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JF: Can you start by telling me where and when you were born?

FH: I was born in Johannesburg but I was brought up in Durban, in 1952. I was educated at a private school in Natal, then went to Durban university.

After doing a degree in honours in African Studies, I went to UCT to do a law degree.

JF: What kind of background is your family?

FH: I'd sort of describe them as liberals, the people who supported the FFP, and my mother supported the Black socialists. Provided a home environment, critical of the status quo. Not unproblematic in its own way.

Quite sort of comfortable English liberalism which finds faults in stereotyping Afrikaners and so on. Keenly felt sense of racial injustice.

JF: When you got to university were you at that level or beyond it?

FH: Marginally beyond that. When I went to the Navy I was in an elite course called the divers school where I graduated top and accordingly was allowed to choose where my posting would go.

I chose a ship going to France, see the world and so on. Just before the ship left I was put ashore as a security risk. I'm never quite sure on what basis I was judged a security risk, virtually fresh out of school. But I think it had articles to do with I'd written on the student paper and so on and had been lifted and published in NUSAS papers.

And in educational documents.

JF: Did you go to University first?

FH: No, I went to the Navy straight from school. So by the time I left school I was already judged something of a security risk which I think is really farfetched deduction. It probably had to do with sensitivities about ships going to foreign ports.

Demonstrations.

JF: You didn't see any problem about going to the military?

FH: No, not at that stage, that was '69, '70, '71 and there were no campaigns to not do the military, secondly there was no sense of armed conflict in S.A.

It was before S.A. escalated its involvement in foreign territory. Before Mozambique which was a colonial at that stage and so was Angola, the Zimbabwean war wasn't as hot as it was to become.

JF: Did you have any sense of yourself as a white S.A. as opposed to the state?

FH: Yes, even then. In fact I was elected as an officer but I didn't accept as I felt I couldn't be an officer.

JF: In terms of whites, were you a member of the Biko breakaway in '68?



FH: I would have been unaware at that stage prior to university of the BC movement. I think most blacks and whites would have been unaware then because the BC movement didn't really develop until about '71 '73.

JF: So did you have any sense of the limitations of being a white S.A.?

FH: Not at the school leaving stage, no.

JF: At university did you get immediately involved? In student politics?

FH: Gradually, I had a sense of support for liberal student initiatives and protest and so on.

It became more tuned towards more radical grassroots orientated projects and particularly like Community Commission wages and so on.

In those days were probably quite significant organisations. Certainly the most significant thing blacks were doing, in theory and in practice.

It was certainly away from the conception of students as leaders. Although I say that with reservation because I still believe that students were playing some kind of Messianic role. But that's in the nature of the way students see themselves I think.

Especially '72 to '75 there was the beginning of an understanding '76, that if students had a role it was largely in support of black grassroots mass organisation. In particular trade unions.

JF: What was your involvement?

FH: Just student projects from distributing worker newspapers to teaching literacy in squatter camps. This was at Durban and UCT. I was very involved in student politics at its formal level as well, I was Vice president of the Durban Students Rep. Council.

From my second year until I left virtually, about two and a half yrs.

JF: Did you get any sense of what the role of whites should be, I'm thinking of this idea of the Africanisation of NUSAS and whites.

FH: In the early seventies, one was very much influenced by Paris and so on, a sort of a perception of .. students were being beaten up in C.T and there were demonstrations of.. a very much combative relationship, protest, street politics in which students took up the issue.

Particularly through the NUSAS congresses, gradually you witness a really strong degree of criticism of that perception, of the role of student politics.

There was a movement towards more long term input into black or mass organisations, and away from street politics. Some people thought the students were withdrawing but in fact it was an attempt to make a more long term commitment together with an assessment of the lack of effect that street politics were having.

Street politics was directed at whites for a start, it was almost like an extension of party politics. It was telling whites This is what is happening, the protests and demonstrations were directed at whites



FH:.. People saying your efforts shouldn't be directed at whites, it should be directed elsewhere. Secondly it was saying it had very little impact on the people involved in street politics.

You can be in a protest two or three times a year in you first year at university but finally what .. when you get your degree your consciousness is really unchanged. Perhaps more disrespectful to authority and the police than you would have been but that's not really the basis for a long term contribution.

