

Interview with Roger Harris by David Shortland, 18th October 2013, for the Anti-Apartheid Movement Archives Committee project Forward to Freedom

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David Harris: Could you give me your full name please?

Roger Harris: Yeah, my name is Roger Harris.

DS: Great, and when and where were you born, Roger?

RH: Oh. I was born in London in May 1955.

DS: Great, and what do you currently do for a living?

RH: I'm currently Executive Director of a small international NGO that deals with the welfare of seafarers.

DS: And what did you do for a living when you first got involved with the Movement?

RH: Well, when I first got involved with the Movement, I was a student at the University of East Anglia, and then when I left there – and this had quite a lot to do with my involvement with the Anti-Apartheid Movement – I actually got a job in the International Department of the National Union of Students, which ... One of the main campaigns that NUS ran – and this was in 1978 – was obviously the Anti-Apartheid campaign, particularly things like Boycott Barclays.

DS: And, aside from the Anti-Apartheid Movement, have you been involved in any other political or campaigning activity?

RH: Mainly, my other kind of main involvement's been in the Labour Party. I mean I've been a member for quite a long time now and I was ... I held various posts in the constituency Labour party and I was a Labour councillor in Lewisham from 1998 to 2002.

DS: Excellent. So if you could tell me a bit about when and how you first became aware of the situation in South Africa.

RH: Growing up as a teenager, as I got older, sort of 15, 16, 17, I was becoming more politically aware, more aware of the various anti-colonial struggles that were going on at the time, particularly the Vietnam war. I didn't really get involved in that, but I remember when I was – I think it was 14, maybe 15 – I actually went to the England v Springboks match at Twickenham and I was a spectator. I wasn't really politically involved, and I remember the protestors going onto the pitch and the crowd I was in was quite hostile to them. But it kind of started to make me think a bit and I think I started to question things and took more of an interest in the anti-apartheid issue and what was going on in Southern Africa. And then when I went to university, I think that was a kind of watershed moment for me because I met a number of students who were from Rhodesia – black African students from Rhodesia as it was then before it became Zimbabwe, people who were on British Council scholarships. So quite a lot of guys were from ZAPU [Zimbabwe African People's Union] but I think there were also some ZANU [Zimbabwe African National Union] people there, and I started to get to know them. A couple of them were on my course. I started to talk to them and got to know a

bit about the situation there and what was going on there and what was happening to their families and I remember becoming quite shocked by it. And I think through my time at university, I became politically involved in the Broad Left and then I became involved in Anti-Apartheid and I think one of the key moments was when, with the Soweto uprisings, we had a speaker from the ANC, a person who I'm still vaguely in touch with, a person called George Johannes. And he came and spoke and that had quite an impact on me. And from that, really, we then formed the university anti-apartheid society. One of the leading people in that was a lecturer who originally interviewed me when I went up before I started. He interviewed me so I could start at UEA. And he was a person called Tony Trew, and at the time I didn't know much about Tony other than he was a philosopher, but subsequently – and it wasn't until a number of years later – I actually found out he'd been imprisoned in South Africa in 90 days detention. But Tony, we knew, was South African and he and I and a few others then formed the Anti-Apartheid Society and it was from then really I got really heavily involved. I got to know more about the ANC, more about the national liberation movement, about the student movement. I became involved at a national level. There was a network of Anti-Apartheid Movement and National Union of Students. I went to conferences, demonstrations and all this sort of thing. And that's how, really, I became involved and when I left university, as I said before, I joined the NUS as an international officer and one of the main parts of the work was anti-apartheid.

DS: Could I just check ... the person that you said you met, was it George Johannes?

RH: George Johannes, yes.

DS: OK cool, and that's... J-O-H-A-N-N-E-S or something like that?

RH: Yeah, I think so.

DS: I can look it up to verify, that's fine. And sort of, personally, why was it that you felt that you should do something about it, when you came across what was happening?

