

## Langa Qinisela

Facilitator: This is an interview with Langa Qinisela, we are in Durban, the date is 17 October 2012, interview is done by Brown Maaba. You were saying comrade..?

Respondent: I was saying that I was born on a farm, at a very small time in the further South Coast, the name of the town/village is Harding, that's where I was born around 1952

Facilitator: That's towards Transkei?

Respondent: Ja just next to the border between Transkei and South Africa

Facilitator: I know the town?

Respondent: It's Bizana about 20 something kilos away from Harding, there's Bizana after you have crossed the river Umthamvuna, that's the river that separates Transkei and South Africa, that's where I was born and attended primary school in the area of Harding, and I attended secondary school at Ixopo, and I came to Durban to look for work I think it was in the year 1973. I was doing some temporary jobs here in Durban until early 1975 where I joined the South African Police. I went to Hammanskraal for training and then in 1976?? then there were riots in South Africa and I was a policeman during that time, I was stationed at Kwa-Mashu when the 1996 student riots started. That's when then I became very interested in politics

Facilitator: 1976?

Respondent: That was 1976 during the riots and immediately in 1977 I was involved in the activities of the ANC but at that time it was banned, we were just holding those secret meetings, 976, towards the end of 1976, 1977

Facilitator: After the student uprisings?

Respondent: Yes I became involved in the underground structures of the ANC in the township and at that time I was still a policeman. In 1978 I just decided to quit the SAP during the time not yet SAPS. I was not working for quite some time until in 1985 I was employed by a company called TW Beckett, known as Five Roses, they are tea makers. I was employed in August 1985. I remember quite well, after joining in November I was elected as shop steward. I remember that during the time you had to complete three months probation before you could get involved in company activities. After joining, this created a bit of a problem on the part of management to an extent that a meeting was held with our chairperson where this matter was discussed but eventually I was allowed to continue with my membership. I had joined Food and Allied Workers Union, it was no longer FOSATU and all those other names.

This is when I started to participate actively in the struggle of the workers. I remember my organiser at the time was an Indian comrade by the name of Gino Govender, he is still alive. I continued until 1996 after a strike, I had been transferred from Five Roses to the distribution department but of the very same company but it was located about 15 kilometres away. I was now working at that particular branch. I resigned in 1996, I worked for a year with Old Mutual. But in 1997 I then joined Food and Allied Workers Union as a branch organiser stationed at Port Shepstone. That is where now I began to experience ..., that is when I really came into contact with what was happening within the worker struggle. At Port Shepstone I was involved in organising mostly farm workers. You have farms on the other side, along the very border Mthavuna, banana farms and sugar plantation farms. I also had companies that were situated within the small town or city of Port Shepstone. Port Shepstone

even today .., workers are paid very low wages because when you negotiate wages with those employers they will always tell you that you can't compare the workers that we employ with the workers that are in Durban, Pietermaritzburg or Johannesburg in terms of the standard of living. So the workers that they employ cannot earn as much as what is earned by those workers in Durban or Pietermaritzburg. That was a challenge. I continued until 1998, from 1998 I was transferred from Port Shepstone to Durban. I was an organiser in Durban, I was allocated the North Coast. That means I was moving from across the Umgeni River, right up towards Zululand. That is the area I was working in.

Facilitator: As an organiser in the farm workers environment?

Respondent: I was also doing the farm workers section because even here in Durban we still organised farms even though they are not as many as when we were stationed at Port Shepstone. I continued until 2004 that is when I was elected the Provincial Secretary of KZN from 2004. I am now serving my third if not second term, it's a three year. I then became the Provincial Secretary of FAWU. As the secretary, my duties and functions had to change slightly. I had to go a little bit deeper into the understanding of the working environment. There's quite a number of experiences that I've come across as the Provincial Secretary of FAWU. One of those experiences of course would be .., I've come to realise that the political breakthrough of the governing party, the ANC did not go very far with catering the situation of the South African working class. What is happening in South Africa today suggests that .., part of the problem or part of the solution that is required to address some of the problems like the problem of unemployment, the problem of inequality and the problem of poverty in fact goes back to a time when the ANC negotiated the transition from apartheid to democracy. That is why then it will always be very difficult for labour/organised labour in South Africa to deal with some of the problems that we are having as the working class. And personally I believe that the working class in South Africa will only be in a position to begin to enjoy the fruits of the country after an aggressive transformation has been embarked upon perhaps by the governing party or maybe in this instance by the alliance partners

