Ruth First Papers project

Interview with Hilary Kuny and Luli Callinicos part 1

An interview conducted by **Don Pinnock** c. 1992. Part of a series carried out at Grahamstown University and held at the UWC/Robben Island Mayibuye Archive.

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HK: ... a girl in Lisbon who will really - who was Ruth's closest girl friend in the last couple of years of her life, that girl. Moira Janks.

DP: Who was that? Oh, is that Moira? What a wonderful pile of photographs!

LC: And this is Hilary and Lionel and Barnaby. I wouldn't have recognised Barnaby.

HK: That's Barnaby thirty years ago.

DP: His beard sort of covers ...

LC: Who's this little girl?

HK: That's Ruth's - Vaughan's little girl, Maya. These are all odd photographs. They're all in - they're here.

LC: There are some photographs of you and Ruth taken in London. Here's Jimmy, Jimmy Vaughan.

HK: Do you remember this little girl? This was me in a kind of a crazy, wild mood. It was when they started bulldozing -

LC: Oh, I was overseas. You told me about it.

HK: They started bulldozing squatter camps, and one day I went - it's a long time ago.

LC: In the early 70's. I remember you telling me about it.

HK: Well, it's about twenty years ago. They bulldozed a coloured squatter camp in the middle of winter. It was so cold, temperatures were - and I woke up and I saw this in the newspaper, and I got into a rage as one can only get into when one is young. I'm sure I could never have such an experience now. And I got into my car in a fury, and I drove at ninety miles an hour out to this place. It was close to Soweto, **[indistinct]** Sophiatown, and I marched in there and I said - I invited a family to come home with me. And the people that I spoke to said it was terribly important for them to stay together as a community, so they were going to sit it out through the winter. They were not going to go off and take shelter. But there was one family who had about ten kids, they had a new-born baby, and they had this girl who was being difficult. Annette. A gorgeous kid. And so she came back with me and she stayed with us for ages, she didn't want to go home.

DP: What do you mean by ages?

HK: Oh, a couple of months! A lovely little girl, we adored her. As we came across it while we were talking, I just ... such a beautiful photograph. And then there's also a photograph somewhere here of Shawn and Robin when they were little girls, when Ruth was in jail.

DP: Did Ruth have curly hair?

LC/HK: Yes, very. She used to - she straightened it. She had this battle with her hair! Until Moira took her under wing, and then she had a sort of an afro-cut, and it looked

good!

LC: She always had this - she was so well-groomed.

DP: In photographs she looks almost too well-groomed. She needs a bit of tangle, somehow.

LC: But remember it was that period, as well. But she was always - I mean, she was tailored, and - in the 'fifties that was my image of Ruth.

HK: That's what I was telling Don about, her dress-designer clothes.

LC: Who's this?

HK: That's my friend from India, from New Delji, Sirojanee. Did you never meet her? Sirojanee Adams, a sociologist. She looks like that today, she's the most exquisite creature.

LC: Don't remind me that my time is past! **[laughter]**

HK: Well, you know ... we don't all look like Fatima Meer! **[laughter]**

LC: She said, smugly!

HK: Have you seen her?

DP: She's grown a bit! I've seen photographs of her. Tell me how Ruth recruited you.

LC: Well, not recruit, perhaps, but ... we had, in Daveyton pharmacy - do you know where Daveyton is? It's a big township, like the Soweto of the East Rand, and it had just been - I think like in 1954, '55, '56, the whole housing thing, centralisation by the state etcetera, getting all the black proletariat -

HK: You know - I'm sorry, but it's just such an interesting thing that I've come across. You know I told you about Hugh Millin's wife Liz, who went to America and married, and lost her child in the most horrific accident? It was at a picnic, and the child threw a match into a barrel of petrol or something. This is him - his name was Bram. They named him after Bram Fischer.

LC: I thought it was a car accident. And Liz didn't have any other children. Terrible.

HK: Sorry.

LC: No, just that we used to read **New Age** at Nuclear Pharmacy, and when we worked at Daveyton, we decided to support the newspaper and advertise "Daveyton cough mixture" in the newspaper! So we wrote to them, we sent money and asked them to advertise it. And the - one day two people came to visit us at the pharmacy, Ivan Schermbrucker and Ben Turok. They must have wondered, who are these strange people?

DP: Had you been in any way political before that?

LC: Not actively so, but very sympathetic.

HK: What year are you talking about, Lu?

