

J.F. So where were you born and when?

A.H. I was born on the 6th. November, 1940 in Cape Town. My father was a bank teller, and my mother had been a nursing sister in a hospital. I have - I'm the eldest - I was their eldest son - I have a younger brother and sister. My father came from Anglo-Irish parents - parentage - his own mother died when he was one year old - she died in some sort of domestic accident - I think she was, you know, burned or something like that - one of those horrible things - and he was then brought up by his aunt. It was a very large Catholic - Anglo-Irish Catholic family.

My mother - they'd been immigrants, and my father until the day he died I mean could scarcely speak a word of Afrikaans. My mother came from an old Cape Anglo-Afrikaaner family. Her father had been a Karoo sheep farmer, and they fell on hard times during the drought and so on in the '30s, but they were a very old family - he'd - he'd fought the British during the Boer War. My grandmother came from an Afrikaaner family called the Brinks (?) who were related to the Severes (?) On my grandfather's side the family name was Rose Innes, and that name is associated with a Cape chief justice and parliamentarian in Rhodes' Cape parliament - James (.....) ja.

So that's where I come from, that - so one half of the family was some kind of Anglo-Afrikaaner at one stage aristocracy - they spent the rest of their lives hankering after past glories - really makes me sick - but it was on that side of the family really that the patriotism thing was strongest. My mother still feels - I mean she is terribly confused by what's happening now, but she - all she knows is basically that either I'm being attacked or South Africa's being attacked, and all this has been very, very confusing for them, you know, extremely confusing - my father just didn't understand what the hell was happening.

So that's where I come from, and because my grandfather, although there was English ancestry there too, had been so outraged by the British behaviour during the war. There was actually a streak of anti-English feeling which - which came through in my mother, and I always think that it's amazing that my mother and father married one another considering that there was a good deal of anti-Afrikaaner feeling in my father, real racist stuff, you know.

He used to say to me sometimes - shame, he used to say, you know, I don't like to say this in front of your mother, but I remember my father telling me what Lord Milner used to say, never trust a Dutchman until he's dead (Laugh) - so I mean and quite early on I mean one became conscious of - of antagonisms between language groups, national groups and so forth - that's the kind of background.

So quite early on we became conscious of two things really - first of all that being a South African was something very important to be - that it was a special thing, that it made - the patriotism made demands. I mean my grandfather had to go away and leave his wife with young children alone on the farm when he went to - off on commando - he was on commando with Botha and Smuts - the Tommies came and took the farm over, and my grandmother had to deal with it. My mother of course remembers nothing about this - she was one of the children - but there were apparently incidents and my grandmother had to deal with them.

- A.H. It's a family story that, you know, typical Boer hospitality, the Tommies came and my grandmother said : You can go and help yourself to fruit from the orchards - sending them to the prickly pear orchards, and they knowing no better put the prickly pears down the front of their shirts, and we always tell that joke against the Tommies, so there was all that sort of thing.
- J.F. I sometimes have large gaps of ignorance - Tommies is?
- A.H. For English....
- J.F. The Brits.....
- A.H. Ja, ja, ja.....
- J.F. Would that be capital T o m m y?
- A.H. Ja, or i e s, but you know there - the - it was often what they called themselves - there's a Kipling poem which - which goes : It's Tommy this and Tommy that and Tommy go away, but it's thanks to Mr. Atkins when the bands begin to play - because everybody in Britain - those sort of Cockney types, every second person was called Tommy Atkins, and that's where the name comes from.
- J.F. So what - did you grow up speaking some Afrikaans, or how did it work
- A.H. We always spoke English at home - and of course you have to in school, you know, you have to learn Afrikaans, but in English school, certainly the one I went to, was taught atrociously badly, and I almost never spoke it except occasionally when our relatives from the Transvaal came down - that was when Marius and people came down. Now that's kind of quite interesting, you see, because Marius - you know Marius - you know who Marius Schoon is?
- J.F. I know Marius Schoon, yes.
- A.H. Ja, ja - well, you know we're cousins - ja, we're cousins, and that's why the family thing is interesting in a way, because Marius' mother was the eldest sister, you see - my Aunt Gladys - she was my mother's eldest sister, and a terribly sweet person - I always remember her as a very sweet and kind person. But his father had been in a British concentration camp as a child, and he had the kind of politics that you would think matched that sort of experience. I mean Marius told me that during the war his father actually left the National Party because, he said, because of the whole issue of siding with the - with the Nazis - but my uncle's reason for leaving the National Party was that the Nazis were Godless and he didn't see how the English could ever be defeated if we sided with the anti-Christ (Laugh) - and he was deputy headmaster of a boys school - and well, I can't pretend that I ever enjoyed his visits very much.
- He was a - he was very - I always thought of him as typifying intolerance.....
- J.F. This is Marius' dad?
- A.H. Ja, ja - I don't know what - he was a person of very high principle. For example, he would take Marius into a shop to buy - to buy clothes. Marius always used to tell this story and he - he'd ask to be served in Afrikaans in an English shop - and he was the sort of man who hated any kind of a scene because he was very respectable - of course there'd be some English immigrant in there and she couldn't serve him in Afrikaans.

A.H. And he'd just stand there and keep talking Afrikaans, and he'd ask for the manager and he'd demand to be served in Afrikaans until he got served, and afterwards he'd come out with Marius, you know, sort of blushing, and he'd say : I know, I hate it but we must do it - they must speak the language - learn to speak it - because it would mean an oppressed (?) It was the language of the oppressed, you know - I mean Milner tried to stamp out Afrikaans, and there are poems about that, you know.

J.F. So when Marius' family came down did - the whole visit was in Afrikaans?

A.H. No, some of it - no - you know, the lingua franca round the table - I mean Marius was completely bilingual, which I certainly wasn't, you know - Marius speaks beautiful Afrikaans and he writes poetry in it, and he teaches people how to speak it very well - he's excellent at doing that, you know. He's got - of anyone I know closely he's probably the person I know who's got greatest feeling for the language and so forth.

But their whole background was that, you know, Afrikaaner nationalism, and that was what they believed in, and I mean Marius says that when he went to Stellenbosch - when he first went to Stellenbosch, which is when the changes started happening - I mean he went to Stellenbosch believing that apartheid with justice was possible - and anyway that's how the family lived, so they were - Afrikaaner, anti-English feelings pulling against kind of, and rubbing with pro-English jingoistic all mixed up with Irish Roman Catholicism, and the whole bloody lot sort of going like that, and when I -

I mean of course when you're a child you don't think that you have a - an interesting background I mean, you know - but when I think back now and people ask me, you know, how - how did you get involved, I mean I - I'm sure that there must have been that in that background that made one realise that politics was a serious business, that it was about things as intimate as the language you spoke - it was about your family, its history, its place in the scheme of things - and, ja, that's the short answer to - the long-short answer to your question, you know, where was I born and - and, you know, so I thought I'd tell you a bit about where I come from.

J.F. Just one quick little thing - if when Marius' family came did he make - did that - Marius' father make you speak Afrikaans to him.....

A.H. No, he - I - I never remember him doing that, but I - I remember - shame, I don't want to badmouth the old boy, he's dead, but - but I remember that I - he would do a lot of - he had very strict standards of the way people ought to behave. Men and boys behaved in a particular kind of way, and I - you know, I had another - one of my other cousins he was always - he was always doing things like he'd say to one of my cousins : Why don't you go and swim out as far as Tony does - Tony goes out further than you do - you know, it was all this - it was battles with kinds of - a kind of machismo which is - wasn't certainly a vulgar machismo - I mean he was far too well educated and thoughtful a man for that, but it was a kind of - I don't know how - the sort of stern driving kind of Calvinism, and it was my first encounter with it and I didn't like it.

They had very much - I mean they had quite high standards about what things were appropriate for children to listen to on the radio, what sort of conversation was appropriate for a child, and things like that.

- A.H. They were educationalists, what's more, and they took it very, very seriously.
- J.F. But when you were with them you didn't try to speak Afrikaans.....
- A.H. No, I didn't....
- J.F. wasn't good enough....
- A.H. No....
- J.F. So you really didn't have much Afrik.....
- A.H. I didn't sp - I didn't - you know, most - most - most English-speaking Cape kids of my age wouldn't have had. I mean I started - really started to speak it when I became a journalist.
- J.F. Now you had just come to the part where you said that this was what you learned politics was about, and you talked about your background. How did black people fit in?
- A.H. Well, they were our servants. When one says that of course - we were, for white people, relatively poor. My father was a bank teller and he was never - he was never much of a breadwinner - not that he was irresponsible, but he just had no ambition - I mean he didn't - (.....) a complicated thing so that I don't really want to go into - but we were relatively poor, and we were poorer than the rest of the family.
- Marius' people were relatively better off - they had - they were teachers and so forth - they had - they lived in a better house than we did in Johannesburg - his father was the vice principal of an important school. Others of my uncles on my mother's side were in fact quite well to do, and in fact one of my cousins now is a judge and another one's a brain surgeon, but we weren't that - we weren't professional classes or anything of that sort.
- But we had a servant - well, until the time when I was about, I suppose, two or three till the time I was about 13 we had the same servant, and she was a Coloured Malay woman - you know what Malay means. Her mother had been our washerwoman - she did the washing - and Jadige came to us when I was, as I say, about three, and Jadige couldn't have been more than 15 or 16. I actually remember very clearly the day she came - I remember going into the kitchen and saying : What's your name - and she said : Jadige - you know - and she sort of brought me up - she slept in the house -
- She didn't eat with us - she never sat down at the table with us unless we were picnicking or something like that - that's different. But she was like part mother, part elder sister, part friend. I was very - I was intensely fond of her and - and so were all we children were - I mean I remember when she left - she went to better employment - I mean I remember how upset my little brother was, you know, that Jadige was going, and I still get sad when I talk about her.
- And you know, when I lived in Cape Town never a year passed when my - I never had a birthday go by that she didn't phone the house and, you know, to wish me happy birthday.
- J.F. After she'd left?

A.H. Ye, ye - and she would - you know, up until the time I was arrested - she finally got married to - they were pretty traditional Malays as well - I mean she practiced her religion and took it very seriously - and they were damn poor, dirt poor - I mean you know, and - but they were very proud and honest - honesty meant a lot - never stealing anything, never touching anything - eating the proper food, you know - observing the religious observances - it's an important part of Cape culture, what the Malays brought, because they came - they were the first slaves brought over.

And ye, well, she was a very important person to me and - and she married eventually and she used to visit us, you know - I mean every so often she'd come and have tea and - and things - so....

J.F. How do you spell Jadge?

A.H. G a d i g a.

J.F. So she was one black person that you related to, but what about black people - was there anyone else, or what about generally?

A.H. Well, the Group Areas Act hadn't happened yet, and as I say, we were poor by white standards. We lived in a set of small semi-detached houses in a suburb of Cape Town, and behind us was a little mini slum full of Coloured children, and sometimes I played with them and sometimes I fought with them, you know, and - but I knew very well - I mean we were very clear, and you'd learn that quite early on, that they were black and I was white - they were inferior and I was superior, and there was nothing - although my mother felt intensely about Gadiga, you know, and an intense sense of responsibility for her, and when Gadiga's mother died, when old Sonia died, I remember it clearly, we went to the house and Gadiga came out of the house, where they were cleaning the house in the traditional way, and called my mother in to see how they'd laid the body out - it was like that - it was very - I mean very deep emotional things, and when I talk about them I can feel myself becoming upset because they are - they - you know, whatever - whatever happened afterwards I'm sure has to have something to do with these things and the way I felt - I came to feel later about the fact that the places where Gadiga and her family lived became places they were forbidden to live.

Malay people had lived in Constantia and thereabouts for generations, and there are mosques there now that they have to tend but they can no longer worship properly in because it - it's a Muslim law that a mosque cannot be left unattended - and those people had been moved out under the Group Areas Act, told to go, they weren't wanted, and - because I knew what the traditions were - I think that idea, the idea that thing that people, no matter how poor, can be torn away from dear and familiar things, really treated as if you don't count - get out, you're not white - we want you away from us - I think that quite early would have made me some kind of opponent of apartheid - not necessarily the kind I became - because, as I say, there was real racism and oppression, and I don't - you know, it wasn't that I wasn't brought up with racism because racism was in the - was in the air you breathed - but that idea that you could - you could attack a person's life at the roots, at the family, you know - because we were poor the things we had, the familiar things we had, were very, very important to us, you know, and they still are to me - I mean I still have special feelings about Cape Town and - and - and stuff like that.