For change in S.A, and it didn't provide analytical tools. So that was really the thrust in the middle seventies and then there was a period where basically S.A'ns in particular the student movement, went through a right wing phase, a kind of upsurge of reaction against liberal, but particularly socialist thinking and socialist thinking student leaders.

JF: Were you a target of that?

FH: yes. What happened was that all the campuses disaffiliated from NUSAS and would have nothing to do with right wing student rep; councils. NUSAS for all intent and purposes died in 1976.

JF: Were you on NUSAS at that stage?

FH: I had been very involved and I had worked at its head office and so on. '76 I became president of the Student council at C.T, and that's where students really got involved, not really on a national level, but at their local campuses running seminars and so on, trying to respond creatively to things like Soweto '76, provide information and support for black student organisations.

There was a rapid growth of a much clearer radical line on the campuses. At the end of '76, the left as it were regained control of the grassroots student body and I think with the considerably more support than it had had for a long time.

From that position NUSAS was revived. One of the things we were attempting to respond to through the Africanisation campaign was the in a sense negative aspects of the BC movement

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FH:..

jf: Was that ever said to you in so many words?

FH: No, it was never said to me, i must say I always had a position it was an easy position for whites to adopt and a lot of people were adopting the easy position.

They would say Listen whites have got no role to play, it 's a black struggle. They would use that as a justification either a, for doing nothing or b, for leaving the country.

Wits had 75% of its medical class at one stage , leaving for overseas upon graduation and that in a country which has either through its cheap labour and gold mines and so on, or for some reason been able to pay and subsidise white kids education.

.. and for a country which has massive needs of primary and health care and people were going to the states.

So there was that kind of gut response but also it was a political one, it was a way saying listen this is your fucking country as well , and you've got just as much right, in fact as much duty, to see it work as a democratic and non-racial country.

And to expect of it a secure and happy place for your children etc.



FH: .. as anybody and also we use that together with the thrust towards connecting in with and giving support to popular organisations.

Non campus organisations. Not a great gain, reflecting the development of the move away from protest politics towards more of an orientation of white students.

Towards a long term political commitment towards non-racial democracy. To finding the structures which would incorporate their activities and works

Four about four years although the campaigns changed names, a lot of it was directed at tertiary education and also school education. At things like is the education you're getting appropriate to the needs of this country?

What are the needs of this country? You could approach the most conservative engineer and say listen Have you thought about alternative technology, have you thought about the real technological needs of this country?

Have you thought about third world housing etc etc?

JF: Was it also in understanding S.A as a third world country, not just a kind of a...

FH: Yes, S.A as it is, it is partly a third world country, it is a country which next to really lush opulence such as you find in a few places in the world, you can get several miles from Johannesburg really third world conditions.

Lack of basic services and facilities, poverty, health problems associated with the third world and starvation and incidents of diseases like TB and so on.

One wants to draw attention to and stress those particular needs. But by saying these are the real technological needs, you're doing more than that you're redefining a person's conception of S.A.

Of who S.A is, it's not white or first world S.A. It's a non-racial S.A which encompasses a broad variety of problems.

Anyway, part of that was actually responding to two things, one the need for students to reintegrate themselves politically; and secondly to look to the future, to say this is the kind of people S.A is going to need.

We should orientate them to developing the kind of schools.. and in fact very often people would talk about Southern Africa, a lot of people who'd come up for military service would say well, I don't know if I can stay.

Well, the option isn't Britain, there's Mocambique and Botswana and Zimbabwe.

JF: Was that the emergence of people thinking for political reasons?..

FH: yes, for the army. They would see the alternative to S.A as London or New York, or Houston.

By reshaping their conception of what S.A was, you were actually able to give them a kind of concept of a Southern African or African problem. Give them a sense of being potentially a part of solving those problems.

JF: You say it was a limited success in terms of quantifiables, but did you see any particular change in attitudes?

FH: Yes there were, and they were very nice and matter of fact, non-philosophical or anti-philosophical guy would often respond to these things, and I remember at least two people that one would not consider political, the one guy works now in Mocambique as an engineer.

His father was a conservative politician, a member of the senate I think. That was the way that he responded, by deciding this is where he wanted to work.



FH: It had those kind of concrete things but also long term. There were criticisms delivered as well. One criticism was that Africanisation itself, you're an African, get involved in Africa and so on, people found it intellectually loose.

For example one criticism said that Kenya africanised its civil service basically by putting blacks in place of whites but didn't fundamentally change it.

