

JF: One thing that I find hard to fathom, when the people come off the island, the yeast fermenting, for them it is so unspoken, that I wonder what it means for them, because it is unarticulated..have you found that at all, that when they say non-racialism, what they are really saying is that they support the ANC? They are not BC anymore? Is it a coherent thing for you?

What I'm saying is that all the interviews that I have done often with those old guys, it's unspoken, kind of yes we don't believe in BC, we believe in non-racialism, and then from then on just get into history, and what their backgrounds are. I want you to talk about what it has meant with you, and the whole evolution that you spoke about. How did non-racialism assert itself? The workers with a niche that was needed to make you feel okay, and it almost was a response of keeping out other whites, obviously you can't have whites running the union movement, that was what I was trying to say before. Dave Lewis was quite an amicable guy but I was challenging him and saying what are you offering other whites. How does it speak to anyone, it is just this special niche, thank you very much.

DW: I'm not entirely certain what you are asking, but let me start. The coming off the island of those guys began to have an impact and I think, by the way you can't underestimate the influence of Helen Joseph.

She was unbanned in the early '70's and then got rebanned subsequently, I think she was unbanned about '74. She went straight onto the campuses and started talking, and reviving, by the way another thing is this lack of knowledge about the ANC and it's policies, no one had heard of the Freedom Charter until about 1981.

Broadly whites hadn't heard of it, it was a forbidden topic somehow so Helen being unbanned was quite an influential thing because she immediately hit all the campuses and started talking about this glorious non-racial past.

What a progressive struggle it had been and what a good thing the freedom Charter was, actually her impact on white intellectuals is enormous. So she was a point of entry, because she looks like a granny and she is so reasonable, and so sweet.

She is critical in raising a whole white generations consciousness about the non-racialism of the struggle in the old days. A lot of people just grew up with the idea that well, there is no role for us to play because BC has been with us for quite a long time, and it has more or less always been like that.

So that is one influence, and in other areas too, for example in township activities, people kept coming across people who had been on the island and started talking about what the experiences had been in the earlier days.

And people started reading Time longer than Rope, that was a really important kind of buzz book to read. Began to realise that there is a whole tradition of non-racialism around.

These people coming off the island and some being asked to speak on public platforms, if you didn't meet them casually in social circumstances. And you began to realise that in fact there was a longer tradition than black consciousness.

It was more respectable in many ways, and like you say, people took it for granted, and even today, the most astonishing thing for anyone who goes into Soweto or anywhere else is this kind of acceptance.

Every time I go into Soweto I get stunned, I could be anybody and they treat me decently, they have a lot to be angry about and yet somehow they think the best of you.

DW: I'd love to understand that inherent non-racialism in black people. It doesn't exist among us who have for years been ingrained into a racist position.

JF: I guess what I'm saying about this non-racialism, there is the unspoken part, part of it is like a mystique, here you have those heavy intellectuals who have studied, but when you talk about non-racialism, they'll take it from Helen Joseph. I mean there is no theoretical aspect, she is just saying Then I met Nelson, and then we did this...

That is what I found so fascinating, here with blacks it is not anything that is spoken or defensible about saying they accept you.

You could be a cop, but there is a vibe and an acceptance and I think that is interesting. Like today getting all mired in this intellectual ~~and~~ discussion with this ex defendant of Terror Loquata, this SASO trial those Sas~~is~~ Cooper guys, Nev, and with him, he can quote it theoretically and he'll tell you about the working class and it is an intense debate and all defending it on theoretical grounds and yet in the black and the white communities you don't get a whole explanation for non-racialism.

In a sense what one of my theses is is that it is all code work for the ANC. It is not Louis La Grange's version of it but just picking up that tradition saying we had a lull, and the BC phase and now we carry on.

So maybe that is why, because it is a whole area that you can't speak about. Or you couldn't until the early eighties.

DW: It might be interesting to talk to Glenn Moss about it and people like him because again one goes back to an intellectual background of NUSAS. NUSAS began, the restructuring to have a theme for the year, Educating for an African future, South Africa as a third world society.

A recognition that white south africans are in africa and we are in a third world country, and that we are here to stay as well. That you have to start building your lifestyles in organisations in a way that is going to equip you to handle things in S.A. It's quite an important conscientising process.

Part of that was the release Mandela campaign, I forget when that was.

JF: '80, after Zimbabwe, that was the first post one.