A.H. And so I think the first mainsprings of it were there and I - there were times as I got - later on as I became more deeply involved, where you have to say to yourself, you know, why am I doing this - I mean you know, forget about the rhetoric, be clear to yourself why you think apartheid is so wrong that you want to go further and further along this road which can only lead you and estrange you further and further from your own people - and I remember very distinctly the idea coming that it's - it's the break-up of people's family lives - it's the Pass Laws, it's the Group Areas Act, it's - it's the absolute trampling on - on their traditions, on their rootedness - it's not allowing them to grow any roots at all.

There was something that - that struck me then, and still strikes me as being absolutely evil and demoniacal about something like that, that people can be so disregarded that at the very roots of everything they feel about that must be cut off, that must be dug up - you know, it's not enough, so to speak, that you cut the plant's head off, you've got to tear it up by the roots as well - I think that's evil and demoniacal, and so I would - I hope that I would always have felt that that was an evil that had to be fought.

And you know, as I came to see that that kind of thing was at the very root of the whole system the system couldn't function unless people were treated in that way, and of course the more one came to see this the more one recognised what it was that had to be fought.

J.F. And when would that have become clear to you in that - even when you were young or what - was there any - if we can just move on to your politicisation, was there a stage where you kind of became a liberal or....

A.H. Ye....

J.F. broke with your family on disagreements, or how did the politicisation happen?

A.H. It was gradual - in my late teens, early 20s, I joined the Progressive Party - it was natural as breathing for me to be interested in politics - it was - you know, it was a topic of conversation around dinner table - I knew that our family had had divisions because of it, you know, that went right back. You see, Marius' mother marrying a nationalist was a big thing in our family, because my grandfather had been on commando with Botha and Smuts - that meant a lot - it meant a lot - that was the old United Party, just as racialistic, with considerably less principle, I might add, I now think, but -

So there was - there were always - there was - often the discussions weren't at a very high level, but it was always there, and I mean I remember us talking about it and I remember whole evenings sitting in our little kitchen at home arguing with my father about it - you know, sometimes one way, sometimes another.

J.F. Who did your father vote?

A.H. I think when he did vote he voted for the United Party - for the old United Party - I don't know what my mother did - I think most of the time she didn't bother at all. That wasn't because she was apolitical - it's more complicated than that. She would be very divided about voting for a party which was perceived in the Cape as being an English party, although its leaders had always been Afrikaners and I mean in fact the backbone of its support had to come from Afrikaners.

A.H. Afrikaaners are 60 percent of the white population, and they decide politically at least, since the English just abrogate their role, which is making money (?) and - and the Afrikaaners make it possible for them to make the money by keeping the rampants - by manning the rampants, so to speak - or at least that was the kind of over-simplified way in which I started to think about it - but, oh yes, when I was about 18 or 19 I - I joined the Progressive Party.....

J.F. Was that after you finished high school or what happened?

A.H. Well, it's all very complicated because I never really - I mean I was really bad at school, and it was another problem, because certainly on my mother's side people had - you know, there was a whole history in the family of academic achievement, you see, everybody, and in fact our family had been involved with education since the earliest days of the Cape, so it was actually thought terrible and rather disgraceful that someone should do badly at school, and in fact I did very, very badly, and when I - when I finally ceased my attempts to matriculate or whatever, you know, I discovered afterwards that actually I had enough subjects finally to - for me to have gone to university at some stage when I was older - I had to rediscover all this in prison because I then had to see if I couldn't study formally (?)

So I didn't finish high school - I went out to work - and by then I'd become - started to become interested in politics and I joined the Progressive Party....

J.F. Where did you go to work - what did you do?

A.H. Well, I had numbers of jobs - I worked as a - I worked as a clerk in a printing factory, and that was quite important too - I mean formative, because I was certainly no better paid than any of the printers - certainly not touching a white printer's salary, but I was paid better than the blacks, and this was a small printing-works - small commercial printing firm, which is still in the Cape - it's called Galvin & Sales (?) and they had - a lot of what they did was to print educational books for public schools, school primers and stuff like that, so they had a large bookbinding department where they employed ununionised Coloured women, and they would do it on the sort of casualisation - if there was work you got employed, if there wasn't goodbye.

And you'd see things in that factory - like I always wondered why every time I'd come through there would be a particularly pretty Coloured girl who'd be brushing against me, or every time I came past she'd be - she'd be hitching up her stocking or stuff like that, you know, and after a while I realised what this was all about, you know, just - just put the temptation in the way is holding onto the job - she's got to take - she's got to take money home - so that was important, I suppose, you know.

The job was awful too - it was badly paid, and I had to work very, very hard and very long hours - and I remember I worked under a very difficult guy who was a British immigrant - awful person, you know - and, you know, my picture of British immigrants was pretty well modeled on him and - and quite frankly I've - there's been nothing very much that's ever modified my opinion of them when I've seen what - what comes to South Africa, you know, just on the make.

A.H. But around about that time I joined the Progressive Party and that - that would never have occasioned any great split - it occasioned (?) a lot of discussion - but that wasn't an unusual thing for me to do. What did worry my father particularly was more my being involved in politics at all. He didn't want that because he had a very strong sense that politics was trouble, and his whole life had actually kept typical English - had kept out of - of trouble - and he didn't want anything to disturb the tenor of his life, and he knew from my mother's family that that - that families can be rent apart by political dissent, and anyway his instinct told him that that was not something that Tony should be involved in and it was going to get Tony into trouble one of these days - and so he had that feeling about it.

We had a lot of political discussion - I mean my father would veer (?) because since - since his dislike of Afrikaaners would occasionally make him evince liberal sentiments - I mean his (.....) at racism was such that I mean while - after he'd finished laying into the Afrikaaners he'd be talking about the bloody nose-picking Kaffirs, you know, and in that he was not unusual - I mean - I actually noticed on the English-speaking side of my family that the racism was, if anything, worse, you know - I mean their attitude to black people, the Natal part of the family - their attitude to black people was - was, if anything, worse - contemptuous, abusive - whereas I don't think that Marius' father, nationalist or not, would ever have spoken to a black person in the way that they did, or about them in that way.

So that was the beginning of the political involvement. And then - then there was a period - it was a very unhappy period for me - I moved from the printing factory and I - finally I got another job with the - you know, I had several jobs - I got a job as a clerk in the municipal library service - it was also very badly paid - it was a slightly better job than the one I'd had, but it wasn't much and it was completely futureless because I had almost no qualifications, you see, so I could have gone on like that forever - and for a couple of years I sort of started to drop - I dropped out of all political activity.

I had one long period out of work - I saw myself as some kind of a writer and I tried to write a novel. I was starting to get to know academics and - but most of them, the people I knew, were people - people in the arts, people in philosophy, people in literature and - but in some ways that made life harder because, you know, I'd be socialising with these people and then realising the difference between their life and mine, their expectations and mine, and that produced a funny kind of crisis - I mean I don't to this day, because I don't think one ever fully understands the whole mainsprings of one's actions in these matters - they, you know - in a certain sense they don't matter - I mean in the political sense they don't matter, although they're probably psychologically interesting.

But I think that the fact that I wasn't - I wasn't amounting to much, you know, as my mother's family would put it, gave me more and more of a sense of - of - of not belonging inside the society I was in....

END OF SIDE ONE.

A.H. And I'd got to know among the sort of group of Cape Intellectuals that I'd got to know, some of the younger people were Bohemian and held - held leftish views - and among them was a slightly older woman who was a lecturer in French, and Gillian was involved in the liberation struggle - and by that time Marius was too - and Gillian and I got friendly, and I remember one day I was talking to her about (.....) or some bloody thing like that....

J.F. About what?

A.H. About Bordelair (?) or stuff like that - and in the middle of it all she said : You know, Tony, you need some fresh air (Laugh) - she said : You need to come into District Six - you need to meet people, proper people - you need to get out of this hothouse atmosphere that you're in, going to little soirees on philosophy which only make you unhappy because you - you can't do it formally - you know, you need some fresh air - and I started going into District Six with Gillian and I started meeting in another way Coloured people who were involved in the liberation struggle - they would normally be people in what was then the Congress of Democrats - you know the history of all this - the history of the Congress Alliance and - and the changes from - you know all that.

They would have been - well, there would have been - among the white people would have been people who were in the Congress of Democrats and the Coloured people would have been in the Coloured Peoples Congress - and I became particularly friendly with one journalist who was in the Coloured Peoples Congress and who wrote short stories and stuff like that....

J.F. This was when you were still in your late teens?

A.H. No, well, it's moving into my early 20s now. I'm in my early '20s - and I think the decisive time came round about 1963, late 1963 - I'd got very attached to Gillian, although it was a never a romantic attachment - I mean we never slept together or anything like that - I mean I - she really was at that time in my life some sort of a spot of health - she had direction and I had none - she was a very troubled person, psychologically troubled, but I nonetheless thought that there was something about her - she had a kind of integrity - and well, the emergency had come, you know, and gone, you know, and I'd seen the emergency and I - I'd felt during the emergency - I'd begun to feel a very strong sense of sympathy with - with - with African people - I just had never translated it - I didn't translate it into action -

But round about 1963 they brought in the first - the first detention powers came in after the emergency - and round about that time - by then Gillian was living almost permanently in District Six. I remember going to one of her rooms - one of the rooms she stayed in and walking into the room and saying : Give me something to do. She was very responsible and quite canny, although Gillian was often accused afterwards of not being as responsible as she might have been - she said : You need to meet people in the movement first - there's a lot going on, you know, you've got to take it slowly, you know, don't go jump in with both your feet - and she introduced me to some other people and we started having political discussions, and my political life began to become serious then - in fact politics started coming to be very close to the centre of my life, because it was the one meaningful thing that there was in it really, you know, and I - I began being given things to do.

A.H. The A.N.C. was already banned - the Congress of Democrats was on the verge of being banned and was banned shortly after that. When my real political life began - began when I got involved with the national liberation movement but from that moment on was a life - it was a life of an illegal or semi illegal, since everything we did was either - had already become illegal or was semi legal - we would be hounded for it anyway.

And so I started working on a - virtually a one person contact basis, specially after Rivonia. Rivonia happened '64. Well, the movement was - was taking a real battering, I mean there was no two ways about it - I mean nobody could pretend that it wasn't. And I went on working, my political education growing - I was reading more, and I was reading with more direction now, and this went on - and then - it's funny, I often wonder if it was entirely coincidental - my life had firmed - it was beginning to get some purpose.

And I had a friend who was also kind of mixed up with all these academics and people I knew, but he was the political correspondent on the Cape Times, and one day he called me and he said : Look, there's a job going, do you want it - there's a reporter's job going - and he said, you know, he recommended me for the job - at that time the Cape Times had an editor who believed that you could pick up good reports off the street cheap, and he certainly got me cheap.

Once I'd started reporting of course I wanted to do political work, you know, but you can't start doing political work - you do crime and you do courts, but even there there was more of a system - the system was everywhere then (there) you know - in the court cases you - even the ordinary criminal cases you report it - and of course I was not reporting cases where people were being arrested for breaking their banning orders. Gillian had been banned.

Gillian's entire life was one of trying to avoid getting caught breaking her banning order. The clandestinity went on - and then - when was this - must have been - I think it was round about '65 I - I - I think I'm talking about '65 - I'm a bit vague about dates now - perhaps it doesn't matter too much. There were a wave of arrests in Cape Town. It was - I now recognise that was the end, the real end of a chapter - I mean this was the post Rivonia final bloody clean up, and they arrested everybody, and I reported on the arrests - they arrested Gillian, they arrested everybody - they arrested people I'd never heard of - they arrested Fred Carneson, they arrested Sarah Carneson, they arrested - well, I knew them - I knew the - I'd known the Carnesons for a long time - but other people who I only dimly knew of -

And the story broke when I was a night reporter - it's not the (?) part about the Afrikaans - but my best friend on the paper was - was the night news editor, who's an Afrikaaner nationalist, and he taught me all my journalism, and Afrikaans had become our language of intimacy, you know - it was another kind of strain - and that night when the arrests happened I heard him - the Mail phoned up and said : There's something breaking in your area, there's this name - and I heard the name and I said : Have they got so-and-so - have they got so-and-so - because I knew all the people, and Wessels said : It's all right, we've got someone here who knows all about the story - he said : Right, Tony, go and get it - and I got what I could that night and then I got more the next day, as they kept on picking up everybody - Alby Sachs, Stephanie Kemp went in - it just went on and on.

A.H. And finally what crystallised out of all these arrests was the - was the trial of Fred Carneson, and I covered that trial. It didn't help me much to see the whole picture, but I was getting - beginning to see a picture of how I'd been involved, what - what - what had been going on - I covered the trial - Gillian finally got released from detention - and then everybody either went to jail or - by that stage Marius was arrested, Marius went to jail for 12 years, Gillian left the country, and I was left in Cape Town with no contacts.