RH: I think it was just becoming aware, becoming more involved in social ... around social justice. But also, I think, one of the things that really struck me was the connection between Britain and South Africa and the role Britain played in sustaining apartheid. The connections, and the economic links, and the fact that quite tangible, on every street corner there was a connection with South Africa, like Barclays Bank. And I think that kind of struck me really, and recognising that we could do something about it in Britain. There were practical things we could do that would support the liberation struggle and support the fight against apartheid. And then consequently when ... I mean one of the things I remember actually now, as a student we had Tony Benn, who was at the time a minister in the government. I think he was Minister of Technology. And actually asking questions about Britain's connection with apartheid there, particularly around the trade in uranium and things like that, and him defending that position. So at the time I was at university it was a Labour government and there was ... And I remember also another meeting where there was David Owen present, who was Foreign Secretary at the time, and people questioning him about the government's position on South Africa. And recognising that we had to do something and... particularly with what happened around Soweto as well, and the imagery and the pictures that we got back and just the way that the students were being shot down and the

way the South African security forces acted, you know, was horrifying. So I think that had an impact as well.

DS: When you were at university, did you come across much resistance to your position among your peers, other students?

RH: I think there was general sympathy for the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the anti-apartheid struggle. At the time, I don't think anyone really – or that I can recall – vociferously defended the regime. I remember in my residence there was a white guy who was from Swaziland who appeared to be quite lukewarm in support, and I found out years later that he became a leading expert on HIV and he was completely for the struggle, but because of where he was from I think he had to be a bit careful. But I don't think we ... I don't recall getting a lot of resistance. I mean I think a lot of people were apathetic or apolitical but no one really, at the time when I was at university, really defended the apartheid regime.

DS: And did you feel like that was something that was sort of unique to young people and students or did you think that society in general at the time ...? What would your impression be?

RH: I think at the time, there was support amongst some unions, some trade unionists. And there were other issues going on like Vietnam and things like that. So I think around Soweto there was an awareness of what was going on but I think, also at the time, there was a sense with the Soweto uprising being put down, I think there was a sense of, not quite helplessness, but a sense that it would take a long time and there was a whole debate about the role of the ANC at the time, particularly with students, ultra-left students. I remember there was a student demonstration we went on where ... I mean the SWP [Socialist Workers Party] was trying to promote SASM, the South African Student Movement [and] the South African Student Organisation, seeing them as alternatives to the ANC really. And I remember there was an NUS demonstration where the ... it was an Anti-Apartheid demonstration, but at the end the ultra-left tried to split off people to another platform where they had a speaker. I remember his name actually, it sticks with me, it was a guy called Tsietsi Mashinini, who was from the South African Student Organisation and he was held up by the ultra-left as the leader and you know the ANC weren't anywhere and that type of thing. But consequently what happened was a lot of people from those student movements – SASO and SASM – left South Africa and joined the ANC. I think the ANC was involved, but as an underground movement it wasn't always clear, and people inside the country had to be very careful about any allegiance they had to the ANC and to the movement. But that's one of the things that struck me, that there were various groups trying to use it for their own political ends.

DS: And if I can ask briefly as well about how you ended up joining the Labour Party? You mentioned there were some Labour politicians at the time that you, I guess, weren't in agreement with.

RH: Yeah. When I went up to university I got involved in the broad left. The Communist Party and Left Labour and unaligned people and I think through that I became more involved in that. I think I decided that ... I mean there was quite an active Labour Club. Being in Norwich there was quite an active Labour Party. There were a couple of Labour MPs. I think I kind of ... not quite drifted into it, but I decided that I felt quite comfortable in the party. At the time,

you know, on the left of the Party, and I suppose it's been a lifelong membership really of the Party, through the ups and downs of it all. But also I think in the grassroots, like the National Organisation of Labour Students (NOLS) I got involved with, they were very supportive and involved in the Anti-Apartheid Movement. So it kind of, I suppose ... partly a set of circumstances and partly recognising that some of the other parties weren't in the position to change things and weren't in the position to get into power at all.

