted out of context.

GUNDANG: That's what he said. And he tried to back track on that one.

KAPLAN: Yes. Yes, somebody must've told him that. Now what is going to happen upon his return uh to South Africa. In my way of thinking I think the rights of South Africa today are heaving a

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KAK:rs

KAPLAN: (Cont.)

great sigh of relief. It's not as dangerous as we thought.

GUNDANG:

Right.

KAPLAN:

What happens when he returns to South Africa is the work now begins because after the first meeting between the African National Congress and the South African Government, uh, a working group was formed to look at the whole question of uh the political prisoners and the exiles. And uh, Af...uh the South African government accepted the report of the working group. The African National Congress has asked for up and until the 10th of July to study the report. They've been screaming and MANDELA's been, has gone all over the, the world saying we need the political prisoners uh released and the exiles to return home. And the government's accepted the report and they're just hedging for time now. They've asked for it and now they, you know, they said wait we're not, we're not ready. We'll wait until the 10th. We'll study it and we'll come back.

KAPLAN:

I had an interesting (coughs) report in which said that amongst the blacks, see, nine different black races or ethnicities that a great deal of argument now UNT no more about who is first. Whether it is (coughs) whether it is Zulus or somebody else. But about MANDELA. He may be asking more than the blacks are prepared to do.

GUNDANG:

There is uh, there is that question and uh, we still have

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KAK:rs

GUNDANG: (Cont.)

the travel affinities, the travel differences, uh, but there, the lines are not that uh easily demarcated today. Uh, there is a fair amount of blurring and uh there is some uh cr..uh, mixing there. We have a lot of uh Zu..Zulus who are pro uh UNT and we have Zulus who are not pro UNT.

KAPLAN:

What do you think will be the action of the government?

GUNDANG:

With regard to?

KAPLAN:

With regard to his success/failure or to his embarrassing the South African government. Uh talking about things that are of, shall we say of world importance and not of, of UNT importance.

GUNDANG:

It seems uh Mr., Mr. MANDELA is uh the deputy leader and a lot of people uh, if I can just add that UNT realize that he is the deputy president of the African National Congress and not the president. The President is OLIVER TEMBO (phonetic). Uh, the African National Congress for all after UNT for all intents and purposes is a political party in South Africa. But they haven't registered as a political party because they still depend on handouts from abroad. And as a le..uh, important leader of a political organization to go abroad and make those statements, he makes 'em in his personal capacity and not as a representative of the government.

KAPLAN:

But UNT thinks. He apparently thinks that he is the elected leader of all the blacks in

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KAK:rs

KAPLAN: (Cont.) South Africa and the representative of all the blacks in the United States.

GUNDANG: Right. There hasn't been an election, he hasn't been uh elected and uh I think in the end the polls will decide like how the polls decided in Namibia.

KAPLAN: I admire him for what he suffered, I admire him for what he is, and I can't help thinking that he is a tired old man and that sooner or later he will disappear entirely and younger people will have to take over in order to carry the black man's UNT they exist.

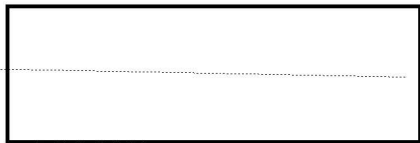
GUNDANG: Right.

KAPLAN: Thank you so very much that you gave me your time again and unlike last time we can proclaim loudly and clearly that today when we tape this program it's the first of July and when I play it on the air which also today is Sunday the 8th. But this Sunday UNT

GUNDANG: Right.

KAPLAN: Shall we call upon you again. Thank you Consul RAFIK GUNDANG. Till next week, this is RALPH KAPLAN.

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RALPH KAPLAN:

On the air on Sunday. Therefore today is Sunday, July 1st. But actually I had an opportunity of taping this program about a week ago, on the 22nd of June. So this is here my guest, whom I shall soon identify, talk about MANDELA and other relevant things then remember it was done about a week earlier. And today my guest will be a very interesting man, Mr. RAFIK GANGAT GUNDANG who is vice consul with the South African Consulate General in Los Angeles and... (tape goes blank) of the UNT and it'll be an interesting program considering all these things. But first of all here's an important message.

RAFIQUE GANGAT  
(throughout)

(Pause)

KAPLAN:

Good morning Mr. GUNDANG. Thank you so much that you come today to meet.

GUNDANG:

Good morning uh Dr. KAPLAN. It's my pleasure to be here.

KAPLAN:

It's both our pleasure except if you had waited a week we could discuss Mr. MANDELA's good or bad deeds on the west coast. But UNT have to guess a little bit because after all Mr. MANDELA was on the air which would be yesterday with TED KOPPEL and spoke quite strongly about what he believed in. What was your reaction to it?

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GUNDANG:

My reaction uh to NELSON MANDELA was uh, it's an important visit. Uh, he, he needs to be heard here in America. He needs to get some kind of response from the American people on how the American people view the uh struggle, the human rights.