Gillian tried for a while to keep some sort of contact with me and occasionally I'd get - I'd get mail, you know, or something like that. The contact was very minimal. I found myself working by myself, which of course I tried to do. By that stage I had lots of contacts all over the place and I tried to keep going - set up groups, do things, talk to people - but I also began to realise that it was important for me to further my career that what - that whatever else happened politically this - there had been a massive bodyblow it - dealt against the movement, but I never for a single moment believed that it was going to be permanent.

You know, the - the - the establishment was having a - was - had never been so confident - I mean in the post Rivonia years there was an economic boom - John Vorster followed Verwoed's assassination - all sorts of things happened. I suppose if ever there was a time when the enemy looked impregnable that must have been the time, but you know, frankly I never believed that. I never believed that they could kill the movement, and little signs started emerging - sometimes a pamphlet here - little things.

Well, I left the Cape Times and I joined the Rand Daily Mail - that was in 1967...

J.F. You went to Jo'burg?

A.H. Ja, that's right - and I started - by that stage I was doing all sorts of things - I mean I was writing leaders - I was Laurie (?) Gander's (?) bright boy - I was earning a lot of money - I was earning much better money than I'd ever earned before, but I knew it couldn't go on like that. In 1969 I left South Africa and came to - to England with two objects in view - one was to get a job on a Fleet Street newspaper for a year because that should have - at that time that was one way you added to your qualifications - you made yourself a much more saleable product when you came back - and the other was to deepen my contacts with the movement, and I don't think I was in London 24 hours before I'd set up the first links.

I came back to South Africa in - at the end of 1969, rejoined the Mail and got appoint - made their political reporter. By then I was deeply involved in clandestine work, and all the clandestine work I did during that period, or everything they could pin on me, was what I went to jail for in 1976 - and that's the story.

J.F. I've got a lot of questions - to take it back to when you first said that your family felt that you didn't amount to anything, do you think you had a sense of class analysis of and view of life because of that - do you think not having gone to university and kind of taken a more typical white, or even gone into business and made money kind of thing, that dealing with those kinds of whites gave you some kind of - shaped you politically?

A.H. It must have done, I suppose - I'd be very hard put to say how. I don't actually think, you know - I know other people claim insights into what their first political commitment was, and certainly people have asked me that, but I can't put my finger on any one thing. I mean it must have been the case that that did shape my attitudes. I think that - I think that working in the printing factory was some kind of a factor - I think it was a factor that I wasn't, as you say, I wasn't - I wasn't making it and I wasn't - I mean I had more potential - I had potential to be more than a - than a clerk.

The fact that my father was regarded by a large part of our family as a failure, that I felt that they despised him for that, because they were all - on my mother's side (?) were all successful thises or successful thats - I think that must have been a factor. But the first contacts with the national liberation movement - the - after that happened that was the real factor, because from then on everything else that was going on could get strengthened and - and - and - and put together, you know.

J.F. Let me ask about that - again obviously anything that you're not going to say you don't say, but I'm interested in the workings as much as illuminating this - the commitment part of it - although I do think it is important that somebody reading it not think that it's bravado, that there is a content to the work, so I might ask you to get more specific about the kind of idea - let me just say starting with joining the Progressive Party, can you let me know about your relationship with black people or with - you talked about the Coloureds in District Six - when you joined the Progressive Party did you - was that kind of very short term - did you think that was the answer at any stage or was it just a.....

A.H. I don't know - I don't know if I ever really managed to convince myself that that was the answer. It seemed to me to be something legal that one could do. I was looking for answers and that was an answer I tried, and it didn't last very long, and it certainly - I mean it was never the case that that - during the short time that I had to do with the Progressive Party ever came - as a result of that ever came into contact with - came into contact with black people. That started to happen afterwards when I dropped - when I moved out of that - that was when it started to happen, and that was formative - I mean that clearly was - that was certainly formative - contacts with - contacts with ordinary black workers - contacts with the reality of their lives.

That - that goes to work on you, I think, in ways that it's very difficult to be explicit about, because when something is really doing that work, you know, at subliminal levels of course the - the potency of it depends on your not being able to say - you're not going to be conscious of what's really happening - I mean I happen to believe that that's true of most things, that the things that are really being formative in our lives of course are not the ones we're going to be aware of at the time.

Now I - because looking back at it now I'm reconstructing it, you know.

J.F. But to look back on it - when you said you were given things to do - first of all can you say anything about what you mean by that, and did it involve black people - was that - did you actually work with black people or Coloured....

A.H. During that first period?

J.F. Ja - for you joining the movement did it have anything to do with connecting with blacks?

A.H. As a matter of fact, no - well, the moment I got involved I got put on - I was - I was working on a - a fairly - I had to accept a certain kind of discipline, and part of the discipline was that I was to stop going into District Six too much. I stopped seeing certain people - actually meant that I had to deprive myself of certain things that from a psychological point of view might have been important to me, and I suppose it was a kind of test of whether - because that was true for a lot of us - I mean somebody who is spending his time in and out of District Six and has loads of black friends and - and is at open functions such as there were still of the movement, well, he's not going to last very long.

And I still think it's miraculous that I survived that period - that I didn't get arrested with the rest of them. I think that the reason for it was that the police knew about me but they didn't have enough on me, and it wasn't worth their while to pick me up at that stage. Afterwards one of my interrogators told me : Yes, we knew about that time but we just thought we'd give you enough rope and you'd hang yourself - and I think he's probably right that they knew, because I - I remember quite distinctly when I was covering one of these trials, a political trial, there was an intermission, and I was sitting on a bench outside the court and there were two security policemen sitting next to me, and as I got up and walked away I heard one say to the other (.....) - that means that newsman's one of them - funny, I never even felt fear.

I would later on feel very frightened all the time, but at that time I didn't, you know - I - I thought - in any case I was quite young, you know, and you - the younger you are the more indestructible you think you are, you know - you don't think a car's ever going to come and knock you down - so ja - so to answer the first question, one of the things that - when I said to you that when my real political life began, clandestinity began, and one of the things that did in the nature of the case was to deprive me of contacts with - with people, you know, whom it might have somehow been sustaining to have - helpful, right - had to do without it now.

Had to do without it - I mean there had to be enough commitment now for you to carry on. Of course it was done in my own interests - I mean the - the - the movement was trying to protect me, and not just my usefulness, me, and I - you know, I was also - at that time I was very cautious about what I was asked to do and what not, and I wanted to know a lot of things because I - in those kind of situations you don't have - you know, you want to keep control of your life.

And I must say that one of the things that impressed me was that whoever I had to deal with was absolutely scrupulous in making it clear to me as far as it could be what I was doing, so that I should never feel that there were consequences of my action over which I had no control - I should never feel I was being used. I'm always incensed when people talk about the movement and make all sorts of propaganda about how it's controlled by a few communists in Moscow or something like that, because in fact people were absolutely scrupulous about that and - and it's a kind of wisdom, you see, because if you don't care about the person in that sense, his moral - his moral being - well, ultimately of course you don't care about him if you don't care about that, and ultimately your movement will then consist of - will degenerate into a set of power plays and - and you'll criminalise yourself if you - if you become illegal and -

A.H. So - but I had to - I had to - I found that, you know, I had to deprive myself of - of - of lots of things in that way, in the way of things that would have been sustaining....

J.F. Like contact with black people?

A.H. Well, like - like - like that kind of contact with black people anyway, you know - going to their houses and sitting and talking politics, as we used to do before - I mean I'd go and sit at Howard's place and we'd talk politics until midnight - and then I'd come back through these dangerous violent streets and he'd send one movement guy to - to guide me back - I remember Braemar (?) used to - used to see me all the way home so I'd be safe, you know, get back safely - and at that time of course the movement was - the Coloured Peoples Congress was strong in District Six, and if I was seen with a member of it that was O.K., - people would get out of the street for me, whereas before if I was going to a meeting the gangs would shoulder me off the - off the pavement - or when I came back - and then afterwards they got to know ja, that, you know, he's one of the politicians.

That all had to stop once I really became one of the politicians - and of course what I did at that time was very low lever - I mean it was very lowly stuff so it wasn't worth it, but it did require the discipline now to - to try to live a bit without the props - that's what I'm trying to say. One can't - it's one of the difficulties, I suppose, with the kind of thing you trying to do, is that one can personalise this kind of thing in a way that distorts it.

These commitments grow in - in sort of ways which I'm sure, you know, it's going to be a sense of (.....) before psycho-analysis or whatever it is gets to understand what - what motivates us at that level - there is a sense in which they have to become kind of - kind of transpersonal - more important than the kind of lift that I would have got by continued contact with my black friends in District Six, if I wanted - if I really - if I was really serious about wanting to end the poverty and injustice under which they lived then I would have to do without something, and the thing I would have to do without for the time being was that kind of - that kind of sustaining conflict (?)

J.F. And again you said given things to do - if we can get in, especially '69 to '75, some things did come out at the trial - lots came out so we can talk a bit more concretely, I hope - when you say given things to do do you mean you were just kind of more logistics and messages or do you.....

A.H. What's - what - what period are we talking....

J.F. When you first got recruited between - from first getting recruited to when everyone got bust and you went overseas.

A.H. It was - ja, it was much that, logistics and messages. We were - some of the things I was doing would not have been illegal, generally speaking - one of the things we were trying to do was to keep track of all the number of people that were in jail, because you know, one had to try to hold some sort of central organisation together at least so that one - we could, so to speak, look after our own.

- A.H. Oh, yes, and I - and that - you know, taking messages, being a postbox for the movement, because I would have been - you know, I wasn't banned, which meant that I could move more freely than some of the others, and stuff like that, but I don't think I want to go too much into that.
- J.F. And when you mentioned all these people who were arrested like the Fred Carnesons, did you know the black people who were arrested at that time?
- A.H. At that time I don't think - I can't remember what blacks were arrested. I think it was mostly a white group because it was - it was - it - it was ex-Congress of Democrat people.
- J.F. And in covering it, when you said that that security policeman said (.....) did you think people in any way suspected you - did that worry you - you said you felt indestructible, but were there people who kind of - did you have to kind of cover up your point of view in the newsroom before '69 before you came back, or were you not that involved so that you just - people - did people know you were left?
- A.H. Ja, I think people knew I was left - I didn't think there was any point in concealing that - I mean some of the stuff that I was writing and trying to get into the paper would have made that clear enough.
- J.F. And then you went overseas and the year - is Holiday with one l or two ls?
- A.H. One l.
- J.F. When you went over and you made contact with the movement what was that - was it a full year that you spent in Britain?
- A.H. Ja.
- J.F. Who did you work for?
- A.H. The London Times.
- J.F. And was that quite intensive or was it just kind of giving you some direction when you went back or - that year in London.....
- A.H. It was very int..... hard to say..... it was - let me just say that because I'd taken the decision to - not to let the contacts slide, that in itself meant that my commitment had deepened - the movement could make more demands on me now, and they did.

END OF SIDE TWO.

J.F. I guess what I had said before I want to make sure that the element of the non-racial experiences in this - so I'm not as interested in what you did or exposing anything that shouldn't be exposed as much as trying to understand what it means to be involved, how you perceived what you were doing and how it related to the national question.

A.H. O.K. - well, O.K., I can see that - I can see that and perhaps, ja. Well, remember that from well, '68, '69 onwards I mean my level of political sophistication - you know, my political education had, you know, had gone some distance - I mean as a working journalist I was actively involved in editorialising about, writing articles about, observing the political scene - I was getting to know more and more politicians. There's a particularly intimate way in which a political journalist gets to know about politics - he - he's continually trying to see it from the inside - he's trying to see what makes it work, or what are the nuts and bolts, so my thinking about the possibility of - of non-racialism had, I hope, sharpened - it had become, I hope, more rigorous, less subjective, and it was becoming very clear by '69, you know, from the '69, '70, that what I'd always felt - you know, when I said to you that the - that I didn't believe that they could destroy the movement, and that was becoming more and more confirmed by the objective situations - the objective conditions which were beginning slowly bit by bit to surface on the sub-continent.

For example, the boom had issued in an inflation problem - everyone at the end of the late '60s, early '70s, was talking about inflation - was real worry about that and was connected with tensions which were beginning to show up within the whole parliamentary system itself - the sorts of criticisms that were being levelled by the official spokesmen of the opposition was starting to make sense in terms of all sorts of other things one could sense happening at - at - at various levels.

Something had gone wrong with Nationalist Party thinking on the national question. It was as though even then you could sense that there was something that was running out of steam - and what might have been intuitions before say, let's say five years previously, that apartheid was bad for the country, not just in terms of it - of being a cruel system but that it was un - that it was in fact an unworkable system which carried within itself the seeds of its own destruction, was something you could start seeing if you were reporting on and trying to observe white politics.