because we are in alliance with the ANC. We cannot expect ANC alone to address all the problems, be it political, economic or whatever. We are in this together we need to drive a transformational agenda. Unless that happens definitely we will be in this situation for quite some time. Unfortunately there are certain factors that are beginning to make this a little bit impossible. I personally believe that this was not supposed to be left for quite too long because the longer we leave this kind of situation, the more difficult it will be to begin to address it. If you look at parties like the DA and the other opposition parties. What the DA is doing in South Africa is not necessarily interested in what it is saying almost on a daily basis. All what the DA is interested in mostly is to try and safeguard or prevent what the capitalist class has already achieved. So by making a lot of noise, it will be able to say to the world the ANC must not begin to take away what we have already received perhaps during the process of negotiations. So that therefore suggests that the task of the governing party together with the alliance is very huge. That is why then you have just highlighted in passing the issue of Marikana and the issue of the mines. Comrade Vavi has been saying this over and over again but unfortunately people were not taking him seriously. He was always saying we are sitting on a ticking time bomb, one day this bomb will explode if we do not do something very soon because history will prove us wrong. We are beginning to see some indications that the South African working class will come to a stage where it will say enough is enough we can't go any further, it's either we perish or something else happens.

One other thing is the majority of the workers of South Africa own nothing. So perhaps the only thing that they will lose in a revolution will be chains. They don't own nothing that is why therefore it is necessary that the ANC must begin to do something and it must do something that is serious – but from the look of things you can see that the governing party is not taking some of these things seriously and that is very worrying. If things go on as they are definitely we will not be able to avoid a situation where the very alliance will be tested to an extent that maybe there will be a possible disintegration of the alliance. If you look at what is happening in the mines, the general workers, most of them are not as sophisticated as some of us. They never went to school, very few of them went as far as secondary education. Some of them only went as far as standard 4, standard 4. So when they look at what

is happening they are always told that their union which is NUM or COSATU, they are always told that COSATU is part and parcel of government because they don't even understand how the alliance is constituted/structured. All that they know is that COSATU is part of government so if then NUM fails to assist us it simply means we can't even appeal to the government because all these people are together. Now that creates a situation where the workers will lose a level of confidence in their union NUM and you will find that some other unions like AMCOR will make use of the opportunity and take advantage of the situation. Once such independent unions are given such an opportunity to mushroom we are going to have a very serious situation in South Africa because in the final analysis those unions are not going to help the workers. They do not have the interest of the workers at heart. Some of them are only in the market just to try and satisfy their personal interest and we are having a situation in South Africa where the level of unemployment is very high. So everybody would like in some way to get some employment of some sort, if not or to create a situation where he/she will be able to receive some income to make it possible for him/her to live. So all these things will come into the picture and we will have a situation where people are confused. They cannot separate right from wrong. COSATU I believe is trying by all means to avoid that kind of a situation but because of the situation, because even within our ranks of COSATU, you will find that we are beginning to experience those differences. I'm not sure whether those differences are based on ideological perspectives but it is becoming clear.

You will remember that before we went to the congress, I mean there were so many rumours that comrade Vavi could be removed from the position and things like that. But fortunately we managed to keep COSATU intact. Let me pause there maybe you can give some direction in terms of possible questions so that I can respond to them.

Facilitator: Let's start with the issues that you've just raised and then we will go back to your life history. What is the possible solution if you are saying that the workers will eventually revolt in this country because no one is meeting them half way. What should then be the resolution to the problems of the working class?