DS: And within the Labour Party, did you find in terms of the discussion within the Party, was it at all an uphill struggle to gain momentum for the Movement, or was it broadly accepted?

RH: I think there was a lot of support. I think one of the key issues within the Party for a long time was support for the ANC. The Party took a very kind of ... I mean supported the PAC as well but it wouldn't ... I think it took them time to recognise the ANC as the leading movement within the anti-apartheid struggle. I think there were various things within the Labour Party, you know, there was anti-Communism within the Party and issues like that. But I remember ... and I think there were issues around some of the staff in the Labour Party who weren't pro-ANC at all. So I think that's one of the biggest issues. And of course the issues around sanctions as well, getting the party to adopt sanctions. After it left government in 1978 [Roger means 1979], then it swung a bit more behind sanctions, a pro-sanctions policy.

DS: And then can you tell me a bit about how you came to be involved in the, I guess, the official Anti-Apartheid Movement – the committee and that sort of thing?

RH: Yeah. So when I left university and went to work for the NUS, that's why I suppose I became much more heavily involved in the national Movement. I got to know some of the leading people within it. I left the NUS, I think, in 1980. I think – I'm just trying to think back now – it wasn't probably until a couple of years maybe I didn't do so much, but then about 1983, 1984, I was living in Wandsworth and I became more involved, and then we set up Wandsworth Anti-Apartheid Group, a local group. Then I got involved in the London Committee of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. I think it was just more, things were happening. And recognising that there were things we could do in the UK that would help the struggle inside South Africa. So things like the Shell boycott. I attended the Shell AGM in 1985, I think it was, as a shareholder, with Jesse Jackson outside. And at the time, more and more support was building. I think it was 1985 when there was the really, really big demo. And because of the British government's attitude as well that appeared to ... well almost pro-South African. Thatcher completely knocked down sanctions and just some of the things they were coming out with. There was a lot of anger. Also I think one of the issues ... there were so many things going on at that time with the Conservative government and Thatcherism and the miners and things like that. It was, I think, quite hard then to get, if you like, the space to get the Anti-Apartheid Movement up the agenda. But I think things did move on and I remember, at the time we formed Wandsworth Anti-Apartheid, there was a lot of interest, a lot of support. But at the time we did get hostility on boycott Barclays or boycott Shell. And we had material aid collections for the ANC as well, outside supermarkets. We did get some hostility. Then at the time we also were trying to address things like Wandsworth Council – they were a Tory council – to stop them banking with Barclays, to stop them having investments in South Africa as well. So I think, as I said before, one of the strengths is that links with South Africa were everywhere. They were sort of local really. You

didn't have to go very far to find a link with South Africa. And of course people ... family connections and things like that.

DS: And what was your role in the committee?

RH: Well, in Wandsworth Anti-Apartheid, I think ... I helped to form it and I think I was Secretary, but then I got involved in the London Committee of Anti-Apartheid, which was all the London groups, and I became Treasurer of that. I can't quite remember when but yeah I became Treasurer. I also, in the 1980s – when was it – 1985, was it 1985, 1984, 1985, I went to work for Islington Council on an anti-racist ... sort of GLC anti-racist campaign and there sort of ran into the whole thing around the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group and all that. A lot of them were based in Islington and they were trying to set up a rival to Islington Anti-Apartheid Group, their local ... kind of got involved in that in a way.

DS: And I guess in both Wandsworth and the London Committee, can you talk a bit about the general dynamic of the groups and how people interacted and what it felt like?