LC: I'm talking about 1958, when they came. But before that, 1956, Zac had the pharmacy and that was the year we married. I was a student. I was very young. It was like an arranged Greek marriage, sort of semi-arranged. I had left-wing ideas, but very unformed. But we developed these ideas together. So I got Zac interested in **New Age**, which I came across for the first time at Nuclear Pharmacy, where I had to go and visit him. Nuclear Pharmacy was very, very slummy. It was part of Sophiatown, in a sense, the Western Native Townships, very poor ... ag sweet ... these are all our children a long time ago ... **[brief discussion about a photograph, names indistinct]** ... so they came to see us, to see who we were, these people who just out of the blue were advertising in **New Age**. Ivan was the manager of **New Age** and Ben was working for COD, he was the secretary. He wasn't the secretary, sorry, Piet Beyleveld was. But he was the secretary of the Transvaal branch of COD. So they found a very kind of naive couple, basically, but we invited - they said COD will come and speak to you again, and we invited them for dinner. We lived in Benoni, the Daveyton side of Benoni. And they brought along Ruth and John Benjamin. Have you spoken to John Benjamin? Do you know him?

DP: No.

HK: He didn't know Ruth.

LC: Not so well, but he knew her. I'm just thinking that I never - I first met Ruth and

John when they first came to supper.

DP: What happened at supper?

LC: Nothing. They came to supper - well, we just talked. Ruth - I remember they talked about COD, and we were very interested, and they invited us to a meeting. So Ruth said well, you must meet Oliver, he lives nearby! Oliver Tambo, because he lived in Benoni. So she invited us to lunch, and we went one Sunday and we met Oliver and Adelaide Tambo and their little girls, and we had two little girls - no, we didn't. Ja, by the time we went there I had had my second daughter. Oliver had three little girls, and the Slovo's had three little girls ... I remember us making jokes about all the girl manufacturers! But anyway, we met Oliver Tambo for the first time, which was quite a formal affair, and I didn't - we didn't really see all that much of Ruth, because she didn't attend COD meetings. She was very busy as a journalist, and I think she was - what was her legal status? She wasn't banned yet, was she? But Joe was.

DP: When was this? '56?

LC: No, '59 by then.

HK: I don't think Joe was banned, not in '59. I don't remember that.

LC: So I didn't see - I never had a working relationship with her at all. I became secretary of the Defence and Aid Fund, and Hilary took over from me in '62. I didn't see much of Ruth during that time, really. I'd read her articles in **New Age** and **Fighting Talk** - **[brief discussion about a photograph]** I always found her very

intimidating, really. I was very young and naive, and she was a very experienced left-wing activist and writer.

HK: And woman of the world!

DP: The only person I've met who wasn't intimidated was Barney.

LC: Because he saw her at a very vulnerable point. I sort of got to know her a bit during the Emergency. I always remember her at parties. You must talk to George Bizos. Have you spoken to George?

DP: I haven't got to him, he's so busy.

LC: Because they used to play bridge every Sunday night, George and Joe, and Ruth used to be very -

HK: George and Joe and Lewitton. Jack Lewitton.

LC: And Ruth used to just sniff and say, really, what trivialities! There's work to be done, and you people are playing bridge! **[laughter]**

HK: It wasn't bridge, it was poker.

DP: What was she like at parties?

LC: She had a lot of energy and vitality.

HK: Ja, she was strong.

LC: She loved Zac, my husband, who also had - has still - a great deal of zest, and used to love flirting with her. And she loved it! She responded to people who had a definite vibe or aura about them, whereas at that stage I was terribly insecure, a Greek girl kind of pushed into a marriage which I wasn't very happy in. What Zac and I had most in common was our politics, funnily enough. **[discussion about arbitrary photograph]** Ruth was in Swaziland during the state of emergency when -

HK: This is Ruth. Awful picture. It was a picnic we went to. But those - those are Ruth's feet!

LC: Put that in your book!

DP: "These feet belong to ..."

HK: It was a picnic we went to.

DP: I've managed to get what seems to be a full-length run of **Fighting Talk**. It's from '52 to '61, around there. Would that be a full run?

LC: I don't know when it started. But that's fantastic.

HK: What about - what was the COD thing called? Did you ever come across that?

DP: Yes, I think I've got a full run of that. **Passive Resister** I have. Did she write anything for that?

HK: I did! I'd love to see it.

DP: Really! It's in the Church of the Province library. You can piece it together ... did you have a sense that Ruth was actually a journalist? I mean, was that the main kind of thing that she did? What did she do daily?