DW: Suddenly the rehabilitation of Mandela, who everyone thought was just a criminal, suddenly realised the things he stood for and I suppose it was then that the freedom charter began to emerge.

Kind of bringing into white consciousness, is a longer tradition of it, and secondly giving them the structures which actually proved the idea, the emergence of progressive community organisations, progressive student organisations that you could work hand in glove with.

Working in trade unions even in a very unsophisticated way that you could produce their media for them, driving their Kombi from Joburg to Cape Town for them. It gave you some practise that you knew you were actually playing some kind of role in.

In a very personal, experiential way. That is the sort of thing that drew people into a realisation of it but people didn't really talk very much about the question of non-racialism per se, as Charterism vs national forum politics.

Anti racialism they would call it I suppose, and you were either a charterist which they saw as rather pejorative term or you were a BC guy, whatever term they thought was right for themselves in those days.

DW: A strenuous debate took place around this in '82, Neville Alexander produced a position paper about the kind of reactionary S.A communist party and the formation theory of S.A, and the two faced theory of revolution, whereas he had a pure socialism in mind etc.

It was rather a strange analysis of class of course, so a whole debate took place around that of course, anti-racism versus non-racialism. He was saying non-racialism is multi racialism which is liberalism, etc.

But viewed from a white perspective I suppose, you are asking why do whites, what is their role in this and how do they see it maybe. Left and liberalish whites have always wanted some role in a freedom struggle of a kind, and they have been looking for some way of playing some progressive role.

You have needed the structures in which to be able to carry it out, and look, unquestionably, I don't know if anyone doubts the fact that say the UDF is seen by everybody as an internal democratic structure which supports ANC policies and is actually marking time until the UDF is unbanned. I mean the ANC is unbanned.

That is what the UDF is, there is no one under any illusions whatsoever, except that the ANC is a particular kind of structure and the UDF is a much broader thing as far as it encompassed other groupings and whatever.

No one is under any doubt that the freedom charter is the central document and that is the thing, to try and build a force within S.A that will build for liberation internally, as well as having an external struggle.

I think that was the other thing, a lot of people began to realise after '76 and with the rise of guerilla activity, that actually S.A is terribly different from Zimbabwe, Mocambique and everywhere else.

A kind of conventional struggle in the country side with guerillas is not what is going to win liberation in S.A, it has to be a much different structure of urban politicisation and creating the sum governability

A lot of that struggle has got to be done intellectually and ideologically as well as just by straight military might because of the fact that the S.A state is so powerful.

So again that is why the UDF and its structures are so terribly important, to build the groundwork now for a liberation inside the country as well as an external contribution to that.

But of course not to make the mistake of exposing yourself too much to state repression so that you actually get your head chopped off which is rather what is happening now to an extent.

I think most serious analysts of the situation recognise that when ever the day comes, the ANC is going to be the main one that takes power and that is inevitable. But there is a lot of work to be done between now and then, maybe 15 or 20 years away from now.

And you may as well plug into mainstream policies while you can and while you can give them a direction of your own that you might want to, and why not non-racialism, it is what you believe in anyhow,

from a white left perspective and you actually have got to build ways of doing it that will win respect from other people that you have earned when the time comes.

It will not be landed on your plate by luck or by beneficence of the victor. You have to have built for it yourself and earned it. I think a lot of people see that and if I'm right that was one of the reasons why Jodac was formed.

For people to be able to say I did my bit in the struggle, it seems that way to me.

JF: What about one of Jodac's motivations being to actually move whites and organise them in their own communities?

DW: That is an important thing I think, but obviously a bit of titling windmills in the S.A context. You never know, Jodac had some imaginative policies and not least putting on musical concerts which were highly successful, some of the best gigs were put on by Jodac in Joburg.

Drawing in a whole sort of Yeoville hippyish Jees this is good music what is it? quite a few new people were drawn in by such activity and I think there is an undeveloped potential for liberal whites to be moved into a more socialist perspective.

Socialism is for many people a fairly broad and unthreatening concept. Which they would quite easily adapt.

JF: Do you think the whole theses that Jeremy Cronan developed in his speech at Wits, the freedom...

DW: I don't know, I wasn't there.

JF: The actual parliamentary political terrain, the actual saying look why are we rejecting the (?) what are we doing and just calling it extra parliamentary politics. That seemed to me an important concept.