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KAK:rs

GUNDANG: (Cont.)

struggle and struggle for democracy in South Africa. And, but overall I believe in the tradition of democracy. American people should also listen to the other people in South Africa. The other personalities on the political spectrum, even people like Chief UNT. And American people should give him a hearing. People should also, American people should also listen to the conservative whites who have certain fears. And NELSON MANDELA has a role, he has a place in the South African political struggle but he is not the sole voice...

(Tape goes blank)

KAPLAN:

...however MANDELA seems to have a such a one sided attitude. He doesn't understand anything UNT. He doesn't understand any other thought but his or that of the ANC. And this attack upon Israel and the Jewish people was a very unpleasant shot and certainly didn't show much of understanding of other people's needs.

GUNDANG:

Well, he's caught up in the rhetoric of the ANC. The ANC for a very long time has been a very, uh, has been a very arrogant organization, believe, it always believes that they're the sole and authentic representatives of the people. Uh, we've seen similar kind of arrogance coming to the test in Namibia, UNT having even been accorded the, uh, role of the sole and authentic representative of the people by the United States. We had a democratic election and UNT did

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KAK:rs

GUNDANG: (Cont.)

not uh gain the overwhelming majority. In fact we have a coalition government in Namibia. And the ANC has always had this notion that they speak for the South African uh black majority and when it comes to uh the, the final stage of negotiations it will be only the ANC and South African government and the South African government will be talking about a total hand over of power to the ANC but all that has not materialized. Now what is happening in recent times is that the policies of the ANC, uh, the rhetoric of the ANC is now being scrutinized and in it's scrutiny the ANC is falling short and especially in this country in the scrutiny where the ANC's coming short is in it's relationship with uh the PLO, in it's relationship with uh, uh Colonel KHADAFY in, in it's relationship with FIDEL CASTRO. And, the question that Americans have been putting forth to NELSON MANDELA and the ANC is that uh if the ANC received assistance from these individuals or organizations in it's human rights struggle in South Africa, why did the ANC not question uh the human rights records of these organizations in their own countries. And uh MANDELA's been found wanting on, on those issues.

KAPLAN:

Yes. So was TUTU. However, RAFIK, uh, if I am allowed, let me ask you a direct question. You are one of the minorities living in South Africa of which the whites are now the mi.. minority.

GUNDANG:

Right.

(S)

KAK:YS

KAPLAN:

For which UNT Zulu's are third minority. The ANC does UNT minority, it was this political attitude and, and the only thing they UNT consider minorities are the black mi..minorities UNT they don't want to have any other affiliation. How can you combine that as being a political concern in Los Angeles UNT the country as such as it is, in other words you must have had some UNT foresight to realize that there will be change. That your work here can be very UNT

GUNDANG:

Well when UNT when the foreign service opened it's ranks to all South Africans irrespective of race, color and creed uh I had, we all as human beings are, are faced with decisions and we all have to make choices. And I had one of three choices to make at the time. As, as a young, young man uh I was uh politically aware, politically active, having been a victim of apartheid myself and uh I could do one of three things and was I gonna sit back and be a bystander to history in the making because when I UNT out of the university the changes started taking place even at that time. And I wasn't gonna sit back and be a bystander to history in the making. The other alternative I had or the option I had was to join the African National Congress. Well, I accept the uh principles calling for a non racial democratic South African. But I've always rejected their methods and I've had problems with their economic policies. Their methods are violence and I've had problems with the economic policies of

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KAK:rs

GUNDANG: (Cont.)

socialism. Cause I firmly believe in MAHATMA GANDHI's uh pr..principles of non-violence. And the third option that is open to me was to play my part in this whole process whereby we can all play a part in peacefully creating that uh new South Africa and I think I made the right choice.

KAPLAN:

Thank you very much. We will interrupt for a very brief message but before I do so I was waiting for the moment that either you or I would bring MAHATMA GANDHI, because after UNT MAHATMA GANDHI was an Indian of South African background and you as a young man, as an intellectual UNT very much involved in the betterment of all mankind. But first let's have a brief interruption.

(Pause)

KAPLAN:

UNT GANDHI got into the picture, it is very obvious because if they were on TV they would see very opposite that you are a very good looking Indian gentleman of young years.

GUNDANG:

Right. As an Indian I've taken my view from MAHATMA GANDHI and PUNDIT NEHRU. In fact the..what I'm basically doing a historically precedent was set by both of them. What they basically did was they participated within the framework of an existing constitution in order to obtain democracy for Indian, and Indian today as you know is the largest democracy in the world. But what I'm doing in the South African context is when the constitution changed in 1983 and

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GUNDANG: (Cont.)                   Indians and the colored people  
UNT to vote, I decided to  
participate within that  
framework to obtain democracy  
for all South Africans.

KAPLAN:                                RAFIK how do you think, have you  
done UNT people so far, with the  
enormous changes that already  
have taken place in South  
Africa. Since we are actually  
no more discussing apartheid  
because we know that it is going  
just as...

GUNDANG:                               Right.