I thought it was a cheap shot obviously one towards which we're open. One level, I think that people were worried that one would lose a more particular understanding of the nature of S.A.

In other words, S.A can't just be sufficiently understood as a settler country which is really part of Africa and settlers have a European kind of consciousness.

It's a structural society in which there are cultural and other cleavages and so on. The solutions are bound up with the particular form which exploitation takes place.

FF: Wasn't the Africanisation talking about non-racialism. I mean it's in Zimbabwe and Kenya as blacks for whites, you were saying whites acting as blacks? Was it a kind of non-racialism that fit into a time of tension with black consciousness?

FH: In fact it was at a stage where black consciousness was on the way, about '77 onwards. Firstly the growth of non-racial movements, in particular with the development of a line of thinking with Msasa which was critical of the Biko position.

It was really centred in Durban, and beginning to find expression in the Msasa journal. Like Jelase G.

JF: Is he in Durban now?

FH: Yes.

JF: What does he do?

FH: He's a doctor.

JF: Thinking of Durban.. the influence of whites(?)..

FH: That is an interesting one. There was a time when in fact Durban was a kind of think-tank for the student movement and really the period when Rick(?) was active, '73, '74, '75.

Gave a lot of impetus behind the development of an interest in socialism as opposed to a kind of liberal racial critique of the racial structures in S.A.

He also gave tremendous support to the student movement, and became something of a cult figure I think. He gave enormous amount of time and would work through ideas with students and so on.

Became a very important resource and during that time an enormous amount of students in fact came from Durban.

JF: Black and white, or white?

FH: White student leaders, but I think he also had an effect on black students.



JF: Was he an individualist or did he caucus with blacks? With what was happening in the black communities?

FH: I think he did, he was living with Fisio Fisher(?) who was quite involved in the BC movement. I don't think he was an individualist, no. His basic philosophy was a critique of individualism.

JF: Right, but did he have involvement with blacks, take advice from them?

FH: Yes. In the early seventies when white students were attempting to formulate a response to SASO, there were two responses in NUSAS.

The one was a liberal response, listen there is no room for reverse racialism in S.A, if people want to set up racially exclusive organisations then we should have nothing to do with them.

The other was the dominant response and I think Rick Turner had a large part to play in that. It was understanding the reasons for a critique of the limitations of say white students in white student organisations.

And appreciating the need for for instance a period of developing BC and militancy and assertiveness. So.. I think there was a third response.

It came later, and it was one which I eventually had some part in, it was to actually say that BC was a very limited philosophy. That finally its results reflected essentially a philosophy of consciousness of self.

It's an individualistic philosophy and by and large appeals to the middle class, and the aspirant elites. I felt the lack of success, it was indicated, that SASO had developing a relationship with workers and Trade Unions and so on.

But the tremendous success they'd had amongst journalists and doctors and lawyers.

JF: Did that mean this all happened in a white vacuum. It wasn't an interchange of blacks at the time?

FH: Oh no there was an interchange and even at the stage of separatism, there was an ongoing meetings and discussions and friendships etc.

There was hardly a white student leader who didn't go and pay a visit to Steve Biko.

JF: Did you meet him?

FH: Yes but by the time I became a full-on student leader he was already dead.

JF: Did you have contact with this late SASO critique?

FH: Yes often.

JF: Did you find hostility or openness?

FH: No I found a growing interest in forming a relationship with white students. And what was taking place and so on. It wasn't what it was to develop into which is a much closer relationship than exists today in which basically to all intent and purposes people find a difference in NUSAS and Azaso, simply a strategical tactical one because they are ...



FH:.. because they are working on slightly different campuses. But a very close co-operative one which almost seems part of the same movement.

JF: Was non-racialism a concept discussed?

FH: I'm talking really about the late seventies. Yes, it was but it wasn't in the seventies, if you look at the speeches of student leaders then, there was a much greater presence of a class analysis in student thinking.

To a large extent it seems to have dissipated, in the last two or three years.

JF: What, it's accepted so it doesn't need to be articulated?

FH: No, I think because of the National democratic forum in which the struggle is taking place. There has been a playing down of the emphasis on class.

Not something I'm entirely happy with and people are criticising people if they raise the question of class, they're told they're following a Facato line.

Not only that, in the late seventies there was a voracious consumption, of socialist literature that doesn't seem to be the case today. That consumption of socialist literature became quite an end in itself.