RH: I mean there was a very positive kind of feel – in terms of campaigning, a lot of enthusiasm. Sometimes it was quite a slog, but I think within the London Committee, there are highs and lows really. I remember times it was almost difficult to organise things, get people involved, but other times some of the groups were really well organised, really active. And there was a sense of shared purpose. There were differences. There were people from the Communist Party there, people who were unaligned. One of the controversies at the time was around Labour Party black sections because there were certain activists involved in the Labour Party black sections who were quite hostile to the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Saw it as a white-dominated movement. I think they veered more towards support for the PAC and some of the black consciousness ideas and groups. So that became a bit of an issue, particularly in London. I mean there's the whole thing with the City Anti-Apartheid Group, was a real issue, because ... And the whole thing around the non-stop picket appeared very attractive, but in some ways it became quite divisive because some people saw the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group and saw it doing lots, but didn't quite understand all the politics behind it and what their agenda was and that fact that the Revolutionary Communist Group, or whoever it was, was kind of behind it and they had other agendas. So at times, like when we had pickets of the embassy, there were issues there. In fact where it manifested itself was in two or three of the AGMs of the Anti-Apartheid Movement that were quite heavy. There was violence at one, and that could have put a lot of people off. But I think around our group and around the London Committee, we kind of stuck at it really. And invariably, there were people who were probably agents of the South African regime involved and the people who we were a bit suspicious of, who kind of came and went and ... you wouldn't necessarily have all the evidence, but I think there were suspicions about certain people.

DS: That's interesting. Were there any particular instances of that?

RH: Well, I think in our group there was a guy, a white South African guy, who kind of turned up to some meetings and people kind of weren't sure who he was and what his background ... For instance a lot of the war resisters, white South African war resisters who came, they were part of a network and people kind of knew them. But I remember this guy in particular who pitched up for a couple of meetings and we were a bit suspicious of him, then he kind of disappeared. So yeah. I mean at the time there was a bomb attack on the ANC office, there

was the assassination of the ANC rep in Paris, Dulcie September, who had been in London, who I'd met. So there were things going on. It wasn't just people's paranoia. I mean, there were attempts to divide the movement when it was gaining momentum, gaining strength, and the regime was trying to always undermine it.

DS: You mentioned earlier a bit that I thought was quite interesting that during Thatcherism lots of other issues kind of took the centre stage and maybe the Anti-Apartheid Movement became maybe less important to some people in the immediate sense. Did you feel like it kind of ... because I guess broadly, historically it kind of built and built to the point of the gig and everyone was on board, so was it less of an upwards gradient of gaining momentum?

RH: I think there was a general move forward, a general move of gaining momentum. But there were times where there was probably only a few of us on a picket line or a few of us, small numbers at a demo or something. And yeah, there were other issues around. I think even in 1986, 1987, or even as late as 1988, Mandela wasn't ... his name wasn't very well known. People didn't know who Mandela was. Amongst the activists, yes, Mandela was a huge figure and the ANC and people like Oliver Tambo, but it wasn't until the big Mandela concert and before that, that really kind of came into the general public's awareness. I think the Movement had done a lot of the work over the years, in the trade union movement, politically, trying to gain support. People like Mike Terry were working there, working incredibly hard to get the issue up the agenda. I think one of the things about the Anti-Apartheid Movement ... it had a key international role as well. We didn't always appreciate the national leadership having to do that work as well. There was a lot of work done at the UN and that level, trying to win support for the Movement, win support for the ANC.

DS: And were there any points that you can remember during the Movement where it started, for whatever reason, to seem hopeless at all?

RH: I don't think I ever felt it was hopeless. I think at times it was difficult. You'd have a meeting and there weren't that many people in the room. But I don't think we ever felt it was hopeless. I think we felt, in the mid-'80s, we felt it would take time. I don't think any of us thought it would happen so quickly, that Mandela would get released and things would change in 1990, that that would happen so quickly. I mean in 1989 there were signs that things were starting to move, but probably in 1987, 1988, I think all of us felt it would still take 10, 15 years, quite a lot longer than it did.

DS: So could you tell me a bit about some of the individual campaigns that you were personally involved with?