LC: Ja, she was a journalist, but she was very busy with ... well, I mean, she was obviously doing a lot of investigative journalism.

DP: Are you talking about '59?

LC: I'm talking about '59 to '60. My last image of her in South Africa was in the Africana Library. That was in 1963. I was in the Africana Library - I had gone back to 'varsity, I was married, and I looked out the window, and I looked down and I saw Ruth. She was doing a librarianship course, she was banned. I saw her walking out - I was just looking out the window, and I saw two men come up and talk to her. They talked to her for a while and then the three of them walked away together. And later that day I heard she'd been detained.

DP: She'd been working in Church of the Province.

LC: Mm. I've got that very clear image in my mind. Next time I saw her she was in London.

HK: She knew she was going to be detained. She was expecting it.

DP: Why did she stay? Was Joe overseas at that point?

LC: Ja. Obviously she'd made her own independent decision.

HK: Joe left two months before Rivonia. He went to do a little job outside, to be ready to come back and take part in the ... triumphant entry! Bringing the revolutionary horses into Johannesburg! So he went to just fix up things outside! Shame. Oh dear. Ja, and then, you know, for him, importantly - in personal terms - he was saved because of that. But I think that it was a time of such terrible trauma, and I think that Joe not being here made Ruth feel much more vulnerable and much more unsure about what to do.

DP: Is this after her detention? She'd come out of detention already?

LC: No, before.

HK: Before. Because yes, she knew she was going to be detained. People were saying go, go. And she knew she was going to be detained. It was obvious. It was clear. We would even talk about - you know, made arrangements about looking after the children -

LC: And she was being followed. I mean, she once came to visit us - it was a surprise visit, we were just going to sit down and have supper and she arrived, and we

exclaimed, we were delighted to see her, because she was in semi-hiding. She stayed and had supper with us. The next day the landlord 'phoned us, and said - we'd been away on holiday to Cape Town a month earlier, and we'd paid our rent on the eighth of the month or something - and he said we had to get out! We'd broken our lease and he wanted us out immediately and he wouldn't argue. And later I heard that he had been visited by the Special Branch, and it had been to do with Ruth's visit.

DP: It's odd that she didn't leave. But I suppose it was difficult with three children.

LC: The children, ja, I think that was - I think the children were very insecure. But there was Tilly, you know, who was very wonderful with the children. She was a kind of primary person.

DP: Tilly must have played a very central part in bringing up the kids.

LC: I think so. But the kids were freaked out.

DP: I get that sense.

LC: Ruth, of course, was very - because her whole South-West Africa book - I remember her describing to us - you see, I've just got little snatches of memories -

DP: Did she go there?

LC: Yes, she went there and I think they served a restriction order on her when she returned. But she'd gathered quite a lot of material.

DP: The South Africans served her with a restriction order?

LC: Mm. You didn't need a passport at the time. Do you now? I don't think so. She came back and she was very excited and stimulated by what she'd seen and the people she'd spoken to, in the resistance movement and so on. I think she wrote quite a powerful book.

DP: Now did she write that when she was here?

LC: I don't know if she finished it when she was here. Did she start it? Yes, she did start it here. When was it published?

DP: I'm not sure. I can check up.

LC: Actually, I think it was published before she left. When did she leave, Hil? '64?

HK: '63.

LC: '63 was when she was detained.

DP: So that would explain what she did as a journalist. I'm trying to figure out what she did -

LC: No, she was a full-time journalist. Of course, she'd also been active - for instance, she participated in the '46 miners' strike, as a "youth", you know!

HK: And then there was the farm labour thing.

LC: Of course, there was that whole farm labour expose. She also used to do things like - when she was a student, she used to go off to these youth festivals, you know. I remember she missed her exams - I wasn't there, but she told us she'd missed her exams because she'd been at the youth festival and how wonderful her lecturers had been.

HK: Do you know who this is?

DP: That's Joe in the middle.

HK: Ja. And that's me and a friend.

LC: Gee, he looks young.

DP: How old would he be there?

HK: That was 1967.

LC: About 40?

HK: Joe's 63 now.

DP: Ruth was very central in the ... work leading up to the Kliptown congress. She was

on the national executive committee with Cachalia and Beyleveld and Rusty Bernstein -

LC: Talk to Ben Turok when you're in London.

DP: And according to - I don't know if you can confirm this, but perhaps you've heard about it. When all the demands were coming in, Ruth as a journalist was given the job of sifting them and getting them into what became the first draft of the Freedom Charter, after which Rusty and various other people worked on it. That's what Yusuf said.