In the end I was quite critical of it.

JF: It wasn't very Africanised...

FH: Yes, I don't buy that line at all, that theory is either European or African, that's rubbish. It's an approach used to reject socialism because it's a European concept, which it isn't.

I can inhibit the finding of the particularities of tackling something, but that was very much the BC response to socialist thinking in the late seventies.

It very often disguised a latent bourgeois description of the state. But that notwithstanding, I think what students did do is to play games with theory. Theoretical questions became more important than questions of the struggle.

Some of the questions became very far removed. This is always a problem with an intellectual group who is not rooted in the oppressed masses.

It's quite free floating, whereas if you live in the gettoes and are actually rooted, you're constantly forced to respond to the problems facing the masses. In a day to day way.

JF: Let me take another strand of whites in the struggle. The level of militance and fear and the Craig Williamson phenomenon and what dynamics that created. I think it's important because you never had anybody terrorised into getting involved and it is a parallel with the black community.

Having sat through the DPCS meeting and seen some of the very white liberal assumptions that inevitably come up, eg do all detainees have a support group.

Obviously we are talking about the six whites, there is an involvement but also fears of going further whereas the blacks I've interviewed are kind of there.

FH: That's quite new actually.



JF: That's quite new but I think part of it is in defending whites and under standing their class position and the position that the state was able to pull off that, it's very effective for this to happen, it's very much a white phenomena.

FH: What I have seen develop in the last five years is an enormous white left committed. It's never going to be anything like a majority in S.A, it's not even going to be a sizeable minority.

But one has really seen a growth from a hundred to thousands and it is sometimes difficult to understand, I know people from overseas can't understand that.

JF: I think that's probably doing this, cause I came when class analysis was on the lips of blacks and whites.

That took us up to the theory of not being rooted. Did the growth of the white left have to do with the demise of the BC and then finding an actual physical place.

FH: I don't think you get demise of the BC and then a much more integrated position on the left. You get a rise of a non-racial position, a more forceful arguing of a socialist analysis than the limited analysis of BC.

Which is not to knock BC, I think it has the root of an emergence of a kind of militancy. But it's not that useful for providing a basis for structured engagement.

I think you have the growth of non-racial organisations and the growth of socialism, of socialist analysis by whites and increasingly by blacks and then you started to find forms of struggles developing.

At the same time in society itself you have conditions emerging, growth of a strong national trade union movement, the proliferation of particular trade union and community struggles to which a broader kind of community was asked to respond, I'm talking about Fattis and Monis and the meat boycott and so on.

And respond in a non-racial way. There was the revival of the NIC in Durban and so on. Where you could really see the importance of whites in my experience, the most up front role that they ever played was in the early '80's.

They gave an enormous impetus and resources and so on around people like Barbara Hogan particularly, Lauret van Heerden and so on, in helping stimulating producing newspapers, training people to write their own newspapers, helping form organisations like Release Mandela Committee and so on.

The proliferation of organisations mushroomed all over the country. A lot of whites played important roles in assisting them. I think quite shortly they became quite redundant as pioneering roles, and also there were those large trials and we were all detained.

About 60 people were detained in 1981. Since then things have changed. I think whites roles are truly supportive in the real sense, it's no longer a pioneering role.

JF: Can you speak of what you did personally from '77 to the '81 period.

FH: I finished my law degree at the end of '78. I was detained in '76 during a student march protesting against the police killings in C.T.



FH: It was a march from the campus to Gulangaguguleti which was broken up by the police. I was detained for about two weeks, solitary confinement.

JF: Was it something you had anticipated or was it a shock?

FH: I had always seemed a possibility but it was a shock. It was quite interesting to see how much it made me realise about power. The exercise of power, which you don't really see as a white. A much more realistic notion of what it means to hold a monopoly on co-ersive powers.

Then in '78 I was called upon to testify against a Swapo friend of mine Peter Manning. The trial was in Windhoek. I refused and was sentenced to a brief period of four days in jail.

I was released and re-subpoened and again refused and then I was sentenced to a year's jail and they eventually dropped charges against Manning and they let me out on bail. I argued on a technicality and got a suspended sentence.

Then in '81, I went to Durban to work as a lawyer primarily because I thought I'd be able to develop a closer legal support relationship with the Trade Union which was largely centred in Durban at that stage.