DW: It is terribly important, but it is a conjunctual thing in a way ~~the~~ because it is the new constitution that exists that excludes black people that the extra parliamentary activity becomes legitimate, and important.

In a different context it wouldn't be, it is not a principal in its own right.

JF: No, but it was an important response for whites to.. at the time it almost seemed like a non-starter to say this new tricameral parliament, and yet it had had so much effect in galvanising black aggression.

And also allowing whites to see that.. moving away from labelism or showing whites what it is to be rejected. 10 years ago for you to admire Helen Susman being spunky, sure anyone would have, but now, ..

DW: She is a complete write off.

JF: Yes, because she is in the wrong place at the wrong time,

DW: What is quite interesting is Molly Blackburn, there is a person out of place because she shouldn't be in the PFP, she is somewhere else.

JF: You should have heard Helen talking about her this morning...I spent hours with Molly in P.E and she..

DW: Why does she stay, did you ever ask her why she is in the PFP?

JF: She just kind of moved from the Black Sash and it happened and.. she is also in a Helen Joseph quandary, she is not real political..

DW: Yes her speech the other night was actually incredibly weighty just because of all the things she witnessed in Capunu(?) not her analysis.

JF: No, she is the Christian witness, she is watching you change the tables

DW: But I must say this concept of non-racialism, are you trying to ask a general question about how did it develop as the concept, or how has that long standing concept been recently re-adapted by whites, or blacks or both. It isn't clear to me what you are getting at.

JF: It is not clear to me either, as I said if I was an academic or a paternalist and I could go into this country and say ..and read for 6 months and draw up a thesis and a proposal and then go do it that would be great.

I just ordered 70 books from Britain but I didn't have time to finish them before, it is just unfortunate and maybe also my own limitations but instinctively I felt it was a good thing to do.

I think in a sense it is that, the tracing of its revival but also trying to define the future of South Africa, I've got these questions that I ask everyone... they have to do with how people envision the future.

DW: I think it about an enigma, that the ANC from when it was formed in 1912 was a non-racial organisation, it espoused non-racialism from then, and actually S.A with the exception of the PAC from '59 to '61 whatever, and the BC from say '68 to '78, in which it has been a hell of a long struggle, the major liberation of our country has been a non-racial one.

It is a great enigma about how forgiving people are in that context. (Black) And we are inheriting an incredible tradition in that regard, of non-racialism, in the face of the old paternalistic and very exploitative but racist society to a hardened apartheid, it is astonishing that it hasn't bred more equal and opposite reaction than it has.

Big holes in it in terms of the racial make up of some of the parts of the freedom charter for example and the strategy of the UDF to organise within your own areas.

An ultra leftist could critique that and say therefore you are perpetuating apartheid type structures by so doing it, so.. the reality of it is that the UDF does actually operate on a pretty non-racial fashion.

There are tensions it is true, but the tensions as I have said tend to be between the Indian community and some of the black activists as far as I can see, but it is an intellectual gap rather than a.. a bit of a class gap possibly.

JF: I don't know if this is wrapupable, maybe I'll just ask you all these basic things for my own benefit. Maybe I could ask you one wrapping up question, and that is because you have had the experience of some other Southern African countries.

One of my questions is what does the future hold as compared, is this going to be different from other Southern African countries, ?

DW: Yes, it has to be, the whole nature of the liberation struggle is utterly different, the whole nature of our economy is massively different, we are the hub of S.A so those other places can't actually transform themselves partly because of South Africa.

That will change of course, post-liberation but yes it will be massively different, and socialism has a better chance here because it has a better foundation. All those other places attempting socialism don't have the material conditions to allow it really.

Mocambique didn't, Tanzania didn't, Zimbabwe had a better chance but Zimbabwe is moving in strange directions and one doesn't really know where the political ideology really did come from.

JF: Doesn't another bottom line of the whole thing we are discussing especially the differences in the intellectuals have to do with one stage vs two stage?

DW: I must say I'm a bit worried and hesitant about the two stage theory, of revolution, I see it as an obvious important stage, and if I had a criticism of the UDF, there is not enough injection of socialist principles at this stage into their practice and struggles.

JF: Isn't that survivability,?

DW: It is, that's true, and that is why I don't make a big song and dance about it.

JF: ... that is why you are only going to find out in Craddock you know, they know about socialism when the Sunday Times puts a picture you know. You can't advertise that, isn't that the reason?