Respondent: Personally I think the alliance, that is the government, COSATU, SACP, and perhaps SANCO must come together and agree on a very aggressive process of transformation. By aggressive process of transformation I mean that we will have to agree on the system that will address the current situation in South Africa where the people that are working are earning very less as opposed to the managers/CEO's who are benefiting so hugely from the economy of South Africa. Unless and until the workers of South Africa are paid at least adequately we cannot live in peace in South Africa. I know that sometimes it may not be very clear as to what one means when one talks of the question of transformation because some will talk of nationalisation of mines, where mines are run by the government. Some will talk of socialisation of mines, there are so many systems one can talk about but as COSATU we are for nationalisation of all commanding heights of the economy, not necessarily mines alone. All those concerns and companies that are critical should be managed by the state because you know during apartheid, even though some of us were still young, but we know that institutions like Spoornet, institutions like Railways, all those were government institutions. What the Nationalist Party was doing, you could find that even those Afrikaner youth who were not highly educated they were employed, they were accommodated within the railways, within the department of Correctional Services, some of them did not even reach Matric but they were all working there. So that was the strategy of the government to ensure that every citizen is accommodated in the economy of the country and the wages/salaries they were able to live on them. But if you look at what is happening right now, our government from 1996 where we had to refer to 1996 Class Project, we experienced a situation where all those companies were being privatised. We also had a system that we called GEAR and when it was implemented during the Mbeki Administration, the tripartite alliance had not had an opportunity to sit down and look into that system and have some common understanding as to say okay this is the correct system, we agree we can implement the system, we believe and hope that it will address some of the problems that we had in South Africa. It just came from above and it was just imposed upon the people of South Africa and we realised that it was not assisting the system in South Africa. It was definitely not assisting. It was a system which could be associated with what is happening in South Africa which is capitalism, which says those that are poor

will become poorer and those that are rich will get richer. And if you look at the situation of the majority of the people of South Africa who are blacks from 1994 they were very very poor, it means that before we could even agree on a number of laws, or legislation, constitution with one of them, before we could even agree on some of those legislations, we have to try and address the situations, the economic situation of black people. They have to be addressed because we have a situation about Section 25 of the Constitution: Property Clause, will not allow the government to simply appropriate in order to address the situation that we are having, you will have to encounter a number of bureaucratic situations. That was not supposed to be the case that is why we are saying to a certain extent we were out manoeuvred at the World Trade Centre during the negotiations. There were things which we agreed to which we were not supposed to agree to.

Facilitator: So to undo this is going to be a mission?

Respondent: Yes definitely

Facilitator: But will the people wait forever then?

Respondent: Unfortunately people will not wait forever because according to the people these things should have been addressed yesterday and I do not think it will be, or it is right for the government of all of us to wait until people revolt against the government. The government must begin to do something, earlier, or sooner, rather than later. What is happening in the mines, those are the indications that if nothing is done around these problems we are going to experience something that we won't be able to sustain because currently you can see what is happening in the mines, that it is very difficult to sustain that kind of a situation where workers are saying we are no longer interested in our leaders, we are going to elect our leaders from our own ranks, people who can represent us. That is why even Vavi during the congress made it very clear that the unions must turn a new page. Gone are the

days when we will tell our members that okay because when we go for wage negotiations we will have a general meeting of all workers of that particular workplace and we will be taking their demands/proposals. You will find an official/organiser when he/she conducts that kind of a meeting saying to a speaker "comrade I think that demand is unreasonable" – maybe some asks for 30% across the board this year – the organiser will say "no that is unreasonable" – the rate of inflation is around 6/7%. Vavi was telling us that gone are the days when we will go to wage negotiations in that kind of an approach. If workers say they want 40% you must go to the employer and inform the employer about the workers demands. If we don't do that what happened at Marikana will happen countrywide and we must try to avoid that.

Facilitator: There's talk about the Lula moment, or maybe the second transition, what are we likely to see, will there be a difference?

Respondent: The questions perhaps will be, as much as we are interested in talking about the Lula Moment, because that is the moment we all want to see. The question is, will it be possible, will the circumstances in South Africa allow the Lula Moment to emerge, will our governors have that political will to drive all those processes that will translate into the Lula Moment. The Lula Moment is an ideal situation, we would all wish that the Lula Moment must come and it must come during our lifetime because it is the only moment that can begin to address our problems.

Facilitator: But just to shift a bit, the idea of recommending comrades for parliament, provincial or national parliament from the unions. Has that crippled the unions or benefited the unions?

Respondent: Well to ..., I would say, but that's a personal view, I think it has not assisted the unions that much, it hasn't hence the change of approach because



COSATU has changed that approach because it has realised that the system of deployment is not assisting the workers of South Africa. Perhaps one of the reasons why it hasn't assisted the working class is simply because when we do the deployments, they are not based on certain concrete principles. What I mean is before a person is deployed to parliament, there has to be some form of agreement between COSATU and the government that since we are deploying this comrade, he/she will not be subject to all the laws and systems of parliament. Systems of parliament at some point will run into the face of all these developments that we are looking at because once you go to parliament, first of all you are accountable to a certain ANC structure. It means you will have to be guided by that certain system, parliamentary system, to try and address problems in terms of the COSATU views sometimes is not possible. That is why all the deployments are not assisting COSATU or the South African Communist Party. One other thing is, there's a statement, which is true: Capitalism is a system that is inherently corrupt. Once you operate within the confines of Capitalism, definitely you may be how strong but eventually you will end up being corrupt, sometimes consciously or unconsciously but you will end up being corrupt. Because most of the activities that are happening within capitalism are corrupt to a certain extent

Facilitator: You mean it has to be replaced by socialism?