I worked there for two years and was detained there, consequent upon Williamson's activities. It was only about five days but for me it was clearly the most pressurised experiences I've ever had to undergo.

They didn't let me sleep for three days, they had constant shifts of interrogators working me over. Then I was given a couple of hours sleep and then kept for another 48 hours, so I had about eight hours sleep.

Then they released me, but it was quite high powered pressure stuff because they were trying to prove or allege a connection between me and SACTU, and relying on a meeting with SACTU people which Williamson had been present at.

The question was really what followup there had been and I kind of managed to keep my head above water.

Then in '81 I came here to this job and at the end of '81 I'd been quite involved with the general unions here, Gawu and so on and advising them and also SASPU national, the newspaper, had some contact with Barbara Hogan, job committees and so on.

I ended up in detention again for solitary for 6 months, from November to April.

JF: Did they interrogate you then?

FH: no they just left me in jail. They put you indifferent things, I was kept in the Pretoria police station so I didn't even know what the hell was going on.

JF: Were you quite scared about what they may be looking up?

FH: I had a vague idea what it was going to be about. Some of the people who had been interrogated had actually been released before I was picked up and they were clearly moving towards the group of people who had been involved in all these different committees, the boycott comm, the community comm, the Meat Board comm, the Colgate comm, the Ciskei comm, the Release Mandela campaign etc etc.

Probably quite a limited amount of people involved in a broad range of activities. I knew that they thought they had cracked a large ANC cell.



FH: In fact I knew they hadn't cracked a large ANC cell, they'd essentially just cracked a group of activists and I'm sure they got a lot of info from the detention but they were under enormous pressure to justify what was an enormous scale of detentions.

There were 70, 80 people and a statement in parliament in which La Grange said This is going to be the largest treason trial etc etc, and then the investigating team must have just got more and more panicky because finally at the end of 7 months they had no more than what they'd started off with.

Except an enormous amount of information and gossip, people's lives and how people hated who etc etc. Which is what they get in these circumstances.

I think it was under that pressure that Neil Agate was killed., well died.

JF: Did you hear about it in Pretoria police station?

FH: Yes, we were allowed a visit, parents and relatives and my girlfriend Maryanne, who is now my wife, a whole group of people stormed John Vorster square and demanded access and so the next day I was brought through and told. It was one of those times when you felt you were in war.

JF: What do you mean, that there would be a casualty?

FH: Yes there were casualties, friends going to jail, stakes were kind of high, someone might go to jail for ten or fifteen years. Barbara did. Rob Allens went for twenty

JF: Ten, apparently two and a half now. I don't understand it.

FH: Did he sign that thing?

JF: Lots of people did but I can't make mileage out of it. I think the whole thing is very suspect.

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FH: I was banned when I got out and they lifted the banning orders after about a year and a half.

JF: Do you think they pulling in so many people thinking they had got an ANC cell is an indication of the potential power of the threat perceived of the white left?

FH: The white left has always been perceived as a greater threat than it actually is. But it has constituted a threat because it's always been in a position where intellectuals all over the world provide analytical and other kinds of input.

And resources where people are quite deprived. In a sense that is the fear, but there is also a racist thinking, I don't know if that is still the case, but certainly at one stage they didn't believe that blacks were really capable of challenges to authority through their own gumption.

They had to be put up to it. They always saw the relationship between the white left and the black masses as a particularly dangerous one.

One stage there were conscious decisions not to have multiracial or non-racial organisations because they were the ones that were most targeted by the police.

In other words BC organisations or all white organisations could get away with any organisational structure or programme in which there was a relationship between white intellectuals and something...



FF: White activists.

FH: Yes.

JF: When was that period?

FH I'd say it continued right through the '70's and early eighties.

JF: Then you got out and were banned, did you go back to work here?

FH: Yes.

JF: What did you feel would be useful work for you to do and what have you been doing briefly?

FH: I must confess I'm not entirely comfortable with being a lawyer but there are a lot of advantages to it. The work I'm doing I enjoy and I can't think of an alternative to it that would enable me to give the kind of support and input in another form.

Law gives you a, a lot of protection for yourself and the kind of work that you do, b, although S.A law is repressive there are actually creative things people can do with the law.

From one of two levels, either in the form of creating democratic umbrellas and asserting democratic rights. I think for a long time because of the pessimism of the S.A legal system people had abandoned them but simply rights of assembly, of association, to disseminate your ideas are important, they are fundamental rights for any mass organisation.