KAPLAN:                                ...the Berlin was going. And if  
anything that is built up can be  
torn down, but what happens  
after the end of apartheid?

GUNDANG:                               Right. What remains of apartheid  
now is uh basically the group  
UNT and uh UNT

KAPLAN:                                Let's talk about the UNT area.  
That means con..concentration of  
people in ghettos in the areas  
which are only for them and not  
for others which is not UNT

GUNDANG:                               Right. UNT to, I would say  
residential segregation uh by  
law but uh even on, on, on the  
group here UNT authorities have  
uh turned a blind eye. No  
longer prosecutions on the group  
UNT and uh President DE KLERK  
has even committed himself that  
early next year uh he would look  
at the group UNT and find an  
alternative or, to the group UNT  
if, if not totally abolish the  
group UNT. And the land  
actually would go together with  
the group UNT and, and then you  
don't have any formal apartheid.

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KAK:rs

KAPLAN: RAKIF only a few days ago there, we found out through our UNT statisti...statisticians that Los Angeles is the most segregated city in the United States. But that segregation is not by law..

GUNDANG: Right.

KAPLAN: (Coughs) But by choice. In other words the rich black can live anywhere and is accepted by virtue of his ability to sustain the expenses of living in that area and that of course will not be the criteria in South Africa. Or will it become a criteria that the educated or the wealthy uh black or Indian or Zulu black can do the same thing?

GUNDANG: Right, in fact I...

KAPLAN: UNT interest on the area.

GUNDANG: Right. I've already, I've been talking and using that uh argument for a while now. I compare Los Angeles to Johannesburg. In Los Angeles during the course of the day there is no uh apartheid or segregation, everybody works and plays together. But at the end of the day people go to their respective neighborhoods and, which are in terms of UNT by choice.

KAPLAN: Yes.

GUNDANG: Uh, in South African the same kind of thing applies. During the day total integration, at the end of the day people go to their respective neighborhoods, by law at present. But even on that the law has been broken and because of social economic

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GUNDANG: (Cont.)

forces uh black people have moved into white areas and in Johannesburg you have uh the suburb of UNT which is predom...supposed to be a white uh suburb. But today it's become more black than white and the authorities have just uh lent a, a blind eye to that.

KAPLAN:

Being, being Indian and facially brown and not black and speaking on behalf of the South African government, what, what experiences do you have and what peculiar situations do you encounter?

GUNDANG:

Oh, I've had some interesting experiences and I think we'll need a couple of programs to talk about that.

KAPLAN:

I have all the time in the world.

GUNDANG:

(Chuckles)

KAPLAN:

We can go again on the UNT or we might call up UNT week after.

GUNDANG:

Right. Uh, when I ca..came here first in uh late 1987 uh the South African government was viewed as the pariah of the world and things have changed in recent times and we've become more acceptable today especially with the leadership of President uh DE KLERK and uh the courageous uh reform uh moves that he's, he's taken. And when I came here in uh about 87 people were generally expecting a white blond blue-eyed South African representative. And they were, I wouldn't say disappointed but uh they were surprised to see me. And I enjoyed that because what it

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GUNDANG: (Cont.)

meant is that pe..people would then have to uh let go of pre-conceived notions and listen to what I had to say about the realities and the complexities of the South African problem. And at no stage did I ever defend apartheid and having been a victim of....(tape cuts out)...always done is uh to explain the complexities of the South African problem and the challenges that face all South Africans irrespective of race, color, creed in trying to surmount these problems in as peaceful a manner as possible.

KAPLAN:

UNT RAFIK, I had expected a different person to come here but you have read I must say a very good UNT also to the ANC and to Mr. MANDELA because all he does seems to be very good.

(Tapes cuts off then on)

KAPLAN:

...he has had a tremendous impact by the large black community in Los Angeles but do you think he'll have a great impact upon the non black communities here with his, with his very very strong anti-semitic and anti UNT anti-white attitudes?

GUNDANG:

Right. You see uhm, it's disappointing and it's sad that uh already even at this early stage and when we're talking today NELSON MANDELA's been here just in the United States for two days. He should have come here as a, uh a South African who is committed to establish in..establish a non racial uh democratic South Africa. But he is being manipulated here in So...uh, in the United States



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KAK:rs

GUNDANG: (Cont.) already what I'm UNT certain black lobbies and it's becoming more a black/white thing.

KAPLAN: Tell me how popular is MANDELA in South Afr...South Africa amongst the many millions of blacks?

GUNDANG: I think the democratic process in South Africa would prove that.

KAPLAN: In other words he has also enemies and opponents?

GUNDANG: Yes. Uh, obviously he does and I think when all blacks UNT vote and when uh people then vote uh we'll know whether he has the popularity or not.

KAPLAN: Thank you very very much. I think our conversation should be continued and I will ask you to have another program with me for next week.

GUNDANG: Thank you very much.

KAPLAN: So until next week when we hear again from, from Mr. RAFIK GUNDANG, this is RALPH KAPLAN.