Respondent: It has to be replaced by socialism. That is what we are pushing for as COSATU and that is what we are pushing for as the SACP because we believe that that is the only system that will make it possible for all the citizens of the country to begin to enjoy the fruits of the wealth of South Africa. We sometimes look up to certain countries like Venezuele where Hugo Shavis was elected and immediately after his election, he and his party embarked upon a process of transformation and it was very serious because at times people can talk very nice but when it comes to the practicality you find that they are doing nothing. In Venezuela we are told that within a certain period of time, what the comrades had set out for themselves to address, God addressed practically and physically. And just recently Shavis has been re-elected, that therefore proves that the people of Venezuela can now see

that in reality Shavis is bringing some drastic changes. We again historically, (interruption – phone rang) we also read about people like Thomas Sankara who was once the president of Burkina Faso. We are told that immediately after being elected he called all his ministers and said from today we are going to cut all your wages and change the fleet of cars. The government officials will use the cheapest cars that we have here in Burkina Faso. And by doing that they took the bigger chunk of the money and invested it in health, education and all those social responsibilities and there was a change in Burkina Faso. That shows that unless and until the leaders themselves change themselves, we will not see changes. If you still have a situation where just one individual is getting R100 thousand and some per month whereas we still have a worker that is getting R1500 per month then definitely our situation is totally abnormal. We still have workers on the farms that are getting R1500 per month. How can you live on that salary. It is practically impossible and in South Africa if you just drive around, I think it happens in Gauteng too. You come across these things, you drive around and get to an intersection, you find 5 black kids as young as 5 to 10 years begging on the streets and because we've been saying these things from a long time ago, they are normal. We just see them as normal, the situation is normal. That really proves that the society is sick.

Now you begin to wonder to say what will make the people of South Africa realise that the situation is abnormal, everybody must stand up and try to change the situation. But what is bad is that whilst things are not normal, there's a certain class that benefits out of the system. It would be better if we were all in the system together, all of us. But a certain class is enjoying. That simply means that there are people who will fight very hard to maintain the status quo because they are benefiting out of the system. That is why then since the working class is always in the majority, we hope that time will come when the working class will revolt against the system because in some cases ..., that is why you will see violence in the mines and things like that and even during the strike, SATAWU strikes etc. Unless there is a little bit of violence there will no change, people will not respond to your problems, they won't, there has to be a little bit of violence. Without violence it means things will remain the same which is very unfortunate.

Facilitator: If we were to nationalise the mines and other sectors of the economy, do you think we have the capacity to run these mines and other private institutions that need to be nationalised?

Respondent: That is a very critical area. That is why the SACP of which I am a member. The SACP is currently grappling with that issue. That is why on the one hand there's an issue of nationalisation, and on the other there's an issue of socialisation. Because when you nationalise, normally we understand that those companies would be run by the state, or will be run by the government. Currently we have companies or institutions that are run by the government but still we are not happy with the manner in which those companies are run. Some of those companies are not assisting us. That is why I agree with you that we cannot say upfront that if we begin to nationalise everything will come right. No because the people that will be responsible will be responsible for the management of those activities are the very same people that are in government today. Are the very same people that we are complaining about, that some of them are even corrupt. They get budgets from the government sometimes they don't spend all their money, sometimes the money doesn't go to the projects that were supposed to be implemented. The money ends up going into their pockets. So that is a very critical area. I think we will have to have some time to sit down and try and map out a way that will be used to ensure that even after nationalisation, even after socialisation we will be able to manage all these resources and distribute them equitable to all the areas where they are most needed. But it remains a challenge I agree.

Facilitator: Labour brokers, has the issue of labour brokers affected FAWU to a certain extent?