In those fields we have been particularly active in unbanning publications, in obtaining freedom of communities to publish their little newspapers, trade unions and student organisations and so on.

Also in challenging magisterial prohibitions in gatherings and so on, we've done that kind of work and direct service work for UDF, and a lot of trade unions.

The mundane work but which is crucial in the legal relationship which people need, it's often as important as the court cases. In the labour field we have really expanded the rights and security of the workers to organise in their plights.

That's crucial, you can't get trade unions unless people have the basic security to organise protection from victimisation.

Also getting people back into the factory when they are fired for striking and so on. Apart from that I've done a lot of work in resettlement and that is taking it to a new field, it's almost community work and there as well law can play a very important role in, particularly running a clinic showing individual problems as collective problems when you are educating people particularly in the rural areas.

Where they have lack of confidence in dealing with the bureaucracy, and such enormous discretionary powers, and I think in a place like Tree fontein, the legal clinic run there was very important in developing organisation.

There are limitations in law which I've written extensively about, lawyers can be very destructive as well, preppy and insensitive to organisational needs. They can see things entirely through professional legal eyes.



FH: ..prescribe solutions and strategies which make legal sense but which are actually devastating for collective organisation.

JF: You mentioned the Kannemeyer..

FH: The Kannemeyer enquiry and there again the work was exposure and a lot of the resettlement work hasn't been legal cases with that much prospect of success, or dramatic implications but they provide a kind of mediated mouth piece for people who otherwise don't have access to media.

The Mgogo case for example became a world wide celebrity and tht was largely or initially centred around the court case which held up the removal which brought the TV cameras in.

That case had more to do with the Monoterial(?) removals than anything else.

Kannemeyer.. I got detailed reports and criticisms of his thing, I think he really allowed his prejudices to influence his ability to see the realities of what probably happened there.

But that not withstanding there was an enormous job to be done there in simply bringing out the community version, again kind of exposure media giving the people a voice.

There was no question what was said and the evidence that was led devastating cross examinations went out world wid and there you are talking about trying to put restraints on police conduct.

JF: What was your role?

FH: I was instructing attorney with a colleauge of mine Houghton Chiro.

JF: Getting back to talking about the Williamson phase. Can you tell me

FH: I'm not too sure what I'd say about Williamson, but I'd say this about spies in general. I don't know what info spies get and it may be important and it may not.

I think in the township to pay informers because of people's desperate poverty, but more generally I think the destruction that, the negative affects of it are more organisational than information loss.

I don't know what these organisations have of such great interest to the state except the state might want to monitor, but what it sets up in the organisation is a distressing distrust, an inability to trust the people you work with fully because you never know.

It also allows political conflicts and questions to be resolved through personal maligning and you can see the potential that has to break groups and set up fusions.

JF: Is this specifically about whites?

FH: I think generally but also specifically about whites. Whites .. I can't really talk in depth about the way that it affects say COSAS, but X is written off as a spy and Y isn't and Y .. and the reasons are often quite tendentious but people have deep distrust

Sometimes there is a personality problem at the centre of it, and sometimes it's just rank ambition. On the other hand there are real reasons often but the effect is not so much that someone is spying, but the effect.



FH:.. is that there are ...people can kind of butcher each other.

JF: Can you tell me the chronology of Williamson?

FH: Williamson..

JF: In terms of your exposure.

FH: .. he was at Wits and through hard work and reliability became an effective student politician administrator bureaucrat and from there moved into NUSAS.

From Nusas, I came into contact with him at NUSAS, where he was generally considered.. and there were rumours that he may be a spy virtually throughout his student career.

But could never finally be resolved one way or another. Just kept saying is he or isn't he?

JF: How did you feel?

FH: It varied, there was a stage where I felt he was being called a spy because he doesn't drink and he's sort of not a demagogue, and there were other times when I felt more and more suspicious.

I then went overseas when he was NUSAS president, he'd gone overseas and was working for an organisation called International University Exchange Fund.

He had an enormous range of contacts throughout Europe and set up meetings and so on with SWAPO people and in one instance with some SACTU people which he then attended and so on.

But at that stage I was actually quite nervous of him and had expressed my disquiet to some people but he was in a position where he was arranging finance for certain projects and so it was a difficult situation if you wanted the finance to come in or ... the one project was a study project on the effect of labour bureaus, and the way that they structurally indenture people in S.A. Provides a form of indentured labour. The framework for it.