RH: At the NUS, Boycott Barclays was a really big campaign, so I was involved with that and involved in things like Boycott Shell. I remember being ... as the London Committee, we organised various kind of pickets of Shell stations and then ... before going to the Shell AGM. And things around, in the student movement and the NUS, the whole disinvestment campaign was big. And then ... what else? As I say, material aid and winning support for the ANC. I mean the other thing that I was involved with was the whole thing – AA Enterprises with Margaret Ling – a marketing cooperative that we set up. We did it in '86. One of the things was that the Anti-Apartheid wasn't very good at ... Well, yes, wasn't very good at raising money, and it was always working on a shoestring. It did what it could, but Margaret Ling, who was on the Executive Committee, we decided to set up this co-op to market goods

like T-shirts, make T-shirts, and then raise money for the Anti-Apartheid Movement through that. And then what we also did, we sold goods from the frontline states. So we sold Angolan coffee and Zimbabwean wine and then we had Mozambican art that we put on a T-shirt and then we ... in the end we were selling ANC T-shirts. And then we covenanted the profits and royalties back to the Movement. So we did that in '86 and from '86 to '90 that's what my full-time job was. So we kind of built that up largely through mail order and direct marketing, and that was quite successful. So it was in the mid-'80s, that was my full time job really.

DS: Did you find that that kind of contributed a good section of the funding for the movement?

RH: It contributed a bit. I don't think it necessarily ... I mean I can't remember the exact figures but I mean we contributed quite a fair amount. But I wouldn't say it was like 20 per cent or 25 per cent of funding. Where I think we did help was promote awareness of the issue through the T-shirts, through what we did. We had a record label as well, a couple of Angolan bands. That's how I got involved a bit with the cultural boycott as well and got involved a bit ... got to know the guys involved in Artists Against Apartheid. I mean we didn't ... we sold some of the T-shirts at the Mandela concert. In fact they used one of our designs as a backdrop as well.

DS: Do you mind if I just check... was it Margaret Ling?

RH: Margaret Ling, yes.

DS: L-I-N-G.

RH: Yeah.

DS: Great. So when you look back over the entire time you were involved in the Movement, what would be some particular incidents that stand out to you and why?

RH: Well, I think things like the big demo in 1985 was like the biggest demo the Movement had, I think ... I can't remember, but I think it was over 100,000 people. It was an amazing atmosphere, and Jesse Jackson speaking, so that stands out. I think standing outside the South African Embassy before they hung a prisoner, all-night vigils, kind of stands out. I think some of the local things we did, standing outside a Barclays or outside a supermarket. They stand out. And then, in particular, we had a picket at Wandsworth Council where I met my wife, so that kind of stands out as well [laugh].

DS: And I guess there's a mixture there of what you would consider high points and low points.

RH: Yeah, definitely. I mean you probably sort of forget about the low points, but there were ones, but the high points outweigh the low points.

DS: If you don't mind me asking, what were some of the lower points?

RH: I'm trying to think really. I think probably turning up and only a few of you turn up, expecting a lot more people at a picket or something. I think probably some of the setbacks in South Africa when the movement, the UDF was organising, and just what was happening

to them. They were all being imprisoned and it appeared like the regime had the upper hand. But I think looking back, things were still moving on. And things like the bombing raids into ANC camps in Zambia and things like that where a lot of people were killed. That was a very, quite a low ... in the deaths. And then I think the other low points would be things like, just looking back, what happened in Zimbabwe, what's happened with Mugabe. I remember, I think it was in 1978, being outside Lancaster House where the whole peace agreement around Zimbabwe, in support of ZANU and ZAPU and what's gone on in Zimbabwe is, you know, it's the right thing to do – support the struggle. But the way that's turned out is not what any of us expected.

DS: Let me see ...

RH: And I suppose the high points were the Mandela concerts and seeing Mandela in the flesh for the first time was amazing.

DS: How did that come about?