And when I came back in 1970 that was becoming clearer and clearer, clearer, clearer. When I became political reporter I could of course, because it was - it was excellent cover - that meant that I could have at least a kind of a quasi-official contact with - with black people, black groups - I mean among other things I would - the rise of BC was - was coming on the scene, and I was reporting on that - I was meeting people - I was working with black journalists - that was important.

But, you know, the - I'd say that the - my perception of the national issue had undergone a qualitative change by then - I was, so to speak, working in it - I mean my working life was - as a journalist was - was showing up things that really confirmed for me the purpose of my life as a clandestine operative.

A.H. I mean I could see that the system was in trouble, that - that - that the nationalists own sense that they had an answer to the national question was beginning to weaken, and one of the signs was that - was that in 1968 or '69 I was out of the country - the first of the splits occurred, the HNP broke away. When I came back there was a general election in 1970 - I covered that election. That election was - it was certainly the most violent I'd ever covered - I mean we've seen - you know, I mean there was lots more fighting at meetings - there was lots of sort of ferocity in the whole business.

We were all anxiously watching the Afrikaans press because the Afrikaans dailies were trumpeting talks about change - this was the Vorster language of change and it had produced a reaction - those things to me were symptoms of far more important conflicts at the very - at the very base of the matter, because the main conflict in South Africa is not about - I mean the main content of the content is not the - is not the faction fighting between the whites but - but between - but between the system and those who are repressed by the system - but nonetheless it seemed to me that these things were symptomatic of it -

And one of my jobs as political reporter - in fact I was told to make - I was instructed to specialise in it - was to keep track of what was happening in the Afrikaaner politico-cultural establishment.

J.F. Instructed by the movement?

A.H. No, no....

J.F. by your....

A.H. No, by - by my - my - my - by my - by my newspaper - that was one of my jobs, and I mean I'd spent a hell of a lot - if you go back over the Mail - I don't even have all those clippings now - you'll see that there's story after story covering this or that by-election, (.....) was one very important one in 1972 - keeping track of what Andries (.....) was saying, cultivating Jaap Marais - seeing how the far right thought - trying to understand what at that level had gone vastly wrong - and my perception of what was more broadly wrong objectively, this fissure inside the system itself were being confirmed at that level, so I - I'm hoping that that's a kind of answer to your question - I mean in the sense that - that it was - I earned my money by being a political observer, and I was expected to observe objectively, and objectivity for me as a journalist it would have been very important - I mean I've never in my life slanted a news story or - it wasn't necessary to - to - to slant news stories - what you had to do was to look and look hard and then you would actually start seeing the real face of apartheid and not only its strengths but its weaknesses - its appalling weakness, and you could feel there's a fissure here - there's some coherence that's lacking, something's wrong.

And then of course as the - the movement's own restructuring process grew - I was beginning to relate to two things slowly, slowly, because in a situation like the one at home a revolutionary - where a revolutionary process really is undergoing, it is a very slow process simply because it's a very deep-going process and it comes, as it were, from the wellsprings of the life of the society - it's a natural process.

A.H. And my sense that that process was indeed what was happening was only confirmed by the slowness of the way things happened but - because when you looked at the real symptoms, and you looked inside Afrikaanerdom itself, you could see the uncertainty there, scarcely recognised by even the people who - who spoke about it. There was all sorts of stuff in the late '60s, early '70s about an identity crisis among Afrikaaners - everyone went on trying to discover their national identity - hadn't the whole story been that we'd found our national identity, or how could there be any question about it, and yet here political pundits were going on, as it were, conducting a kind of political self-psycho-analysis, was very strange, and what it in fact argued was a deepseated uncertainty - a real perception that something was wrong - that - that - that's what I mean -

And of course by then I was, you know - I mean I was - I was speaking and thinking as much Afrikaans as I was speaking English, and my own fondness for the language - you know, my own sense of it's an incredibly beautiful language, and that made it more so and I - I found it challenging to try to get myself accepted by the far right as a person, and I never actually - I never pretended with them. Usually at that level of politics people are going to recognise a journalist they think they can use.

Then they find they can't use the journalist and they think : Oh, well, there must be a better way - the less they able to use the journalist the harder they try to use him because his market value's gone up, so to speak - and I know I'm sure that Jaap Marais and people thought that they could use me, but Marais was also, you know I mean Jaap Marais' mad but he's very intelligent, very bright - and from just studying those people I began to feel my own sense of - of the understanding of what was going on - and the two things, my clandestine work and my - my legal work were starting to feed into one another.

I'll give you one example - I don't want to go - there was a publicity campaign - the A.N.C. ran a publicity campaign, and I'd been helping it clandestinely - I was also able to report on it legally...

J.F. What do you mean publicity campaign?

A.H. We had pamphlet bombs (?) in various centres that went off....

J.F. With what kind of message?

A.H. They would scatter pamphlets - I forget what the first ones were - there was one pamphlet which said - you mustn't quote (?) it because I might get the wrong pamphlet - there was one pamphlet, for example, which had a headline on it which said the A.N.C. says - there was one called Sons and Daughters of Africa, that's right, which was a general call to the people, a general sort of revolutionary call, and these things were being mailed en masse, but the pamphlet bombs were what was advertising that they were going on - they were going into the township en masse - little journals were starting to be produced, including my own, and I could see - I could see the real fear that the authorities had of these actions, and the surest sign of it was that unless it was very dramatic they kept quiet about it - it's always a sign.

J.F. So you mean you knew things that had happened that they didn't let out?

A.H. Or that they didn't respond to - I mean - but then occasionally I mean they would and - you see, the Transvaaler had a page one headline - one of the first campaigns the Transvaaler gave us most publicity - they had a page one headline with a - with a - which had reproduced the pamphlet (Laugh) and - and there it was for anyone to read - I remember the headline said (.....) - A.N.C. sticks its head up again.

So you see there was this - this process of analysis and - and of course my own - the two things which slowly feed into one another - I think that I was becoming a better clandestine operator because I understood more of the enemy's thinking. I think that because I was a clandestine operative the impetus to understand was greater.

You know, journalists often get bored with their work - I mean I don't have to tell you about that - I mean political journalists, certainly white political journalists in South Africa are no - are often no example to anybody. In my experience some of them are very fine journalists, but a lot of them at that time, particularly the people who covered parliament, were just a lot of lazy bums, they really were. If you'd given them a job preparing the cooking page, providing they were paid the same salary they'd have been as happy.

They were frankly bored, arrogant and not very intelligent observers of what was going on around them - but I found that I was saved from that kind of boredom - oh, you know, you hear the same speech over and over and over again - but because I was under a driving necessity to understand each move in the game as it was being played, you know, because I was a player in the game, not just an observer in it, but my observations were sharpened because of that - I don't think it did anything to make me less objective about the national question - I think it made me more so.

When we talk about the early years - I mean when I talk to you about my childhood and things like that we did talk - I did talk quite a lot about the emotions I felt - I don't say that I no longer felt those emotions, but I think that the kind of work that I was doing, the responsibilities I had compelled me to take a - you know, to use my intellect to try to understand that - and compel me to try to think objectively about the situation - I think that's what I'm trying to say, and that was the sort of input, the way the two things fed one another.

I was expected to be objective as a journalist, but in a certain sense the kind of objectivity for which my editors praised me afterwards - I mean one (.....) wrote a whole thing about me in the Cape Times saying, you know, there was never any doubt that Tony had a - a detachment and an objectivity which was the envy of his colleagues - I know I had that reputation, but really it had less to do with me as a person than it had to do with me as part of the - the living process that was the movement - I don't think I would have had that kind of objectivity about the national struggle unless I'd been involved in it.

J.F. And when you said - I don't want to dwell on this because I - one of the things I'm worried about in our talking is it is getting quite analytical and I think, as I said, the thing that is especially - one of the many things you have to offer is a kind of transcending that detachment, but just to ask one quick thing - all this is within a context of did you - do you believe and did you believe in the objectivity of the liberal press, the freedom of the press, the kind of stuff that the South African government loves to show with the (.....) in Africa and we're not like a one party press etc. - are you talking about that kind of objectivity?

A.H. No, I'm not talking about that - I'm much more talking about the way in which one looks at a political situation - I'm not talking now about whether I thought that the Rand Daily Mail's coverage of say, this or that political event, that the Rand Daily Mail did or didn't achieve - I mean sometimes I think the Mail achieved very high standards, given the circumstances, and sometimes I think it fell below - below its - its potential - the point I'm trying to make is that - that if we're talking about understanding of the national question one's talking about the evolution of a person and his understanding - the point I'm trying to make is that being involved in the way that I was tended to compel me to take objective attitudes, not the reverse, and - because I realised that we couldn't afford subjectivity.

J.F. Who wouldn't?

A.H. The movement couldn't afford subjectivity.

J.F. Why - what do you mean by that?

A.H. Well, because we would then misperceive the situation and misunderstand it and miss opportunities or make mistakes or mislead our people or make wrong policy decisions.

J.F. I'm using the phrase national question but I'm talking about non-racialism - that aspect of it, so maybe we can talk about that, and again my quest for the anecdotal and a bit more of the kind of, I guess, emotion behind it - what was it like when you came back into South Africa - you were gone for what, '69 - '68, '69?

A.H. '69 - most of '69 - I came back just at the end of '69, Christmas time, I think.

J.F. That was right when Steve Biko led the walkout from NUSAS - that was when if BC had a heyday that was it - how did it feel to you - not only had this movement received a battering from the system, but now the very blacks that you were supposed to be struggling for - with and also for to a certain extent, were saying get out, black man's on his own - how did that feel, or was that a factor to you - did that come - hit you right away?

A.H. Oh, it did - it did and - but what I'm trying to say to you is that - that first of all it wasn't a new story, not for us (Phone) - after all, the first really active attempts to promote a black cultural consciousness - a black assertiveness - go back the the formation of the A.N.C. Youth League. What was interesting about this phenomenon, which was these were young people, and because of the crisis period we had in fact been deprived of the A.N.C. as an educating factor, and I knew numbers of them - I mean I was reporting on the - you know, remember this was all the time of black theology - it was the time of people like Barney Pitso Mosimole was starting to come up - they came up through that movement - it was the time of SASO - the SASO breakaway and so forth.

And I was in fact expelled from a meeting - it was held out at Hamenskraal - it was a SASO meeting, as far as I remember it, and I was expelled because my newspaper used the term non-white instead of the term black - and in fact a whole crisis had been going on within the - over a 48 hour period - I had been trying to persuade - the editor was - what had happened - Ray Lowe (?) the editor was away, or had gone away for that day, the day I was expelled, and the day before he had said he was not going -

A.H. SASO had written a letter complaining about the use of the term non-white in the paper - we had changed a black reporter's copy who'd been covering it and changed everything - where he'd said black we'd said non-white....

J.F. You - did you change it?

A.H. No, no, no, the newspaper - the sub-editors had changed it - so the next morning as political reporter I was sent out to Hamenskraal to go on reporting this conference, you see, so a double crisis ensues - the blacks think now this is the white boss who's come to - to tell the black reporters what to do, which wasn't at all the case - it was my good right to come and - I wanted to write a backgrounder on it - at the same time I thought that we ought to change the nomenclature - I thought it was time for a change, and I wrote a long memo to Alistair Sparkes about it.

I went away from the conference, wrote this memo, and found myself being opposed by the guy who was political correspondent. The next day I went back to the conference and was expelled from the conference because they were - the newspaper was wavering. I came back, went on with the fight and Alistair changed the policy of the paper that afternoon - the next morning - and showed me the editorial he proposed to run the next morning when the Rand Daily Mail led the pack - the Rand Daily Mail had been the first newspaper to use the term African instead of native, which was the usual term that they used, so the Rand Daily Mail started referring to people as black, and I actually pride myself that I helped to persuade them to do it, and I did it without - with opposition from a white colleague - against the opposition of a white colleague - and without any feeling at all that these black people were going to be grateful to me - they wouldn't even know it - and B, that they would have any feeling that they should be grateful, because after all they were simply asserting their rights.

And so I found - I mean I found that really heartening and it made me realise that, ja, there's a process of ferment going on here and we are going to have to take policy on this - we are going to have to understand it - let me just say something to you at this point - I mean you've - I know that you don't - that your material wants to emphasise the feeling quality of this period and in me (?) but let me just say this to you about it, because there was - this is an illustration of precisely what I'm trying to say to you - when I -

When I use my intellect to think of something - to think about something - I don't - I don't use this opposition where I think of the things of the intellect as cold and the things of the heart as warm, and passions are involved there, and for me that was another issue where there was a passionate need to understand, because here we really could not afford to get it wrong - 1976 proved that to us - the movement could not afford to get the BC movement wrong - we had to understand it because we had to start trying, as little able as we were, to give it direction - to use our own organisational structures to put an input into the debates these people were having, because I watched these debates and they were beginning to look to me very much very similar to the kind of debates which were part of the history I knew better - the debates around about 1959, 1960, which had culminated in the - in the split with the P.A.C.