If you want to raise money, you have to be given project motivation, so I together with one or two other people decided when it became quite problematic that he was untrustworthy and that we would cut off funding from him.

That too provided problems because we didn't want to run around saying he's a spy so we just said to people that we felt that he was an unreliable source, that people shouldn't fund through the IUF, and then about.. I really kind of finished my student career and had nothing to do with it until he was uncovered and decided to come back because he thought McGibbon would blow his cover.

Then I thought we were right but I'll wait to see what happens. Whether I'd get questioned about the meetings he set up for me, and about 6 months later I was pulled in and questioned.

JF: So you weren't actually on a NUSAS exec with him?

FH: NO,

JF: Is there any particular way he operated that is very appropo to the white left? This whole infiltration syndrome..



FH: No, I just would say that he was not normally the kind of person that would have got so far because he didn't have.. he wasn't a demagogue or a kind of politically refined theorist in any way,

And I think the way in which he managed to become quite an important resource in the student movement was simply because he did his work like a professional, he got up in the mornings and he was here for meetings, and he kind of kept the books scrupulously and he was reliable which is a critique of the very sloppy way in which students approach organisation.

JF: What was the ripple effect, did it scare people away?

FH: There was lot of cynicism, typical student activist, the whole thing is rife, you can actually get it now people saying the same about black student movements, particularly COSAS, the whole thing is rife with informers.

JF: Blacks or whites are saying it?

FH: Well, just people who work in the township organisation. And it can be self-defeating, it's no use doing anything because there is going to be a spy next to you.

Then some people said You can't work with white groups because they have spies in them.

JF: Did you hear that from blacks?

FH: I heard it from a black but he was saying this is what some people are saying, he was criticising them. But spies and infiltrators are not confined to the white movement I don't think.

JF: And however whites have responded they haven't responded the way that blacks are now responding, the killing and the peoples justice or whatever you want to call it. The SABC version.

I think the whole dynamics of spies, an example is being inequally suited to the race and class group. Maybe I'm pushing the point..

FH: One of the things is that they try and spend a lot of money trying to infiltrate the white left, tapping phones and so on, but I think there was a time when the unrest wasn't as rooted into the townships as it is now, when they probably wanted to monitor who was who and what was what.

The white group would have been an important group to infiltrate. Gossipy and so on. I don't know how much use it would really be today. Things are not co-ordinated by the white left, it's really not even commander of the information apart from the fact that a large part of the current unrest is spontaneous and unplanned. Unformally co-ordinated.

JF: Why have they been so strongly..(?) if it's not so key?

FH: Have they?

JF: I thought they marched into the meeting and said if you ever meet again you are going to be inside.

FH: If it had been a black organisation we'd all have been detained, It seems to me they were getting off lightly.



FH:.. I think because policemen are by and large white and the guys are white, they are more interested in the white left than they probably would be normally.

They obviously follow it quite closely and there is that lingering fear of a relationship between white activists and blacks, partly racist because whites who are telling blacks what to do ~~type~~ thing.

Jodac is seen as a Congress of democrats, but i mean they have been moving in widely into all organisa tions that they can identify the leaders andthe people.

I think whites are more easily identifiable than other people among other things. I think they'll move into SASPU nationl and so on, that they don't like, widespraed distributiono of propoganda. They want to try and stop it.

JF: You didn't say anything about .. when you vcane into NUSAS was it post Leibach, was it because of that?

FH: Yes I would was involved in NUSAS at the time that Sleibach came out. I got involved in politics at about my second year at university, '73and I stood for the SRC, and was also involved in wages comm and Nusas local.

Then there was Slebush and the combination of that and Mocambique and the Zimbabwean war produced a very right wing backlash , people would hiss and say communist at you when you walked into a movie theatre.

JF: Students?

FH: Yes, in Durban the number of people who were student activists who left could have been counted on your hands, although we weilded a disproportionate amount of power instudent politcs.

IT was really a feeling of being quite isolated and frankly quite despondent about whites.

JF: That they would be so easily scared off?

FH: Yes, there was a very right wing move, student meetings were getting quite ugly, people would beo and hiss, throw projectors at you, and they were the heaves, the rugby players from the residences aligning the hall.

It was getting to a stage where everyone was squaring up to people and physical confrontations. I think it scared off people, but at least part of the reason for that right wing backlash must be attributed to student politicians as well.