DW: I would say so, but on the other hand, I suppose it is taking place in interesting ways and places. A little anecdote, East London, case in point where all these exiled islanders are, you might think that East London Mdantsane would be a highly unified progressive, determined community.

It is not, it is quite the reverse actually because what has been on the island are three traditions, a militarist one, a nationalist one and a socialist one. Or a communist party one, let's call it.

Four, a trade union one because the communist one doesn't necessarily link with that. Now these guys who belong to Sactu or the ANC or the SAEP all on the island have their own little groups who meet and discuss and caucus and whthaveyou.

They get their followers of younger people and when they leave, they have been released, they politicise in the same way in the township and you get tremendous respect and acclaim from having been on the island, you are immediately thought to be at least a professor.

They hold court and they advise and they strategise, so in East London for example there is one group called the East London Youth Congress, who are militarists, sort of mad dog, Ntutu (?) guys, they catch the trains and recruit on the trains but.. between E.L and Mdantsane for example.

They don't have any politics of any kind that I can see, and they are not part of the UDF. They have had to form the East London Youth Organisation, which is UDF linked and it is let's call it, a more nationalist kind of thing and it is a better disciplined force actually and is the equivalent of many of the other youth congresses around.

These two things arise from two personalities released from the island. Also in E.L there is a guy who is a Sactu man and is pushing a pretty straight workersite line actually and there is an old wise head who is an old CP guy, who is trying to push a fairly critical line which is not very clear, of straight ANC politics.

So in one community like that you have these four traditions in the ANC which are being kind of replicated and developed within that community.

JF: I didn't ask you about internal colonialism, is that a debating point at all?

DW: No, not for me anyway, but for others like Raymond Sutton and others it may be. Maybe Jeremy Cronin too, I don't know. It isn't hotly debated. Steven Galt wrote a recent paper on it which was meant to stimulate the debate, for that debating group. But it is not something, unless I'm way out of touch, that the broad left fervently discuss behind closed doors.

DW: In fact a lot of people feel that socialist and marxist theory has developed beyond the orthodox SACP understanding of South African politics.

And of society, such as the internal colonialism debate and indeed the two stage theory of revolution. I think there are a lot of people who feel that that is not intellectually acceptable, although as a practice it is possibly inevitable.

Ironically it is intellectually unsound but in practice the only way.

JF: Can you name a country in the world that hasn't gone through two phases?

DW: Mocambique?

JF: Mocambique.. I don't think it is terrific to have an alliance with the Catholic Church and the Chamber of commerce, but that is how Nicaragua got to be, they never would otherwise.

To me it is just that I never knew any of these workerists being able to show me a country where a vanguard of workers moved into power and still are.

DW: You are quite right but you can see the intellectual attraction..

JF: Yes, intellectual attraction is one thing. One of the reasons why I find this non-racialism, I mean the whole intellectual attraction part, is not an intellectual thing, there is no whole body of theory around and by the same token, I don't find any coherent support for it.

You have that with a kind of feminism, you know black women and in the struggle were told to make tea, and told afterwards to figure out about the sexes. But at the same time I don't advocate stopping the revolution while we forced every black man to make the tea.

DW: That is absolutely right.

JF: As you said the first stage was a kind of liberal response of you know these are decent people and what do the cops know what they are doing and then saying they do know what they are doing.

Do you remember being aware, was Barabaras situation a coming to grip with the facts that there were underground ANC people. Had you been aware of Cronan and Suttjners trials in '76 '76?

DW: Yes I had and I knew Tony Holliday a bit and Grenfield Christie, I was pretty well in touch with those trials and those kinds of people. Many of them I have to say I thought of as social misfits. I suppose we are all social misfits but some are more misfitted than others.

Tony Holliday being a classic case.

JF: He is also handicapped.

DW: Yes, but he is also a very strange odd guy. I knew him moderately well. I was aware of those trials and I began to take an interest in things like Braam Fisher and the Rivonia trial intrigues me.

I knew that underground ANC activity was taking place and I had my suspicions about Barabara for some time. At that time one's postbox was flooded with mail from SLechaba through to VOW and you knew like NUSO was a trade union recently formed and if I'M not mistaken young Rob Alan got hold of the NUSO mailing list and systematically sent to everybody a range of literature relating to the ANC and so one knew these guys were around.