RH: Well I mean I saw him at the concert but then, in 1993, 1994, I worked for the ANC raising money for his election, his Votes for Freedom campaign and there was a fundraiser in a house and he was there and I shook his hand, so that was obviously quite a high point in my life really.

DS: Absolutely.

RH: And because of the work I did in AA Enterprises, that's how I kind of got involved in fundraising, so worked a bit for the ANC in London, and we raised – I don't know what the final figure was in the end, but a couple of million for the election.

DS: And did you have a chance to visit South Africa at any point?

RH: I have. About ten years ago as a holiday with the family. But I hooked up with some of the old comrades and a guy called Garth Strachan who was the student ... when I was at the NUS, he was the student officer of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. He was ... I don't think he still is but he was a Western Cape MP, heavily involved in the ANC and the South African Communist Party. I even bumped into Aziz Pahad, who I kind of knew from London, in Cape Town. And yeah, it was amazing really. We went to Robben Island and did all that, yeah.

DS: Could I check the name that you just said that, sorry? Aziz ...?

RH: Aziz Pahad.

DS: Aziz. Could you... have you any idea how it's ...?

RH: Yeah I think it's A-Z-I-Z and then Pahad, P-A-H-A-D. He was the Deputy Foreign Minister in the South African government until about five, six years ago.

DS: Oh right! So looking back over the Movement and the history of the Movement, what are your feelings about your involvement in it?

RH: I think I'm incredibly proud to be a part of it, really. It changed my life. It was a life-shaping ... it did shape my life. I met my wife through it because she got involved in Wandsworth Anti-Apartheid. I've got long-standing friends from those days, I'm still in touch with some of them. In fact one of them just got ... Dave Hillman, who's involved in leading the Robin Hood tax campaign. He just got an award from the Sheila McKechnie Foundation for recognition of his campaigning work. I'm in touch with people who have become MPs, people like Paul Blomfield and ... not to say 'in touch', I see him now and again. But as I say, it has shaped my life, shaped my politics, really. Back in those days, there was a sense of achievement that we actually achieved something as well. At the time we thought it would take a long time but actually it shows that campaigns can work. Obviously what people inside the country did ... they changed it. But the support that the solidarity movement ... it did help, and the campaign for sanctions and the campaign of awareness. It shows that things can change for the better and you needn't accept injustice. So I just felt proud to have met the people I did meet. I met some amazing people, incredible people. People like Mike Terry, who died about five years ago, incredible man. Quite difficult to work with at times but so focused and he kept his eye on the prize where he could have been easily pulled off. The times in the '80s with the City AA Group and things like that. Things could have gone completely differently, and would have put back the Movement, would have put back solidarity. No doubt about that.

DS: I'm just interested to ask as well, in terms of the campaigning and what was learned during the campaign, do you think that there are lessons that were learned at that time that could and should be applied in any situations today?

RH: Yes. I think... it sounds a bit obvious but I think a broad-based campaign is really important. You do try to get a broad group of organisations and interest as possible. I think that the church was involved, the union movement, non-aligned people, I think there were progressive Tories who may not have supported sanctions but were certainly opposed to the regime. So I think it's really important to build a broad base. I think one of the things, looking back, that we ... at the time, it was quite a part of it. How we reached out and got the black community involved. I set up a meeting between Mike Terry and Dianne Abbott, who was incredibly involved in black sections, just to try and get some bridges built, and I think maybe looking back we could have done more there really. But things were happening then in terms of the black community organising. The whole thing around black sections – suspicion towards a white-led movement that was involved in anti-racism. I mean there were black people involved and black people eventually in leadership positions, but I think, looking back, we probably could have done things better really. But that's one of the lessons, I think. But I think the main strength was building that kind of broad base and working not to keep it a narrow union, or a narrow left campaign, which I think some people probably wanted to do, but to make it as broad-based as possible around certain key principles and key campaigning objectives.