LC: That's what I know. I didn't know - did she only work on the first draft?

DP: Well, she worked on the whole thing, but her job was turning it into a charter. Which is quite nice. I mean, it's an important document.

LC: I remember Gavin Williams, who's in Oxford, he's a don, saying that ... he became very friendly with Ruth in her Englidsh period, if you want to talk to him about that.

DP: I've corresponded with him quite a lot.

LC: Oh, well, that would make sense. I remember they were having an argument about the Soviet Union - I don't know, something or other, I can't remember, and Gavin said well, some of us have read the Freedom Charter, you know! And she said yes, but some of us wrote it! I was quite shocked, you're not allowed to say things like that, that people wrote the Freedom Charter!

DP: Well, Rusty wrote the Call.

[brief discussion about a photograph of old friends]

What was Ruth's politics? Did you know that, or were you not connected to Ruth in that way?

LC: I always thought she was a member of the CP.

DP: Well, I think she was, but I'm just wondering whether -

LC: But that was then. I think that things changed later, but that's just hearsay. I have no evidence. Obviously she was an enthusiastic supporter of the '46 miners' strike, but that doesn't automatically mean she was a member of the CP.

DP: I think she was. She was a member of the Youth League, and Miriam says she is almost sure she was a member of the Party while she was doing Youth League work. And I would imagine she would have been part of the Party when it reformed in the 'fifties, but I'll have to ask Joe that. Or Piet Beyleveld! he was also a member.

LC: Have you spoken to Piet Beyleveld?

DP: I'm actually going to, I think, but I'm not sure -

LC: [indistinct], for example. He's living in the same house in Greenside.

HK: Good God!

DP: He was a printer.

LC: I've heard him on tape. His voice is so strange, this Afrikaans accent. Somebody's done a thesis - Rob Lambert - on SACTU, and interviewed him. Long interview, he was delighted to talk. It takes him back to happier times, I suppose.

HK: He's ended up being ostracised.

DP: I'm going to see Rob on Monday, in Durban. What do you - I have a sense - I've talked to lots of people about Ruth, and I get this totally different picture from different people. Some people tell me about this political person who was tough and scary, incisive; other people will tell me about this professional person, the meticulous journalist - truth at all costs. Other people, but very few, will tell me about this shy, private person, who when they got glimpses of that they warmed to her tremendously. But she didn't show it to many people. Is that a fair assessment of her, or is that -

HK: I don't know how shy ... private, yes.

LC: I think there was a sense of certain boundaries -

HK: But I wouldn't say shy. I would say vulnerable, and unsure of herself. The opposite of that picture of the very strong, confident, tough woman that people felt intimidated by.

DP: But that's a curious contradiction. Here's this intimidating woman who's vulnerable.

LC: Well, on a personal level, but on a professional and political level she was very highly competent. She was demanding of colleagues and peoplw who worked with her.

DP: But what was she vulnerable to? I'm not quite sure ... it's a difficult idea to take on board, getting an outside image of her.

HK: She wasn't all that sure of herself in intimate, personal relationships. She was very sure of herself when she was on territory that revolved around her work. But I think when it came to relating in an intimate, personal level she was very unsure. She needed reassurance. She could be soft, warm, generous, and those were the things that she valued getting.

DP: Why do you think she was so unsure about coming close? Is it because, do you think, that it might have been hard to get to know Tilly, as a daughter?

HK: Well, as a psychologist, I'm sure that it was hard to be Tilly's daughter.

LC: What was Tilly like?

HK: She was a dominating, domineering, formidable ...

LC: But Ruth had this enormous - I mean, her whole illness was also another remarkable thing, the way she conquered her - I suppose you know the whole story.

DP: I really don't.

LC: You know - when she was a child, she had some glandular thing, and she just fought against it herself, and built up such reserves of self-discipline, until they found medication that worked. She had this tendency to get very very tired, and sleep for long periods, and she just fought this off and would sort of drag herself to school, and force herself to do her work and do well. That was the kind of foundation, the kind of character formation -

HK: How do you know that?

LC: I don't know.

DP: Do you know what it was that she had?

LC: I don't know what it was, but I think she was quite small, like from eight onwards. Don't you know about this?

DP: I know about it, but -

LC: She had a thyroid complaint, ja.

DP: That's what I heard, ja.