DW: I didn't particularly approve of them, at that stage. By the way when I was in England, I met many ANC intellectual types. I was actually quite close to Ruth Fist as a matter of fact.

And Harold Wolpe in particular. I respected them a lot, both as activists and as intellectuals. So that was an interesting thing and I came back to S.A with a fair amount of sympathy obviously for ANC type positions.

But a strong belief that it would be foolhardy, given the security police and their ability to actually track down these people.

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DW to play a kind of cowboys and crooks game with the security police, they are professionals and we are amateurs. To try and tackle them as some kind of underground untrained guerilla information gatherer would be naive, that was the main thing I felt.

So one was aware that these activities took place, quite a lot in fact the only thing was I was irritated by receiving that stuff through the post because you learnt nothing from it at all.

The stuff that was contained in SChaba or POW were a lot of propaganda and unrealistic, much of it was dealing with events that you had lived through yourself and witnessed, and were being reinterpreted from a particular perspective.

Which you knew not to be an accurate portrayal of things, that was sort of waving a flag and hooray, but the fact was you didn't need to possess those documents because all they did was to get you into shit, if the police raided and they were found, you would get a sentence or whatever.

So those documents were a liability and an irritation and an amateurish approach to me, and got a lot of people into shit during that period. For possession of banned literature.

JF: Which people, I don't remember.

DW: ^{Hannacher} Hudson ^{annchen} Kornhof is one, and Elaine Mohammed, she is not white of course but one of the main things when she was raided was banned literature. When they caught Krayling and those guys when they were putting an anniversary of SACP posters, when they raided their flats they were filled with literature too.

It happened they got nailed for other things. Anyway that is not the point - I was aware those things were going on, but it seemed to me not the right way to conduct yourself if you were going to change things.

JF: But isn't that like the ultimate kind of double standard for whites, you read in the paper that someone has blown up the power and they get sentenced and someone says in the paper these fools these children what do they think they are doing when you know that that is part of what is going to change this country.

One might say that is going to get me into trouble, it is a bit like Aurret van Heerden saying I can't not go to the army, I'm too valuable. With bacaks it doesn't hold, but with whites it does.

DW: I thought very carefully about what kind of progressive role you can play in that way and the one passport of incompetence or to problems was to join the ANC because what you did then was to label yourself, get yourself linked up with rank amateurs like Marius Scogn and get exposed through his leaky network probably.

When in fact that is why the UDF is such a powerful vehicle and why Nedac can be possibly in the future. By actually not having those overt links by which they can just knock you off, but do very similar kinds of work anyway, inside the country, you can achieve a hell of a lot more.

DW: And actually having those pieces of literature posted to you didn't change my consciousness one bit, in fact dented it slightly, I knew some things about myself and then read the interpretation of it.

JF: But the devils advocate argument to that is of course if everyone felt that way there would be no ANC and the government could just stop worrying. Are you saying don't get involved with literature, just make bombs?

dW: I'm just sayin the literature as far as I'm aware doesn't advance anybody's knowledge or participation in the struggle.

JF: How many blacks I've interviewed and asked what conscientised you, first they didn't know it existed...

DW: By word of mouth, from these guys coming back from the island, I thought that would be the main way.

JF: And literature, even in the rural areas there is literature. It's just like why do you guys bother making tons and tons of posters and badges that say Jodac and UDF, I mean it is a dandy thing, it is advertising.

That is what the eighties have been about, that the ANC, remember in 1979 there was that funny badge with their symbol on it, it was the first thing I ever saw in the country that looked like ANC.

In '85 it is kind of hard to miss. If everyone said it is going to get you in rouble.. I mean where would you draw that line.

What do you say to a mother who is asked to hide a (?) in her room, no, I'm too valuable, this is foolish.

DW: I suppose it is different areas of operation, I'm thinking now of as a white intellectual who has read that stuff in different contexts and has got their own kind of analysis if the situation that stuff is a waste.

Maybe to a black person who doesn't have access to those things it is an important conscientising thing. For someone like me, what I'm trying to say is I had seen that stuff before and in England

JF: Some people haven't been to England.

DW: You were asking about me really,... it was an irritation in that it was a fairly dangerous endangering of a fair number of people who a. were not involved and had no intention of being, and left it on their shelf by chance for more than three days and got in a raid would get bust.

It just struck me, that was in the white left circles. I don't think that that literature really does conscientise one, white left people much. It might well be different in the black community.