DS: With that kind of approach, did you find or would you find that it might have an adverse effect on keeping everyone focused towards exactly the same end?

RH: I think there are things that some people wouldn't necessarily sign up to ... sanctions. I think one of the things that did divide people a bit was support for the armed struggle. I think some people found that ... would broadly be against apartheid but didn't feel they could

support the liberation movement. But I think it was ... and having to explain that. And looking back, given what's gone on around terrorism and things like that, there was a kind of ... support for armed struggle is part of a fight for justice. You know, to understand that people had tried peacefully in South Africa for years and they all got locked up or had to go into exile, and that armed struggle was a difficult decision. But also it was part of ... it wasn't just that. There were other parts. It wasn't just a military campaign. So it was done kind of in a targeted way, really. So I think, looking back, if the same thing had happened, it might be harder to gain support for the armed struggle now than it did then. But again, broad movements around key demands, as it were, and not necessarily, by broadening support, watering those demands down.

DS: And I was interested in what you were saying about the conflict between a movement feeling like it's representing a group of people and campaigning on their behalf, as opposed to involving the people and making it their campaign, and that kind of thing. That's interesting.

RH: Yeah, you know, it's very ... One of the good things about London – UK but London particularly – was because there were a lot of South African exiles here. There were a lot of ANC people here. We were lucky in a way that we could get those speakers and there could be that dialogue and you could understand more about the ANC and why it decided to take up arms, and understand about people's lives because it's really ... like I said at the beginning, because I heard about the experiences of those Zimbabwean students, it had an effect on me. When you hear about people's personal experiences, their lives, that has a lot of impact, rather than sort of reading about it. So I think that helped shape the movement and why the Movement was quite strong in the UK, because of those very kind of close links with mainly ANC people who'd come out of the country and settled here and lived here for quite a long time. I think that was a real asset to the Movement.

DS: Well, that's basically most of the questions unless there's anything that you would like to say on top of it or any general comments. Just anything you think that hasn't been covered.

RH: Not really. I think we covered most things. So I feel really privileged to have met the people that I met along the way and unfortunately some of them aren't here, but they were just amazing people, and the dedication and the vision and the humanity as well of people. Some of the people that came out in exile and what had happened to them was quite scary and quite frightening and yet humanity sort of came through really and they're examples to us all. And I think the Movement has a very proud legacy as well. As I say, there's a number of people ... look at people like Bob Hughes who spent a lot of his time ... he sacrificed a lot politically for that and didn't get a lot of recognition outside of the Movement, and people like Mike Terry. Amazing people. And there's lots of other people who I met along the way who have been very inspiring.

DS: OK, well I think that's everything then. Thank you very much.

RH: OK. Good.

DS: Sorry, I know you probably just said it all and you're going to have to say it again, but if you could tell me about that, that's great.

RH: Yeah. I think it was when I left university and I think it was after I worked for the NUS, I moved to Battersea and joined Battersea Labour Party and one of the members, who's become a lifelong friend was a person called Norman Lucas, and he knew I was involved in the Anti-Apartheid Movement and he told me, a couple of years later I think it was, that he'd acted as a courier for the South African Communist Party because he was a photographer on the Union Castle Line and he did a trip. Anyway, it wasn't until about two years ago, this book called *London Recruits* came out and he'd written a chapter of the book, and it was about people mainly in the Communist Party who had been recruited in London to act as couriers for the South African Communist Party and his involvement was a lot more extensive than he'd told me and it was just quite amazing really. I went to the launch of the book in the House of Commons. In fact while I was there, there was someone else I bumped into that I knew years ago who was another courier and I never knew anything about this, because people had kept it ... Even though apartheid had finished, but people had kind of kept it quite secret really. But it was quite amazing really. He's been to South Africa in the summer to talk about the book and everything and had quite an amazing time there. As I say, it's quite amazing the sort of people you mean along the way really, being part of the Movement.