Students in white politics have to play an extraordinary and delicate. they cannot arrogantly abuse their own constituency for being white privileged kids.

It is a satisfying politics but it's not a politics which moves any bodyIt is making a statement drawing them into anything or exposing them to anything, or asking thwm to reconsider positions and so on.

JF: Is there anything else to say about Sleibacha?

FH: Yes he was quite effective in his smear job, he had quite an effect on everybody. I wouldn't say there was a tendency at the time to put the whele drift of the right wing entirely at the hands of Sleibach.

I think it was a combination of a weak constituency politics together with Mocambique and the deteriorating conditions for whites in Zimbabwe.

JF: Whereas no there are certianly deteriorating conditions for whites and yet there isn't this...



FH: Yes, I can't really explain that, but I think also there is quite a lot of general concern and I think ...certainly the '76 shootings seemed to have had an extraordinary effect on whites.

When I look at it, they had in beginnign '76 a massive growth in right wing attitude, and then suddenly the SAP shot hundreds of black school kids.

It immobilized the white right, it was difficult for them to present themselves coherently because could they defend it? No. They kind of dissipated as an organised force.

There were the odd right wing student personalities but they didn't find an echo in the student body any longer.

JF: Are you teaching white students now?

FH: I do as little teaching as possible.

JF: What is it like having contact with a student body now as compared to then?

FH: For a start the kind of support and depth of people who are making committments to a non-racial democracy has grown. One in which their own privilege will be threatened quite considerably, certainly the rxtent of privilege.

On the other hand it is less analytical, in a sense. To some extent it is more action orientated which is good. On the other hand, more prone to slogans as opposed to analysis. It's not a bad thing.

The struggle around them is much deeper and commanding.

JF: A summing up - how you invision the role of whiteas involving thier future, do you see non-racialism as here to stay or can it be crusged as in the fifties?

FH: I think it is here to stay because it is a very fundamental part of the ANC's programme, and the ANC has massive interanl support. I don't think non-racialism has to do with the number of whites involved although it important.

Terror, Loquata used to make the point in UDF He said if there was not a single white in UDF, they would still remain committed to non-racialism because it is not so much an idea about who joins, not how the future will be structured.

Not a question of counting the number of whites who have been good guys in the past.

JF: Were you involved with Jordac at all.

FH: Initially yea, now I kind of try and pay subs when I get reminders but I'm not fully involved. Not for any toher reason other then that there is a limit to what I can do . As it is I can hardly sustain a marriage and a relationship with my child.

I've spent 6 weekends in Joburg this year. I don't have time for meetings. Also I must confess there are strong echos of *student* politics in it, it's not that i'm not comfortable, it's just that I'm not going to make an effort, there as a lot of good people involved. I give what support I can. I would become more involved if I thought it was going to make an important contribution, but at the moment I go to meetings.



JF: Do you feel hopeful about the possibility of making any sense of the larger white community or is that..?

FH: Yes, as pressures increase and Jodac and the number of progressives is going to increase but also the ultra right is going to increase significantly, and I don't know what impact that is going to have but I predict a really large flowering of things like the Afrikaaner Volkskad Versteeg Verveeging and those kinds of quasi Nazi organisation.

The Nationalist party is probably going to lose significant membership to the right, it's also going to probably gain membership from the centre. As it is all the time. And I think the PFP is going to lose in both directions.

jf; Benefiting the progressive whites to some extent?

FH: Yes. You can't retain a vision of a unitary South Africa if you're quibbling about one man one vote in a unitary system is .. if you're not prepared to accept that as a policy.

JF: Can you explain the PFP's objection to the unitary state? She said to me America is a federal system...

FH: What does she mean by federal state though?

JF: I don't know either, she says it's just geographic obviously,...

FH: I have nothing against a unitary state if it simply means that every body exercises one man one vote wherever they are and sometimes, which they call provinces but there has to be one parliament.

Which exercises final political control and power..

JF: You mean you have no objection to a federal state?

FH: Yes, I don't know what they mean... i mean if someone said to me in future we will have nine provinces in which there will be regional and local governments exercising certain powers, and there will be elections to those states, that's fine, but there must be elections to one man one vote in short political governing body, the body which exercises final firm political control.

JF: No, it seems to be the kind of difference on paper the PFP and the progressives.

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