LC: And then she'd put on a lot of weight and get very sluggish, and it distressed her terribly. You know, she wanted to be attractive and in control and in command, and I really - that sort of shaped her character. Together with Tilly. I mean, heaven knows what Tilly was doing to her when she was going through this period, until medication was found. That's part of the whole thing of her impeccable grooming and never putting on weight, and being very careful about her hair. Her hair was always - not a hair out of place. Controlled.

HK: But she laughed at herself in later years. I mean, in Maputo.

LC: She was much more relaxed and sure of herself.

HK: I couldn't believe it! The last time I saw her, she talked about her clothes, shrieking with laughter as she described her outfits and matching accessories ... she said I just can't believe that that was me! Absurd!

LC: And I mean there is a contradiction in a sense. She was this very - in a sense, quite a puritanical Marxist, you know. And yet she needed all these bourgeois trappings.

DP: That I find fascinating.

HK: She even had a fur coat!

LC: Ja, she was expensively dressed, you know! You can see in photographs.

DP: Do you know when the cure was found? Do you have any idea?

LC: I don't. I think it was about when she was twelve or thirteen. I wish I could remember where I - how I learned this, but I can't.

DP: I wonder who on earth could ever confirm that.

LC: Joe could tell you. Wouldn't Miriam or others who knew her as a young girl ...

DP: Miriam knew her at the Jewish government school, in Std 5.

LC: Well, she may know.

HK: I'm sure she may know.

LC: She was quite a fat, sluggish little girl, and she just fought all the way. It must have been incredible will that she developed.

DP: When she left the country did she leave her wardrobe?

LC: I don't know! I think she did leave a lot.

DP: It must have been very cathartic, in a way, and sort of a bit scary, in a way, to just - I mean, it would be for anybody going into exile. But in her case, probably knowing that she wouldn't be coming back for quite a while. Did she have that sense, that she

wasn't coming back?

HK: Oh yes.

LC: There was this sense that the revolution had kind of - you know ... it would take another decade or so!

HK: She was - they sold all their furniture.

LC: The house was sold after they'd left, I think.

HK: I don't remember, but I remember we took quite a lot of their furniture.

LC: And the girls? They followed afterwards.

HK: I don't know. I can't remember any more about how it worked. But I remember soon after they got to London they bought this house in Lime Street, which I think one of the girls - Shawn might live in it.

LC: Kentish Town.

HK: Camden Town. But when they first bought it they did it up beautifully.

LC: I remember their navy-blue bathroom!

HK: When it was still new it was exquisite! I'd never seen a house like that. In South

Africa or London. I couldn't get over it. I just thought it was incredible. She had good taste.

DP: It must have cost money to do that.

HK: Oh, well, they had money. From Julius.

LC: They had money. Also English houses were cheap, you know. You had to buy a property **[HK and LC talk at once - indistinct]**

HK: ... it was so beautifully furnished. It was exquisite, that house. It's terrible now, really run-down and really shabby. Shawn might live in it, or ... yes, Shawn lives in it.

DP: There'd be a flat downstairs, too, where Tilly lived.

HK: That's right. It was also very nice.

DP: Mm. Was Ruth scared of leaving?

LC: Oh, she'd travelled a lot.

DP: But permanently, I mean.

LC: But she'd put so much - ja, invested so much of her life in South Africa. I don't know - who knows ...

HK: I think they got very involved very quickly in establishing a new life.

LC: A new base.

HK> A new base. They were - you know, they were very different people from some of the exiles who really had a tough time. For example, someone like Esme Goldberg never forgave Ruth for being this queen and just tramping on the likes of small fry like Esme.

DP: In London?

HK: Yes. And there were quite a number of people who had a really tough time, who really did miss home, and who did struggle, and did have nothing, who I think were enormously envious of the Slovo's.

DP: Why did they do so well, the Slovo's? I mean -

LC: Well, I suppose money helped.

HK: Money helped, and I think that Ruth - it was Ruth, it wasn't Joe -

LC: And her flair, her standards ...

HK: Ruth had flair! She had an ability to get things done, to make - to get things together -

LC: And it was important to have sort of habitable and aesthetic surroundings. She just felt that then you could function properly.

HK: Not later on. Her place in Maputo was a long way from their -**LC:** Was it a flat?

HK: Yes. It was a flat. And then after she died, Joe moved to a sort of a house. No-one knew where he stayed. And they had a lot of their things that I remembered from the flat and from -

LC: From here.

HK: Not from here, from London. Like odd pictures, and - but I mean, that place in Maputo was a long, long way from the house in Victory Park.

LC: Not Victory Park. I think it was Northcliff.