Respondent: It has affected FAWU, it continues to affect FAWU even as I speak to you right now. Most of our companies are having that kind of a problem, where you find that if you had 300 members in a certain company, at some point you will find that there are 400 workers who are now employed by a labour broker. Now when

you reach a dispute on any matter with management, you can't even be embarking upon a successful protected action, or a successful strike because by the time all these workers are on strike, all these workers under the labour broker will be working in the places of all these people. Then the strike is no more effective. So it has affected FAWU, it continues to affect FAWU. We are still grappling with ways and means to deal with labour broking and is quite unfortunate that the government system of addressing labour broking is not assisting us.

Facilitator: The future of the alliance, other people are talking about the alliance should be broken into pieces, COSATU should go its own way, ANC it's own way, maybe SACP its own way. Will that be the case in the future?

Respondent: I think whether one likes it or not, eventually we are going to experience that kind of a situation because one of the reasons perhaps will be ..., which even ourselves as members of the alliance can sometimes see that our being in this kind of marriage sometimes disadvantages us to a certain extent. If I can make an example, the very question of labour broking, there's one company in Polokwane/Limpopo – always when we were having our NEC's we were talking about this company. It has a membership of plus/minus 4000, it's a farm in fact. We were experiencing a situation where we could not organise those workers into FAWU until we realised that the reason why it is so difficult these workers is because the person who is running this farm is a member of the ANC. A person occupying a high position in the movement. That's where you begin to see that because we are in the alliance, sometimes we tend to not to be very effective when we deal with matters that are associated with the ownership of the ANC hence then some other people are saying this alliance is not assisting us because we seem to be pulling punches at some point and you then realise that perhaps if we had a situation where maybe we did not have this kind of an alliance, the level of interaction would be different from the level of interaction that we have given that okay there's this kind of a relationship. I agree that ..., at some point or eventually this will have to be break because one other thing that I'm afraid of, which is a worrying factor, is if we go on in this fashion, we are having our alliance and then we must glorify our

alliance and things like that, I mean, certain organisations like DA are beginning to have some inroads. They are eating into our membership. At some point you will find that DA now is able to claim plus or minus 4 provinces because currently now they have one and are gunning for the second one. One other thing is that the people that are young, from universities/high schools, they don't have the background that we might have, struggle credentials of certain people and things like that. They just don't use that as a basis of their reasoning. They just look at what is happening right now and here and take decision on the basis of what they can see. You can't then begin to tell them that okay 1912 the ANC did 1,2,3, the Morogoro Conference, they are less concerned about that. They want to see what is happening now, are they able to be employed, are they able to enjoy the fruits, are they able to participate in the wealth of the country. If the answer is no, then the government party is failing. They just move away and go somewhere else. So those are problems that we are encountering.

Facilitator: Within FAWU in the KZN area, the level of exploitation especially in the farming area, is still rife, where would you put it?

Respondent: Well, within FAWU I think in 2004 when I became the Provincial Secretary we had a situation where there was a union by the name of SAPAWU, it was concentrating specifically on farms. COSATU then realised that the union could not sustain the situation then it was integrated into FAWU and then we started to concentrate on all farms. So we are making some progress but it's very tough. You come to a farm/compound and get inside there, you see how people live then you will ask yourself whether people are liberated or not, as far as they are concerned they've never experienced liberation on the farms. The other problem that we've encountered we found that if you go to a certain farm, you have to apply, you write a letter to the manager/owner of the farm seeking permission to go inside and organise. That was an agreement reached at the World Trade Centre, that organisers or COSATU unions will not be allowed to get into a farm without the consent from the owner of the farm. Now the owners of these farms are Afrikaners,

they don't want unions, they are union bashers. You can imagine how are we going to organise those people? It's a huge challenge.

Facilitator: The working conditions there?

Respondent: The working conditions on the farms is terrible, you find that when they report to duty, I will give you an example of what happens at the sugar cane farms. An employer will say you cannot knock off unless you have been able to cut a certain bundle, maybe the bundle will be identified in terms of weight or in terms of palms. You find that in order to do that it will take you something like 9 hours. Those people are working under terrible conditions with the lowest rate of pay, it is embarrassing. It only allows you to work for that month, go to the compound, buy bread, come back again, just like that. There's what we call sectoral determination. The sectoral determination is not assisting us because currently I think the highest sectoral determination is R1500, not more than R1500. So when you negotiate with the farm owner, he/she will say to you "I am very kind, I'm a kind employer because I'm prepared to go a little bit over and above what is regulated by the sectoral determination". Some of them would say "okay all what I need to do is give you the level of sectoral determination, once I give you R1500 you can go" – they just wait for the government. Once the government has declared that for this period this is so much, they just give that and leave it like that. It is very less. We are trying to push for something like at least R2500, trying to contact NEDLAC and all those institutions but unfortunately we are not winning.