And so while on the one hand I recognised that this - that the rise of BC was a - a vitally important and positive phenomena, and that was my - my - my predominant attitude towards it - I also felt that the movement's attitude towards it had to one of critical sympathy, because I could sense in some of this the possibility of real mistakes on their side, and I felt very strongly that we had a responsibility to these people - they were young people, after all -

A.H. Young students, not the workers - without those special constraints upon - so that there was a passionate need to understand them - and - and a lot of time was spent, you know, particularly with my black colleagues, with particularly with guys like - who now - people I don't think you even know - people like Ike Segolo, people like that - people who aren't over here now - I mean Ike Segolo's probably still in South Africa - a few of my friends among the black reporters, a lot of time was spent sort of chewing this over, me trying to get a feel of it -

Remember, you now trying to get a feel of a national - a national movement which is largely being conducted in a language not your own - the flavour isn't coming across to you - you need - but you need that flavour because you are having to - you are having to formulate ideas, and these ideas of mine were going to be part of a sort of input into the movement's thinking, because there were other people in the same situation as myself who I didn't know about - other clandestine operatives and the people outside the country watching this phenomena very closely - it was a massively important phenomena.

J.F. And how would you have answered if a young black in that - in the early '70s had said : How can you as a white say you (.....) observe our national liberation struggle in the context of BC and feed it out of the country - what right does a white have to think he can look at it and help formulate policy?

A.H. We were having arguments exactly like that, you know I mean, because I would argue - I mean I wouldn't tell people what I was doing clandestinely, but I mean I remember having one argument with who was it - he's still there too - I remember one argument where we were - oh, yes, he was - this guy had been a theology student from Alice (?) and in fact I remember where the argument took place - it took place in the house Cosmos Desmond was staying in at that time - who was this guy - he was a very nice guy - I don't think he went away - he's probably AZAPO now or something like that - but we were talking about - first of all I said : You talk about black thology, you talk about black politics, what - in what sense do you mean it - and he said : In the sense that there are things going on here, white man, that you can't understand, you know - and I said to him then : If it's the sense I think you mean then you might as well talk about black arithmetic, and what you saying is dangerous and subjective - if you think that you're going to get it wrong.....

END OF SIDE ONE.

A.H. it's important to me - it's always been important to me that politics is something that can be objectively understood, and I - I think that that's an absolutely critical that - that there can be a science of politics, that there can be a science of historical development - and by that time it had - you know, to me that - that was the critical question - if we could win - if we could - if we were to establish a non-racial South Africa, given the forces ranged against us, the real weapon we had - we had to have was our understanding - this thing had to be objectively understandable.

- A.H. And that was why I say it was a - it was a passionate matter with me. I still get passionate about it when people say to me that everything is tinged with subjectivity, and politics more than anything else.
- J.F. What were you saying, there may as well be a black arithmetic?
- A.H. Well, because arithmetic, ordinary arithmetic, as far as I understand it, is something that can be understood by people whether they Chinese, whether they green, white - it would be silly to talk about a - a - a Eurocentric arithmetic. Well, I think that there's a sense in which it's silly to talk about black theology if you once thought that theology was an - and I think that there's a sense where if you talk about black politics, black political thinking, and you say that this is - this phenomena that's growing up around us, this national phenomena is something which will be completely opaque (?) to somebody who isn't black - then I think that - that - that you are beginning to collapse into a dangerous form of - of - of - of subject - of - of subjectivism - and because I care about the struggle it was important to me that - that - that the whole issue shouldn't be decided that way.
- J.F. But did you get much sympathy from that point of view in the early '70s - wasn't it such a strong.....
- A.H. No, I would - I would imagine that I probably - I probably didn't, but then of course you know, the people that I would have been interested in talking to would not have been the people in a sense who would give me - have given me that sympathy, because where you going to learn about the phenomena from is precisely from the people who (.....) for it, you know, and a lot of them were people where there was a certain amount of mutual affection, you know, liked each other, you know, and all - and we enjoyed sitting there insulting one another and - and a good feeling behind some of it because both of us without maybe the black guy acknowledging it having a sense that this reawakening among blacks militancy and so forth, this beginnings of a new confidence, also held out the possibility that people could be confident enough to start liking one another again - you know, that kind of liking that you can have with somebody where there's great political difference between you -
- You see, these were never - as I could see it they were never antagonistic contradictions - this wasn't like talking to a white racist or a - a neo-Nazi or something like that - the discussions were passionate, but I often felt great liking for these people, and of course the kind of people I was seeing and talking to wouldn't have - I wouldn't have expected much agreement - in one sense the - the object of the exercise would have been lost if there had been.
- J.F. What did you then feed into the movement, in a general sense of - what was the year you got thrown out of Hamenskraal and the non-white, black - is that?
- A.H. Oh, Christ, I - I ca - it must have been - oh, God - I just don't remember it - it - it's got to have happened somewhere between - I think it's probably - it's somewhere between '70 and '73, but I'm not - I'm really not sure - I wouldn't like to.....
- J.F. I'd better write Alistair Sparkes or something (?)
- A.H. There's a story about it somewhere on the Mail's files, and I - I remember writing a story about it and I wrote then about what it felt like I mean being ostracised by - by - by these black - by these black students, some of whom are now in the A.N.C.

A.H. But at that time they - I - you know - and of course it to a certain extent painful (?) - no-one likes being ostracised, but of course I - I went away saying : Well, that's - that's how they have to feel every day of their lives in a certain sense, and here a minority in their own country is practicing this ostracism on them, so it's no point in my feeling bad about it.

J.F. And what did you take - that's what you took away personally - what about politically, what did you feed back into the movement - what kind of advice did you think that A.N.C. could learn from it in order to make its struggle more powerful?

A.H. Well, I thought....

J.F. And relevant.

A.H. I thought, and I mean I think that - you see, when I say I thought I mean and I don't want to make it sound as though I said I think X and that went into the movement's - I thought what the movement ultimately started coming out and saying was that it was quite clear that the movement could have nothing to do with crude anti-whitism first of all - we were - that had to be clear from the start because we were a national liberation movement with a broad set of principles embedded in the Freedom Charter, and it was quite clear that we had to - the Freedom Charter says that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, and we couldn't move away from that.

I thought on the other hand that the kind of - particularly the kind of cultural awakening, the - and the sense of assertiveness that that was part of that - of that period was important and should be an input into the movement's - into the movement's growth and restructuring, and indeed it proved - it proved to be so in '76, because hundreds of those young people crossed the borders and are now in Umkhonto we Sizwe.

J.F. Did you ever have a conversation with anyone who since joined the A.N.C. about those days - in my quest for anecdotes or kind of personal - do you ever remember when you said a lot of those people you would have argued with would have come into the A.N.C.

A.H. I've never actually met somebody that I had that kind of discussion with, not me personally - but I mean I know people who were around - you know, I've subsequently met people who were around, black people who were around at that period who it turned out were - were doing the same thing I was - I mean that's happened plenty of times - I mean I wasn't all alone - I mean there - I can't be specific about it - I mean there is a very odd story about one black guy who was around Johannesburg at that time who had serious thoughts about recruiting me, you know - I don't even know who he was, but I know there was such a person because I got told the story afterwards by somebody else who was in a position to know, you know.

But no - no - because I think that some of the people are - are - are either still at home, you know, or - or been scattered by events and so forth.....

J.F. I don't want any names - I'm just saying did you ever have a conversation with a black person about what it was like in those days, whether it was a black person who was then BC who remembered arguing with you or - or remember dealing with you or remembered being on your side and seeing how you were having a bit of rough - and....

- A.H. Oh, I know what you - ja, I - I see that, you know, and feeling a certain kind of sympathy for me, you know - not personally, no, no - I mean the - the - the black people that I've - that I've met subsequently and I mean I - they were people I knew - I knew around anyway but they - the ones who I've met say, here in London who were around in Johannesburg in the - in the 1970s, you know, I'd see them in the office - they'd come into the office occasionally, but they were kind of peripheral.
- J.F. Maybe I can ask you about just working from '69 to - when were you arrested, '75?
- A.H. '76.
- J.F. '76 - just in terms of what it was like to be working and what - again not the specifics that would jeopardise in any way but just generally what you were doing and what it felt like and how you related to black and white people and people - did it mean that you just had a few contacts in the underground structures and you - none of them were black?
- A.H. No, I had - I had - some - some of the people - I worked with whites and blacks - some of them turned out to be absolutely solid and trustworthy and some of them turned out not to be, and I don't actually think that at that level I don't think I would want to say that there it was - I mean it's always a background that tells, but there I wouldn't like to go and say : Well, because X turned himself into a state witness that had anything to do with his cultural background.
- I mean I had two people testify against me in court who I'd worked with - one of them was white and one of them was black. If you want to know how I felt about that experience it's always painful to be betrayed by people, to be - to be the recipient of treachery is painful and - and upsetting - but it's not nearly as bad as being the person who's doing it - I mean those - I got a six year sentence - those people gave themselves a life sentence - nothing will ever be done to them - just be left there - pieces of flotsam and jetsom to float around.
- I mean quite frankly I think that somebody who does what they did in a court against a comrade might as well go and shoot himself because he's really committed a kind of moral suicide already - nothing can be done about that - it's a kind of moral tragedy.
- J.F. You know in my book Terror Lakota talks about - just mentions that - did you see it - have you seen the book yet?
- A.H. I've seen it - I - I haven't read it.
- J.F. There's a quote from Terror saying how he moved from BC and one of his kind of really key points in his history was that you were tried when they were picked up and that he heard that Harry (.....) testified against you and how that really made him think about non-racialism.
- A.H. That's interesting - that's very interesting, but I mean it - it seemed to me so evident both that - and symbolic really - that it worked like that and - and some kind of a lesson that - that - that - that treachery isn't the monopoly of any cultural group or any race and so forth - there - people are made -

A.H. The world is made up of - of people who have various mixtures of good and evil, various mixtures of the virtues, and every so often you find someone who's got none at all. I don't want to sit in any kind of - you know, there's no point in my now getting philosophical about that - I mean it seems to me to just be a fact of life, and it - it - it would be simply - it would just be simply inverse racism for me to say that - that the white guy who gave evidence against me did it because he was white in some sense - he didn't - I - I mean I've got my own theories about why he did it or what - what - what there was in his personality that flawed it so that when he was tested in that way he failed the test.

But I don't - you know, I don't - don't think that - that - you know, I don't think I want to go into that - I think the real lesson of it is that - that - that when it comes to - to - to - to those qualities they are human qualities and human failings, and everybody - it certainly - it's certainly not something that - that's racially (?) determined - I doubt whether it's even culturally determined.

J.F. Maybe I'd better backtrack because I think I'm - if we start with the trial and what came out and maybe I could ask some things from that - when were you arrested?

A.H. I was arrested I think it was on July - it was on the last...

J.F. Generally - July?

A.H. Ja, July, August....

J.F. '76?

A.H.'76, so the Soweto thing had - had blown up already - I mean I was arrested, as it were, between Soweto One and Soweto Two.

J.F. And did it come as a huge surprise - had you been tailed and had you felt that you'd be captured - time was coming up?

A.H. Not at that time, no - I'd had so many scares - you know, I'd been - it's perhaps some of the point of my saying to you that, you know, the important part of my political life for all those years had been the life of an illegal - there's a certain wear and tear on your vigilance when you've had this number of scares, you know - I'd had times when I knew the police were interested in me - I knew very well - I sometimes knew because I was hearing it from the police - they'd have one informer in one place and the other informer they'd have in another place, but the informer they had in place B couldn't keep his mouth shut so he'd tell me about it, you know, (Laugh) that sort of thing.

I'd - I'd notice when I was being followed in Johannesburg - I expected to be followed - and I mean when you've lived for a long, long time with being very, very frightened all the time, you know, and the stresses of that I mean that was certainly - I was thinking that only the other day - well, I had an example of it - I was in the office to see somebody and I ran into Wally Sorati - it was the first time I've seen Wally since I was living in Johannesburg - do you know that I can't remember his face, and the reason for it simply was that a lot of things - the tension just made me blot out things - I mean there are whole areas of that thing that I simply can't remember about.

A.H. When the police were interrogating me I mean they could have pulled my fingernails out and there were some things I couldn't have told them because I had forgotten them. When they took me to one of the - one of the - the place that I was using as a kind of safe house - I couldn't identify what floor of the building it was on - I'd been going there for years, but the place was so associated in my mind with anxiety and sometimes sheer terror that - that I just blotted it out - I never wanted to set foot in the place again - it was actually a physical effort for me to walk up the stairs - it was horrible.