I know my black friends in E.L listen to Radio Freedom like nobody's business, and I never do.

JF: And you might say it sounds like propaganda.

dW; I do, I have listened to it and one of the reasons why I don't listen to it when I have looked at and analysed township unrest in Mhohle over a rent struggle, and police repression which followed it, I have a moderately good impression about what happened there.

DW: .. AND if you listen to Radio Freedom it is because the fascist S.A state is repressing the popular democratic struggle of ANC (?) in Tomaholu and it is just not true.

JF: So was it not a factor, the ANC?

DW: It was a factor in so far as say they probably are some cadres in that area who are playing quite a key role and certainly there are a lot of UDF people who are doing activities which are in the same path as ANC people. But I think some of the claims that the ANC have made over radio Freedom and in S~~e~~chaba have sent people to the death penalty, Bobby Sithsobe and those guys, blowing up Sasolburg. ANC claimed that and claimed the guerrillas who did...etc etc and they went on trial and hung for it.

JF: But once they were caught they themselves weren't going to say they were not related to it?

DW: As it happened confessions were forced out of them anyway, it was an open and shut case but the fact of the matter was the ANC so openly and proudly claiming it and it was used as evidence in court against these guys.

It was read out, all the evidence in mitigation that I listened to might have amounted to nothing anyway but it was rendered zero when S~~e~~chaba was pulled out by the prosecutor, I forget his name now, a little blonde guy.

The Anc didn't do those guys any favours I'm afraid, of course they are martyrs and heroes now..

JF: Yes but Sasolburg did the S.A struggle.

DW: Oh of course it was a wonderful thing and people sing songs about it now, it is part of the popular mythology.

JF: I guess I'm not one to talk, I'm not even related to.. but having interviewed so many blacks, even George (?) today and he, you know him so it was not just bravado, saying, in the context, and he was earnest and he was saying that the way people say we are prepared to die, about a certain situation that is the way people feel, the cops were there and even the way the people talk about the skirmishes in the townships.

It's so very different from whites and again that is S.A and that is the role of whites, there is no point in saying you will sit on top of Wits university with a gun,

It was a bit evident at your meeting on Wednesday when people, is that Tobys father?

DW: The guy with the beard?

JF: The bald guy, Simon Radford. Anyway whoever it was when he came up about is everyone being cared for,

DW: No that is not his father, that is a completely mad crazy guy. He is, it is rather complicated, there is a young black activist from the Vaal called Simon Nkauli works at race relations, who is gay, and this is his lover, and Simon and he were splitting up, in fact Simon had split up with him when he got detained (Simon) and he has been trying to regain Simon's affections and he is actually obsessed with Simon. The Simon you are talking about is Simon Nkodi.

DW: Toby's parents weren' there, he only has a mother and stepfather. They are called Pauline and David Scott.

JF: The dynamic that emerged, it was embarrassing to me, and you would kind of diplomatically make points about it, but it was just interesting to me Elaine Mohammed and all the figures in her family being so tolerant pretty callous, well, just the lack of thought, does Evans have a support group? That is a big concern. It is a big concern to me but I know that he has got everyone and his family will come up from P'E and his father is very influential, the reality is 1453 people at whatever have a support group and the six of them that are white,, you know that kind of thing.

I'M saying every once in a while, I mean I'm very moved it was great talking to you, and the whites I've interviewd, the proportion is so low and yet I've interviewed people because of non-racialism, so in large part I stand in awe, but every once in a while that will reassert itself and it is just S.A and it is not that it should be different,..

DW: The dynamics of that DPSC meeting was really horrendous, because what tends to happen is whenever you get new waves of detentions, Shepherd people like that suddenly come in not being for months or for the first time and you go back to square one with those guys and thank heavens they drop out.

That is our one saving grace otherwise we wouldn't survive as an organisation because I can't put up with those meetings. The other thing is we have this kind of madcap crowd of students joining us ..I mean that Jeremy guy he just goes blindly into amazingly difficult situations without having any idea of the consequences endangering not only the people he is with but himself, and trying to keep some reins on those guys has been a real problem for us.

JF: What us your title, professor?

DW: No, I'm a doctor phd anthropology.

JF: And you are a lecturer of anthropology at Wits. Is there a title of the DPSC?

DW: We don't have any office bearers at all

JF: Are you anexecutive of any organisation?

DW: No.

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