Facilitator: Over the years the membership of FAWU in the province has it dropped, has it increased?

Respondent: Well fortunately the membership of FAWU in the province has increased because currently we are sitting at 18 000, previously we were 15/16 and the reason why we have been able to reach 18 000 is because we have started

organising in the merchandising sector. That is also one of the sectors that is controversial because it operates just like labour broking. You are employed here and the employer will say to you go and work at Port Shepstone, go to Shoprite Checkers at Port Shepstone, to go Shoprite Checkers at Empangeni but you are employed here. Now those managers at Shoprite Checkers, those managers at Pick n Pay they will harass these people like .. – you do something wrong they will say I don't want you in my shop get out. When he comes to get assistance, all what we do is we will be dealing with the employer, the employer is right at Empangeni but this person is expelled from a shop along West street. So it's a hell of a complicated situation.

Facilitator: The members of FAWU are they all African or there's Indians and other ethnic groups?

Respondent: Well we are a non-racial union, we have Africans and Indians, I mean in the most. We do sometimes have whites but very few of them, certain companies like now we have whites at ABI, we do have white members there and at Clover we do have white members. But everybody is welcome.

Facilitator: The future of FAWU and COSATU, where would you put it?

Respondent: Well, let me start with FAWU. As FAWU there are so many things that we are grappling with during our NEC's. We were not so much involved in activities like investment companies but because of the situation, because of time, we have just decided now to concentrate in this field because we realise that some of the unions, COSATU unions have been concentrating in this field and now they are better off even to cater for the interest of their members or for the children of their members. If you talk of SACTU there's a fund that was created by SACTU clothing, that caters for the education of the children of the members. We are taking some strides to ensure that we improve FAWU on the side of investment companies and

again we are improving FAWU on the side of education. We have employed highly skilled educators so that our members are more or less self sufficient. We don't want a situation where we will have an employee who never did his/her standard 6 at school. We took some of our members to the workers college where they get trained. We have some organisers now who have achieved Bachelor of Science, Bachelor of Sociology and things like that through workers college. So we would like to transform FAWU to be a union that is a little bit sophisticated in terms of education and we want to develop our membership because there's one area that is critical which I think could assist maybe to prevent situations like what we are seeing in Marikana even though NUM is one of those unions that has a very strong arm in terms of education but because of the nature of their activities, most of their members of course will be uneducated because they would be drawing their membership from rural areas – I mean mostly in Swaziland, Lesotho but they are trying quite hard to develop their members. That is FAWU. On the side of COSATU because I'm a member of the PEC. I think COSATU right now even though as I've indicated that even the situation that is happening right now is beginning to give COSATU some encouragement to rather look at certain areas in order to transform COSATU because the other thing that COSATU should try to look at quite seriously is the system of concentrating on the worker issues because currently now we are talking Mangaung and you find that sometimes we can be so much preoccupied by this Mangaung at least at the detriment of the interest of our workers. That is why then we are saying the alliance must try to be very aggressive in addressing the question of transformation so that COSATU as COSATU must begin to concentrate on the worker issues, but we don't seem to be participating too much in politics rather than in the issues that pertain to our workers.

Facilitator: Any closing word?

Respondent: Well in closing, I want to say all the struggles, all the activities that we are engaged in, where we look upon them as the building blocks towards our ultimate goal which is socialism because we know that in a system of socialism, we won't be complaining about wages, we won't be complaining about inequalities,



we won't be complaining about unemployment, we won't be complaining about poverty, so all what we are doing is for ..., is interim as far as we are concerned. Our ultimate goal is socialism, but our problem of course is that we are not sure if we are together in that understanding, that's why I said some of our ministers and members of parliament, the level of ..., the kind of life that they live is dangerous because it tends to transform their thinking, it tends to say to them okay we seem to have reached our destination. So that is why then the question of the alliance moving forward will be challenged. We will need to reach a point where everybody who is committed to reaching socialism will have come out and say okay I am for socialism, I am for capitalism, so that we know where we are going. Thank you so much.

Facilitator: Thanks sir.

END

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