And I don't think anyone who hasn't lived with that kind of thing can appreciate what, for a normal, reasonably sensible human being, which I hope I am, what that does - what the psychological stresses of that do - I mean it - it - it - it's the most horrible bloody way of living and - and nobody should have to live like that, and I - I actually found the experience - the stresses of being an illegal in some senses worse than the stresses of being in prison.

I was thinking that today (?) because nothing else could - could have made me I mean forget a really interesting person like Wally Sorati - and I said : Do we know each other well - and shame, (?) he said : Yes, very well - and he - then (that) he'd known people, you know - I used to come in with so-and-so - I used to come in with so-and-so - I'd know all those people, I just didn't remember his face, and all the other faces were there.

It sounds like a small thing, but to me it's actually an indication of (.....) - of, you know I mean, just how unhappy I was - I was frantically unhappy - and finally when I moved off the Mail back to Cape Town, because Cape Town was home I had a kind of feeling about the place that nothing could ever happen to me that went wrong - nothing could ever go wrong in Cape Town - nothing could ever go seriously wrong - Cape Town was home. My parents were still there - I'd partly gone back because I wanted to be able to look after them - I've told you that my father wasn't a very good provider - please don't put that in the book, by the way - I mean I - shame - I mean you know, it might get back to my family and they might be hurt.

I - I mean I was very fond of my dad I mean and nothing, you know, I've said is meant to, you know - I mean I'm being frank with you because you want to pick up atmosphere, but I - I'd hate something that - that came out - I mean also stuff - I mean my people had racist attitudes at that time, and my father had them - he was no better or no worse than hundreds of other whites who had them - he was brought up with them.

But anyway I came home and well, I was going to try and help them a little bit financially and they - they weren't in any trouble, but...

J.F. When was this that you....

A.H. This was in - I came - I came home late '75 and I went to work on the Cape Times, and I was working on the Cape Times doing politics for them when I was arrested, and I just felt that nothing could go wrong in Cape Town and I'd also - I was for a time relieved of the - of some of the weight of my responsibilities in Johannesburg, and the sense of relief and the fact that I'd - I'd left one area of a place where I'd been terribly unhappy, I think that made me less wary than I had been before. I was stopping watching for the - for the hunters, you know, and I mean I spotted - I spotted them.

A.H. You know that when I was arrested the guy who actually made the arrest, who came into my flat first, was someone who'd been a playmate of mine in the suburb where I grew up and brought up when I was - when we were six and seven years old - and when he walked - I knew he'd been following me - I knew that he was in the security police - I knew - I saw him at the airport once - I'd gone to do an interview and I walked across, I saw those two SP guys, but I remembered him from when I was small, and that's why I say I've got a memory for faces like that - and I went across and said : Hello, Boetie, how are you, you know - he just didn't talk, then he sort of smiled a bit shyly, you know, and I wanted him to know that I knew what he was doing and, you know, he could relax and get on with it and I expected it and - and so forth.

I also thought - I also think that if you do that kind of thing puts them off the scent a bit - and having done all that - having realised yes, they are watching, you've moved to a new town now, they want to see what's going on and - and so forth - having thought I'd done all that I wasn't watching carefully enough, because they were there and I wasn't seeing all of them, and that's how they caught me.

J.F. And what was the - actually at the trial - what were the charges - what were the things that were - came out in court?

A.H. I was charged - I was charged under terrorism and alternatively with furthering the aims of the A.N.C. and the South African Communist Party - the charges were that I sent political and military intelligence out of the country, that I - I wrote, produced and distributed literature in furtherance of the aims of the - of the A.N.C. and the Communist Party - that I handled monies - that I - I underwent training and/or gave training to people that I - and - and those were the charges.

J.F. Did you know about - did you remember the cases that came up of people who were arrested before you who'd been working clandestinely?

A.H. You mean Jeremy and David - ja, well, I mean I - you know I mean I knew Jeremy was arrested, well, because the police told me they had him, you know.

J.F. That happened when you were inside?

A.H. We were arrested on the same day, or virtually - David - David was arrested - I was arrested at about midnight, David was arrested at about one o'clock - Jeremy was arrested the following day in the - in the afternoon.

J.F. And had you known them?

A.H. I knew Jeremy very well - I didn't know David at all.

J.F. But had you worked with Jeremy?

A.H. No.

J.F. So were you surprised that he'd been arrested in those circumstances?

A.H. I don't think I want to go into that.

J.F. But it wasn't anything that you were connected to in any case.....

- A.H. I wasn't working with him, no.
- J.F. And the - were there previous arrests of black people - as a journalist you knew all the different cases - we kind of get the sensational ones, but over the years had you seen people get arrested for the same thing you were doing?
- A.H. Ja, I saw - I saw Amot Timor's body I mean because there were - I mean there were early arrests, but in the first wave, the first terrible wave, Timor was arrested and I reported on the whole - on the whole thing, and I saw the photographs, you know, from the autopsy room, you know, of - you know, of the great gash when they made the autopsy and this body lying on the cement outside John Vorster Square, and I mean I wrote about it in - in the Rand Daily Mail - I - I - I helped cover the whole - the whole thing of that wave of arrests - and - and I wrote about it clandestinely.
- J.F. And was he doing the same kind of things you had been doing?
- A.H. As far as I'm aware, ja.
- J.F. At this point I'm also conscious of the time - maybe I should just ask you what you could say - you've said what the charges were and lots of stuff came out in court - if there's anything about some of the kind of work you've been doing, training or all the - whatever was named that came out that had to do with either working with people of a different race group or any spinoffs from the kind of actively liberation that was going on in terms of the level of A.N.C. activity generally - is it all something that we don't discuss that was just kind of political work that was done in a vacuum, or does it relate to an understanding of what non-racialism has been historically in the South African struggle?
- A.H. I'd like to certainly - I'd certainly say it did relate to that - I mean I - I - I'd like to think that it did, and I - I'd like to think that - that - that the two things were feed into one - feedins to one another, and I - it's in a certain sense another way of making the same point I've been trying to make to you all along that - that - that an initial commitment gets you started, that commitment strengthened by activity and the - the activity both for the organisation and for the individual starts taking on qualatively different forms, deeper and deeper forms and I - I certainly think that - that - that in one sense I mean when I - when I was - when I was in the dock I saw that as a kind of culmination of things that went right back to my childhood, you know, and having - having to do with how I felt about - about race and racism and non-racialism - I'm not sure if I'm, you know.
- J.F. I just feel like - that we haven't struck a kind of level that would be useful for, and for people to gain a deeper understanding of what - how a person like you fit into the larger struggle, which is indeed clearly African led mainly but involves blacks and whites and different groups - I just feel inadequate perhaps in the kind of questions I'm asking, and also because of the time - just trying to think if we can talk about it in some way (.....)
- A.H. Look, we try to say it this way then - some of the things I've been trying to say to you, how a person like me - I am an African - I am an African - my forefathers have been here for centuries - South Africa's my home - I was born and bred there, I've lived there all my life - I'd never wanted any other home.

A.H. I'm in exile now because it's a temporary thing and because I think I can be more effective here than I could be there. People do ask me about this - I mean I - I - I think - I mean in a way the - the - the sort of tenor of your question is well, isn't there some kind of - well, not - not aberration, but isn't there something deeply interesting and significant about the fact that I'm white and the majority - but I think to put it like that is to misunderstand it. I'm an African - my comrades are Africans - that's what matters - that's what's important.

There are white Africans and black Africans - there's a national liberation struggle going on. The kinds of - the kinds of oppression that I experienced as part of the oppressor group, so to speak, having been born into it, those also have consequences for whites - they also in prison and - and distort their lives - people - people are distorted by - by practicing oppression on other people - I'm not sure that - that I understand myself well enough to say in what way my own life has been hurt or scarred by - by actually practicing racism - but as far as - as - as what I did was concerned I did it as an African - I - I made great point of saying at - at my trial, and I say to you again now, I did it as an African - I am an African.

J.F. And did you ever get that reinforced through your underground work in any way in dealing with anyone, black or white or - maybe I'm asking some questions about how your commitment continued to be strengthened - you said it was such a difficult way to live - what kept you going - were there ever any kind of encouraging words from somebody who was working - you were working with, or ever any times when you felt, Jesus, every other white person in the country doesn't have to do this and I'm doing it and what's keeping me going?

A.H. Not like that, no - I know what you're looking for - it's not like that - didn't work like that - I'm sorry (.....) but it didn't - it's not as though - it just wouldn't be true for me to say that there was - there was some specific moment where we - where, you know - I don't know - a black man took my hand or thanked me or - I don't think I - I mean I don't think - I don't think I - I expected such kind of thing to happen.....

J.F. I hope I'm not sounding so crude but.....

A.H. No, I know - I know - I - I - I - I know - it's - it's - I've - I've - I've had an experience a little like this before with a Soviet journalist.....

END OF SIDE TWO.

- A.H. it's just very hard for me honestly to give a - you know, I'd have to feel it was there - what I'm trying to tell you is - is - is, you know, is how I felt about it kind of generally - (Phone)
- J.F. Can you speak a bit more about your - perhaps you can talk about the trial experience - you spoke about the one who testified - I don't know in what - without getting into names or anything but because of - I think it has - it's an historical fact and people have been influenced and people read and people know about it if you.....
- A.H. It's a long time ago now, you know...
- J.F. I don't want to take it out of - except for just in the way Terror picked up on it - there's a black guy supposedly a stalwart of BC who, when asked how did you leave BC, how did you transcend it and become A.N.C., he says : Well, there was this guy, Tony Holiday.....
- A.H. Jesus, hey...
- J.F. which is one of the things he said - so I'm just interested in, just to get the facts straight on it, were they - you were arrested and interrogated and they were - had they been working with you or how did they....
- A.H. You mean the people who gave evidence against me....
- J.F. The black and the white.
- A.H. Ja - ja, they'd been working with me, ja.
- J.F. And so they testified in court just - they'd been part of a unit with you or....
- A.H. Ja, and they'd - they were offered indemnity from prosecution for testifying against me, and they chose to take the indemnity and testify against me.
- J.F. Had you - had they been working with you the whole time - a long time had you recruited them.....
- A.H. They'd been - they'd been working at various periods with me - I mean one of them for one period and another one for - for a period after that - in one sense one of them replaced the other, you know - one of them, you know - they dropped out, each of them, after a time - I mean they - they frankly didn't have the nerve for it.
- J.F. Because Raymond talked about that in terms of having recruited the people he recruited and how he went - he talked in great, great detail about, as did Jeremy, a lot of things that happened - that he was involved with underground - but I'm just interested - I think the salient point would be that you recruited a black and you recruited a white - I'm sorry to be kind of harping, but I am looking at the non-racial aspect.
- A.H. Yes, I know, but - but you know, I - I worked with - I worked with whites and with blacks - I recruited two blacks, one - one of whom was a Coloured woman, other whom - who was out of the country by the time I was arrested, and safe, and these two others, and they weren't out of the country, and they were arrested and they did what they did. I'm not sure I want to say any more about it....
- J.F. I'm not talking about them per se but the - so those were the two you mentioned?
- A.H. Ja.

J.F. But there were - they happened to be the ones that gave evidence - there were other blacks and whites you worked with, or were they....

A.H. No, they - they were just some of them (?)

J.F. And how did the police treat you as a white - lots of people have told - John Matthews told the story one - the cops rushed in because they were so excited that Dave - they found out Dave Kitson's grandfather was Jewish and that seemed to explain everything, and how him being really a bit of a son of a swell upset them so much - how did they deal with you as a white?

A.H. Trying to think whether - some of the warders and some of the police - not the senior officers or staff (?) - I'm sure they were puzzled - I mean for example (Laugh) Boetie kept asking me - he says : Now that you caught, he said, have you changed your beliefs - that's just - it - I said : But you know (Laugh) I mean that's like asking me whether I - I - I disbelieve in the law of gravity because I - I haven't managed to learn how to fly or something like that - it's just a completely meaningless bloody question - of course I haven't changed my beliefs - I don't think I've done anything wrong - I've done something that's illegal and I - I got caught for it.

And I mean in his - in the case of some it was just blank incomprehension. By this time - you know, by the time I got arrested in any case I mean some of the guys who were interrogating me had been fighting the A.N.C. since the 1960s - they getting used now to the fact - they know very well that there are whites who think of themselves as Africans, so I don't think that they - and I don't quite frankly know how their minds work - their minds are as much a puzzle to me as mine doubtless is to them - in most cases I just think that with the senior officers it's just complete cynicism and careerism (?) coupled of course with the racist attitudes - I mean one of my interrogators kept asking, harping on the fact that had X or Y or Z been Jewish - I mean that kept coming up, you know, until I asked him - I said : Listen, are you - have you got some sort of anti-semitic thing or something like that, you know, because I mean I actually find it rather offensive - my sister in law's Jewish.