HK: It was Victory Park.

LC: Was it Victory Park?

DP: So one gets a sense from that that as they matured as people, they needed less of the trappings and the flair and the established externals ... but that might be -

LC: I don't think that Joe needed it all that much. He was a much more relaxed person ...

HK: Well, Joe wouldn't have had anything to do with it. Ruth did it all. It was Ruth, it wasn't Joe. I mean, Joe of course had never had any money! Here he had money, but when he went into London, he was working for nothing. For pocket-money.

DP: And would Julius and Tilly have been supporting them? What happened to the factory? Julius had to leave. Rivonia was in his name, wasn't it? Or certainly he did most of the -

LC: It was. I'd forgotten that.

HK: No, no. Rivonia was in whatyoucallit's name. Arthur Goldreich.

DP: But Julius -

HK: Yes, he did the finances. He was the book-keeper.

DP: And he left. He went into hiding, didn't her?

HK: Ja, he did. But if I ever did know the details of that, I certainly have forgotten them. But there would be people who would know the details of that quite intimately. Harold would know.

DP: Tilly followed Ruth, in a sense, didn't she. And Julius was out already.

LC: And Ronnie? Have you spoken to him?

DP: I haven't no. I -

LC: He doesn't want to.

DP: I got a rather cold shoulder from him. He wouldn't give me access to Tilly, so I doubt whether he'll talk to me. But I will try.

HK: It would be fascinating if he could talk about their childhood.

DP: He'ste only person who can tell me about it.

LC: But also - how much younger was he?

DP: Four years.

LC: Oh. He was the book-keeper for the Defence and Aid Fund, so he used to come to meetings. I don't know if he still was when you -

HK: Did he? I don't remember that.

LC: Oh, he used to come in and do a report of the accounts.

DP: So how did the parents - they had money here, but how did they survive in London? Do you know that? Or did they just - the factory carried on here.

LC: I don't think they were cut off from -

HK: Maybe Ronnie would know. I don't know. Maybe Ronnie ran the factory.

LC: Ronnie ran the factory.

HK: Well, maybe they got money over, but they certainly had money to begin with. Certainly. Although I don't think they ended up with money, because I think Ronnie looks after Tilly.

DP: Yes, he pays for everything.

LC: Where does Tilly live now?

HK: She stays in a very nice place that belongs to Ronnie's wife. In Killarney, just on Riviera Road, near the shops. Sort of a townhouse in the corner of this huge block. It's nice.

DP: Tilly said to me, "what happened to Ronnie?" So I said, he's here, in Jo'burg. "No no, I mean what happened to him? What went wrong? Why is he just - he doesn't read, he's got books, he doesn't read. He's got a head, he doesn't think. He just makes money. What's wrong with him?"

HK: Fascinating!

DP: It's his rebellion against his parents, I think!

HK: It's fascinating that Tilly said that!

DP: Just suddenly, out of the blue, in the middle of something else.

LC: Poor Ronnie. I mean, that whole family must have been such a hard act to follow. He was the youngest ...

DP: What was Julius like? Was he also a high-flyer?

HK: I'm sure he's part of the complexity of the family, you see. I think he -

DP: Did you know Julius?

HK: Well, I used to see - I used to meet him.

DP: What was he like?

HK: Gentle ... it's a typical picture, you see, of the hen-pecked husband. Tilly ruled the roost, and I think that Julius might have been slightly scared of her.

LC: But she dominated intellectually, as well. And politically.

DP: Except Julius got into politics before she did.

LC: He was older than her ...

HK: But I think that they came, probably, in a similar way to Ruth and Joe. I think that Julius was not born in this country, was he? So Julius was foreign, and had come from a tough school, and he was very much locked into a generation of Jews who were communists because communism would liberate Russia from the anti-semitic Tzars. You know, I mean, it was as simple as that background. I mean, all Jews were communist, anyone who could think and take a political stand. They were all sympatheic to the revolution. They all believed in a new world in which the Jews would be free.

LC: But even Zionism would be socialist.

HK: Zionists were socialists! All the important Zionists were socialists.

LC: There was an emphasis either on class or nationalism.

HK: Ja, there were tensions. I think there was a different focus. The tensions came later.

LC: Mm, in the 'thirties.

DP: But Tilly was different?

HK: But Tilly, I think - I'm not sure, but ... she wasn't born in this country, but she came to this country very young. And I think she grew up in very comfortable circumstances and she was well-educated ... I don't know -

[end of side one]