And he said : No, no, he said, it's just, you know, sometimes people try later to say they're Israelis - now I mean it just - it just amazed me and I - I - but with the younger people - the young - these are young Afrikaaners - and among the warders too - I had a warder come up to me and say : What is happening with your case and, you know, what's happening - so I said : Oh, I'll be found guilty - he said : Ja, he said (.....) he says, they don't understand it, you know, because I thought now this is a time when we white people must stick together - you know, where English and Afrikaans-speaking people must come together - you know, there was a lot of that.

There was a - there was a certain kind of tragic incomprehension, if you like - that's what racism does to people.

J.F. And how about at the trial.....

A.H. As far as I remember that I'm not (?) sorry to be - you know, that I - that I don't seem to have what you're looking for.

J.F. I'm not saying that - there's a lot - there's great stuff you've said - I'm just saying - I'm just apologising for going on and on....

- A.H. No - you know - I don't - I don't recall - I mean there were a lot of - a number of young people there - I get the impression that some of them were looking for political direction - they were asking questions about how I saw the situation and stuff - my - my recollection of it was that in fact I - I was doing much more by way of political analysis that evening than this other kind of....
- J.F. talk about white stuff and what you have talked about.....
- A.H. Ja, ja.
- J.F. Let me ask about what it was like at the trial - who came - you having had such a clandestine existence you didn't - it wasn't like being Guy Burger and having all of your Grahamstown such and such organisation people show up at the trial - who came to the trial for you?
- A.H. My family - Helen Joseph came, and Shanti Naidoo's mother came - Ama came - that's something that meant a lot to me - Shanti and I were - had been old friends - I mean that goes back to the '60s.
- J.F. Is that someone who's left and.....
- A.H. Ja, Shanti - Shanti's - the Naidoo family have - I mean they - almost every single member of the family has either been jailed or banned or gone to jail - you know, they - I think there's somebody in jail at the moment - I think Prema's still in jail - I think he's just been picked up again - she's out here (?) and their mother was like a very important figure in the Naidoo household. The Naidoo - the Naidoos were one of those sort of families that - that - that stood out in the - in the kind of Transvaal scene in the movement, you know, and now I came - I can't have been to Shanti's house more than twice, and usually when I came - once it was a friendly visit - I allowed myself a friendly visit - and once it was the time of Amat Timor's death - I was working on that story and I wanted to know if they'd heard anything from the Indian community as we'd (?) been trying to find out where these people are, you know - who's got them, what's happened to them - we know something's happened.
- So I'd only seen Ama on those occasions, but she was like the sort of grand matriarch of that part of the movement, and it did mean a tremendous amount to me that she came to my trial and sat through all of it - it actually mean - because I thought of it as a great compliment, you know, that someone like that - she's somebody - I mean she doesn't hold positions in the movement or stuff like that - that's something else - it's kind of - she has a place in the - in the life history of the movement, and it meant a lot to me that she was there and.....
- J.F. Is she in Lusaka now?
- A.H. I thought that Ama was in London - she might have gone home - she lives in South Africa.
- J.F. So it was - that was it of people who came?
- A.H. Helen Joseph - a lot of my friends, journalists - oh, ja, I told you about the guy who had been my news editor - you know, the Afrikaaner nationalist I told you about who - who taught me my journalism that - remember right at the beginning - early on in the interview?

A.H. Well, he came and gave evidence in mitigation for me - said he'd say anything he could (Laugh) to get me off the hook, and he was terribly upset by the whole thing, you know, dreadfully upset by it - I don't know what effect that's had on Wessels' politics, you know, but he was dreadfully upset by the whole thing, and in fact shortly after that happened he had a heart attack. We were very close friends, you know, and he came and gave evidence for me, so there were journalists there, but - oh, and Jeanette was there - the girl who afterwards married Marius - and Marius had managed to get messages through to me through my family, you know, saying, you know, I'm incredibly proud of you and - and that meant a lot.

And what also meant a lot at that time was that one of the messages that came through, and it was in the papers - one of the news reports - was that the - the - the - the group of young black students called - they were then calling themselves the Soweto SRC this year (?) - they sent a message saying we're right behind you, and that meant a lot.

J.F. How did they send a message?

A.H. Well, they - they got it through my family somehow or another, and the next day it was in the paper, and that meant a lot - that meant a lot - you know, that meant - I mean in a way I felt - I mean I was actually touched by your telling me about Terror Lakota's remark, because in a way I felt - when I heard this from the Soweto SRC I thought well, you know, the bridge between the two periods there almost wasn't anything to be bridged, it's all naturally coming together again, you know, as - as one really knew it would, you know.

J.F. Did you - that's something I wanted to kind of - my final question was to ask about that sense that you were working through the real lean period of non-racialism when BC was in its heyday and when the movement had been in its rebuilding stage - do you think it was an especially tough time to work - did it - did you think - did it dishearten you to think who you were being white, part of a movement that was non-racial, and where was non-racialism?

A.H. Not like that - it was a specially hard period - but not like that because I mean - and I actually said to you earlier on I mean I never believed that they - they would kill the movement, that they would kill the movement that - that the - the thing that carried the ideas of the Freedom Charter, I just never believed that - and even in the lean years I could see right at the top things - weaknesses in the white structures which told me ja (?) South Africa needs the Freedom Charter and eventually its going to get it and the - the way round may be - there may be all sorts of detours along the way - breaks and setbacks - but when I saw what happened in '76, and I heard subsequently that there were young people I mean like Terror Lakota, the '76 generation joining the A.N.C., it just seemed to me that the natural process had reasserted itself, and I never - I never disbelieved that - that that process would reassert itself.

What was specially difficult was living in a - working in a time where organisationally we were nowhere near or - at the beginning of it we were nowhere near at the kind of strength we're on now - and so it meant, you know, that you felt that - that where there were positive things we could take advantage of we just weren't organisationally able to, and that was difficult - I think - but I actually think that - and I think that somebody who's working in the UDF now may be having a political experience with a very different tinge to it - I mean it may be very much more the - the nearest equivalent would be being in the movement in the '50s before I came in, in the period of the defiance campaign.

A.H. But I think that somebody who's working underground now doing at least the kind of thing I'm doing is in many ways having to go through the same things - O.K., he knows more is happening, but the same - he has to - the stresses will be the same - they will perhaps be in a sense magnified because the dangers are greater, but - so it's not - I mean there were times when you really did think, you know, how long is this going to last, you know - when - when - when's the dam wall finally going to - going to crack - isn't it a very strong dam wall.

But I never - I don't - I don't recall having a time where - I mean I despaired of a lot of things, but not political things - I mean the thing was tearing my personal life apart, it was wrecking it - you know, it really was I mean because I couldn't - I couldn't hold together all the balls I had in the air and keep my personal life intact, and I mean I - I actually think it did permanent damage to my personal life I mean in the sense that - you know, for example, it's very hard to form personal relations in - in - living like that - you - you can't tell people what you're doing - you can't tell people what it's all about - you can't tell people what's the matter with you - you know, why are you in this state - why are you drinking so much, or why do you have sudden inexplicable crying jags or - or stuff like that, you know - you - you - I found that living with the stress was - was particularly hard.

But when - when what happened in '76 happened and the Soweto SRC sent me that message and I saw Ama at the back of the court, well, that was - I mean there was continuity there and - and renewal - and that was what I'd always expected would happen, because a lot is now made of that - I mean you know, that was a very important period, and we still need to understand it because it was the period where the movement reconstructed, and of course in a - in a renewal like that things change - the movement had new content to it, new people - new young people were coming in and the movement had to adapt to it and they had to adapt to the movement, you know - there were all - there were all those challenges - but I think that the seeds of the thing were there.

They were there before Rivonia - when the movement sat down and said we are going to have to continue illegally and we are going to have to undertake armed struggle and do things like that, it was based on the fact that they saw into the warp and woof of the situation and they knew that was necessary - so that in a certain sense there was a thread - people think the thread snapped - I'm trying to say it may have looked very thin, but it was there, and it was unbreakable - was a part of the objective character of the South African situation that that thread could not be broken.

You know, human beings - individual human beings could do so much but there are certain things they can't do - and there's a phrase in Afrikaans about - where they talk about nationalism - nationalists use it a lot - it was Malan's phrase - he said that you could - you can sweep - you could stop the flood of Afrikaaner nationalism as little as you could sweep the sea back with a broom - well, I mean I had that feeling about what was happening in South Africa always, and there might have been deviations in the time, and I'll admit that there were times when you thought, well, ja, I wish the process would reassert itself or, you know, am I doing enough to help it, or is it my fault and - and how on earth am I going to be able to do more and - and yes, I mean the forces ranged against you were vast (?) because you're stupid unless you realise that they are (?) - they've got this massive police force, this massive security operation, and massive wealth and powerful friends and so forth.

A.H. There - there was that feeling, but I never had a sense, and I didn't know - I don't want to pretend that I knew when Soweto was going to blow up or when the thing was going to reassert itself, but I knew that it would and I - all the time it was in dealing with white politics in a way that you saw it, because you could see in a certain sense the strength of the non-racial movement in that the first - the first signs of weakness in the oppressor - the two things worked together - there was a kind of interplay between those kind of things, I'm convinced of that.

J.F. Let me just clean up a few loose ends - just I guess prison - if - again we could talk a long time, and I'd be really keen to hear about it, but I think probably I should ask it in the way of - in terms of my theme - you'd been working with and for a national liberation movement and suddenly you're thrown in an apartheid prison with white men - did the thread snap at all, or was that difficult to kind of keep a focus?

A.H. I don't know - I don't - you know, I - I don't think so - first of all, you know, it's true that we were segregated and we didn't think we ought to be, but it's actually very hard to keep apartheid going in the prison system - yes, you can stop - you can stop black prisoners living with white prisoners, but you can't stop people helping one another, and there would be times, and here I don't want to be specific - there would be times when black and white prisoners would be able to help one another in prison, we always knew.

And there was one time I remember - there was one mate from some prison - I don't know his name - he did us a favour about something, and he sent a note which said you'll find the material at such and such a place, or this is what you wanted, it's for you, there's no - there's no charge, thank you, heroes of South Africa - I thought that was a really nice thing to say, and he was an ordinary man (?) - he'd I mean he was, you know, an ordinary guy being had up for a pass offence or whatever, or maybe for some petty crime in the townships or something like that, but he wanted to do something for us and he did it and -

And what was also very moving - perhaps the most moving thing was when we were in the death cells - you know, we were kept there for two and a half years after the escape - and the most moving thing was when we could hear - we - we heard a change in the singing and we heard people singing liberation songs, and when (?) we knew we couldn't see them we knew that those were six young guerillas who - who'd been arrested, and three of them were subsequently hanged, and on a range - a prearranged - prearranged periods at - during the week in the evening we would sing songs back and shout slogans back to them, and that was perhaps a very important thing and I - I think that by then we knew that I mean they could - they could put up steel walls between us and all sorts of things, but really quite frankly, you know, just because of the largeness of - of South Africa's prison population - almost because of the system itself, it's impossible to - to - to keep people apart like that and -

And for us that - that particular thing I think anyone you talk to who was in prison when I was at that period will tell you that that was one of the things that really stood out - it came - it happened towards the end of my stay in prison, during the last year I think it was - last year, year and a half - we heard the singing and we sang back - and what was awful for me when I came out was that going to the one - to - to a demonstration where - to protest the fact that three of them were going to be hung that night, and standing vigil, I knowing exactly what the routines would be, you know, and -

- A.H. And I found that - I found that really depressing and that upset me for weeks afterwards, you know - I - I was beginning to think that I was starting to readjust from prison and that sort of swept the whole thing back again, you know.
- J.F. And then was there any kind of consolidation of your commitment during prison?
- A.H. Oh, yes, I think so - I think so, although - I mean I - I was thinking about that today that many - many of the things I think are now - are starting to surface now, the real things I learned in prison, and it's difficult to say what they are - I can tell you off the top of my head what some of the things were - there were obvious things - there was the fact, first of all, that I could study, you know - there was the fact that I had my comrades round - round me - we could learn from one another, we could talk to one another - we - we - we could discuss politics together, we (.....) - remember that for many of us we couldn't do that - we hadn't done that before and we would - for many - many people's clandestine lives had been as lonely as mine had been.

Also we were meeting people from the previous generation - I mean Denis Goldberg had been a name to me - I'd never known him - we'd passed one another in Cape Town like, you know, like - like - like ships in the night - I didn't know what he looked like - the same with Dave Kitson - the same with - well, with everybody who was there I mean with the earlier generation, so that there was that, the healing of that break - I mean all the time I was in prison I was cell next to Denis, you know, and - and for a while we - we worked in the kitchen together - the fact that we both came from Cape Town, it was important, and it - and then he would tell me things about the history of the movement - I mean the lived history of the movement - who'd been important.

Johnny Matthews was another person who was important I mean because I mean Johnny - Johnny's a remarkable person - I mean he'd - he'd - he'd actually helped build a platform for the - for the Kliptown congress of the people - that was sort of lived history and - and I think people of my generation actually needed to hear it - it wasn't a question of just reading about it, and I mean there - there - there I do think that actually by putting me in prison they did me an enormous favour because I was able to get that kind of - that kind of education out of it - it was also a kind of healing going on there, you see, and - but I think there are other things I mean that I'm now beginning to feel the benefit of, and it's very difficult to be explicit about them.

But I think one of them is that one of the things that happens to you in prison if you - specially if you living like that, you living close with people in situations which nobody will call pleasant - I mean there's a great temptation in prison to switch off, but that's something you can't do because your comrades are around you and you have to try to be sensitive to their needs - not just their physical needs, although you have to watch out for that, does - does X next to you look as though he's well - why's he coughing like that at night - he does the same for you - because that's what holds you together - you draw strength from one another like that and - and it's a very subtle thing - but also people's psychological (.....) - did so-and-so get a letter from home, or why hasn't he had a letter for such a long time - you know, things like that.

- A.H. Now at the time I don't think you actually notice what it's doing for you, but I'm beginning to hope now that some of the things I learned in prison subliminally, because I actually think the really important things we learned, the things that - that - that changed us we often do learn subliminally - I'm beginning to start to see in my political life and my contacts with other people some benefits flowing from that, you know - time will tell what that experience did.
- J.F. What did you study?
- A.H. Philosophy.
- J.F. And so you had - you had to go from matric to....
- A.H. Ja, well, they let me into the univ - I had enough - it turned out I had enough matric subjects, you see, so with a little armtwisting from my sister and stuff like that they admitted me, and well, then I just worked at it, you know....
- J.F. You got a BA and then went on?
- A.H. Ja, and then I did - then I did honours and I got distinctions in it - and then that was when I - I mean I - when I realised I was doing O.K. that was when I decided I was going to switch from journalism to - to - to academic philosophy.
- J.F. You had been doing journalism?
- A.H. No, I mean....
- J.F. As a career?
- A.H. Ja, because I knew when I came out, you know, I was wondering when I - what - you know, how are you going to pick up the threads of all this - I mean there was so much in my life that - that really had, you know, well, like anybody else who goes to prison - I mean that - that is a - a kind of trauma in your life, in a literal (?) sense of a trauma as sort of almost like a fracture - how are you going to heal it, you know - how are you going to pick up the strands and, well, that - that meant, well, I could do something about it there and then and - and it was important to me to be able to think about certain issues and to try to think as deeply as I could about them - I - I felt all the time that that was a kind of weapon I had against the jailers, that they couldn't stop me thinking, so that was very important - you know, that part was important, ja, the studying the - the reading, talking - it was very useful - it was very useful that Jeremy was there and David was there because they were both of them - they're both of them people with remarkably fine minds - I always talk about David in the present tense because I still can't believe he's dead - you know, I know, I just - he was the person I felt closest to in prison, you know, and - and his death was a great blow to me.

END OF SIDE ONE.

- J.F. did you know when you came out that you'd leave the country?
- A.H. Ja, I'd decided about that.
- J.F. And what was it - you spent just a few days in South Africa and then left?
- A.H. Three days.
- J.F. Did you have any political contact, or who did you see in South Africa - was it - or was it just family?
- A.H. It was just family - I saw Helen Joseph.
- J.F. Did you get any sense, or you had newspapers, that you'd gone in end BC, early resurgence A.N.C. and you'd emerged kind of full on UDF, A.N.C. just - did it feel like a different - just in terms of the non-racial aspect where you had the JODACs and the resurgence of the Transvaal Indian Congress and the kind of '50s tradition - did it feel like that or did that have to come once you came to Britain.....
- A.H. I think it much more when I came to Britain - you know, really I wasn't - I realise now that I mean one of the things I noticed when I - when I came out one of the first things I noticed was an A.N.C. slogan on a wall, you know, but I knew that all this was going on because we had newspapers by then, but I don't think that - well, for quite a long time I was picking up an awful lot - people who knew me from the outside, you know, were - were expressing amazement because I didn't look as if I'd ever been in prison and I was - you know, I just looked as though I'd picked up the threads and I was carrying on, and I thought I was doing that but I wasn't in fact.
- You know I mean I was going through the motions of there was a whole other process that had to go on I mean which is, you know, you'd call the adjustment or whatever but - just as you have to learn when you go to prison that you are in prison you have to accept that you are in prison - so when you come out of prison you have to accept that you are no longer in prison - you have to accept the change, and that acceptance - that acceptance is not something you can bring about by an act of will - it takes time and some of it's very painful, you know.
- J.F. But just in terms of the perception of the political level, did that come through people coming in - who came into prison during your time - were there many?
- A.H. Not an awful lot, no - I mean Steven Lee and - and - and Tim Jenkin came in, you know, and that was like a continuum - we knew the work was continuing, and ja.
- J.F. Just them - just they two came in - you didn't see Rob Adam or.....
- A.H. No, Rob - no - oh, Guy came in - yes, of course Guy came in, ja - ja, Guy came in and - and well, that was still continuity - but in fact Robert Adam came in just as I was released, and I spent the last ten days by myself in the fort - they moved me from there to the fort, and ja, that was that.
- J.F. So you didn't meet Rob?
- A.H. No, I didn't, no.
- J.F. So through Guy Burger or anyone did you get a sense of the level of white involvement, Coloured, Indian, the '50s tradition kind of coming back into it, the non-racial....

- A.H. Yes, there was some sense of that - there was some sense of that - there was some sense of that - we could read about it in any case by then, you see, I mean because the one thing that was important - the one thing that changed in prison when I came in - you know, a lot of the - the major changes in the kinds of physical conditions had been the accomplishment of the prisoners who were there before me - people like Denis - and Marius, you know.
- I came into prison just as Marius was released, you know - we went the sort of full circle like and he - he'd done his 12 years, and just as he came out I went in, you know, so it was - was also continuity for me....
- J.F. So you did overlap with him, or not at all?
- A.H. Not at all - we just missed overlapping - we missed overlapping by a matter of months. I'm rather tired - not thinking straight....
- J.F. Talking about the non-racialism aspect in terms of finding out about it - you said the most important thing was getting papers probably....
- A.H. Ja, well, what - what happened was that we then brought court actions, a series of court actions, and about half way through my sentence we started getting newspapers and that - you know, that was important because to a certain extent that - that normalised at least that part of our lives, so we did have I mean before - before Guy came in we - you know, we knew that - and, you know, we had ways and means of getting news, so that - that - that we were - we could see, for example, the spillover effect of '76 - I mean that's a pattern that repeats (?) its - I mean we thought well, this is - this is bound to die down, but we were amazed at how long it took, and then we noticed other things happening - I mean you noticed little - I mean I remember Jeremy saying : There's something going on here, the formation of these organisations, local organisations - the detainees parents support committee - this or that community - and Jeremy said then : Something's happening here - I remember very distinctly him saying : Something's happening here - so, you know, no - I mean if that's what you mean, no, I - I mean I - I think I - even in prison we had a clear apprehension of - of - of - of radical changes going on, you know.
- J.F. But coming to London and actually seeing people from South Africa and getting it daily, was that - that kind of really put you in touch.....
- A.H. Ja, ja, ja.
- J.F. And what are your goals - you came out of prison - you knew you wanted to study - what do you kind of see as your future as it relates politically?
- A.H. I go on working for the movement - I'm hoping that the movement will be able to make use of the kind of - of the kind of study opportunities I've had here - I'm hoping that South Africa will be able to make use of them when it's liberated.
- J.F. So what would your goal be, to teach at UCT?
- A.H. Mmm, that's right.
- J.F. And just one last thing - there are two things actually - one is I don't know if we handled the freedom of the press thing - I just think as a journalist or ex-journalist myself there's the kind of - you just get that all the time - I was being interviewed yesterday and somebody just snuck in what about freedom of the press in Zimbabwe - how do you feel about journalism and the role it's playing

- J.F. in the struggle - do you - are you somebody who says oh, yes, I'm enthused about the liberal press in South Africa.....
- A.H. No - but I've never said that - I've never felt that - I mean I don't see how people can say this when there - there - I mean the laws are even more Draconian now than they were before, and it does seem to me that with the demise of the Rand Daily Mail and so forth they cracked the back of the liberal press in South Africa, and I mean I don't think there is a liberal press in South Africa any more - when there was such a press I don't want to deny for a moment that there were numbers - many courageous and independent-minded journalists who went around trying to do their job - I don't want to deny that for a moment - I knew many of them and I'm glad - glad to have worked with them - but they themselves would say that in fact it was often not appreciated that they had to find their way through a - through a minefield of laws - so that to talk about the freedom of the press in South Africa is ludicrous.
- I don't want to deny, on the other hand, that - that there were courageous editors, and not all of them held my political views, you know, and I don't want to say that because I mean Tony Heard, as far as I know, doesn't - doesn't share many of my views, but I think that carrying the interview with Tambo, as he's done, was an extremely courageous act and I applaud it.
- J.F. Did you think you were - were you part of the liberal press then - were you carrying on the traditions of the liberal press when you were working in South Africa?
- A.H. I don't understand what you mean by that question - I mean I....
- J.F. I'm just saying because of historical - because you were there when you were then - or did you consider yourself just doing your clandestine work and that was just - you were cynical about the whole thing - or did you see yourself as part of that....
- A.H. Cynicism is not the right way to put it - I saw myself as a - I saw myself as - as a revolutionary - and I saw it as part of my job as a revolutionary to try to report and analyse news objectively even when I did it publicly.
- J.F. Why do you think you've kept active so long - it seems to me that you have one of the longest clandestine careers - is that true - in the grand scheme of things people don't tend to operate as long as you did - that's a success story in some ways, I don't know.
- A.H. Well, that's nice of you to say so, but you know, for all you know there are people still operating underground who started before I did.
- J.F. But in terms of having survived longer than a year or two or whatever, do you have any sense of what that might be about - do you think that you seemed unlikely, or do you think you just - it was because you kept your cover so well in terms of not relating to black people, not kind of doing the things that would have given you (.....) - did you have any sense as to what could have facilitated it - or just the police aren't as smart as we think they are?
- A.H. That's one of the things, but the police are - the South African police are very good at their job - if it's true - I don't always accept that that's the case - you know, people say that about me, you know, that I - I had a very long run and all that sort of thing - I don't always accept that that's the case because, as I say, I mean people don't know what they - what the whole clandestine picture is.

A.H. But if I've survived as long as I did - I think that had to do in part with the fact that the environments I was in were - I actually don't know how to - I'm not sure that I - I even know how to answer the question - I knew it was my duty to survive as long as I could - the movement had to be - had to be construct - and I was aware that we were having to reconstruct - I didn't know how many other cells there were, and I still don't know at that time how many other cells there were - I had no idea.

I had a very strong sense that what the movement needed at that time was able and efficient cadres who had a capacity to survive, and so I tried to be that as hard as I could because I didn't want us - I didn't want to see the 1960s debacle repeated again, and I wanted - it was important that - for me to make a contribution to our showing people that yes, we - we are able to learn lessons from our mistakes - we made mistakes in the early '60s - we were less professional as clandestine operatives than we now are.

It was important, both from the point of view of the movement's eff - you know, the movement's efficacy - we have to try and build a new government in South Africa, and we are building - we have to build it now - we have to build the beginnings of it now under very difficult conditions - and I think I had a very strong sense that I ought to survive for as long as I could, and I did that in various ways, some of them peculiar to me and to my personality and some of them by just following the rules that I'd been taught.

J.F. Here's the last question and it's a tricky one, but I just think since you are so articulate this is just kind of if someone were to say, just kind of a non-racialism summing up - to just take it from someone who'd say : I thought it was black against white in South Africa - how, as much as you've made it very clear eloquently how you see yourself as an African and one shouldn't get so hung up on the different race groups, at the same time there is the Transvaal Indian Congress resuscitated and its - people understand why it exists, and there are different races in South Africa, no-one denies there are - if there's just anything you could say just to the simple question of how does a white fit in or how does - is it indeed not just black against white - what do you answer to that?

A.H. Well, I think that to say that it's - I mean almost any situation in which you say that something is black against white (Laugh) is - is bound to be, at best, a huge oversimplification and - and - and at worst a gross distortion - but I'd say that what - the sit - the - the situation at home, the struggle at home, is a struggle between - between colonialists who don't realise that their time has gone, and people who are fighting colonialism of the special sort that we have to fight in South Africa - that's what I'd say to it.

END OF INTERVIEW.