

Joe Legamana

Facilitator: This is an interview with Joe Legomana, we are in Kimberley, the date is 14 October 2011 interview is done by Brown Maaba. Thanks very much for your time. Just give me a background as to where you were born and your family background, how you were raised and how you ended up, schooling issues and how you ended up in union structures?

Respondent: Okay thanks Brown. My name is Joe Legamana, I was born on 5 January 1964 in a small town in Northern Cape called Warrington. How I become involved in the trade union movement is informed and influenced by my experience in the workplace as a young boy at the time and it was early in the 1980s. And I'm now about 19 years in the trade union movement as a full time staff member and in my life I worked for about two unions so far. The first union that I joined as a staff member was FAWU in the food sector where I worked for about 17 years and then I joined the National Union of Mineworkers 2009. And of course I've been a shop steward at one stage, a branch secretary in the union structure, a branch chairperson, organiser and secretary, so at the moment I'm back to the position of being an organiser. I was a secretary of FAWU for Free State/Northern Cape for about four/five years before I joined NUM.

Facilitator: so shop steward, secretary, organiser

Respondent: branch chairperson of the Warrington structure of a union, in fact it's three unions that I was involved with. The one when I was a branch

chairperson is SACAWU which is when I was employed by one of the supermarkets in my hometown.

Facilitator: Just to go back, in terms of schooling what happened, did you drop out, did you finish Matric and started looking for a job?

Respondent: ja I dropped out when I was at high school in Taung. I went to work, I got employed and I enrolled with University of Free State, they took me, I was doing a degree in Business Management, their programme was called BML, this is Business Management Leadership, but I did not complete it unfortunately due to some interruptions that happened in 2005/6/7, that was during the time when there was this road to Polokwane, unfortunately I happened to be on the way of some people and I even requested help from COSATU in writing, ANC, as well as the party. So I never finished my degree as well.

Facilitator: but when you finished Matric you started looking for a job?

Respondent: I did not finish Matric, what happened is I applied at the university and they used their own programme of enrolling people who don't have Matric in that programme, it was like adult experiential learning programme.

Facilitator: Did it work that kind of a programme, funny programme when people don't have Matric?

Respondent: It did because I wasn't the only one, a lot of other people they finished that programme and went ahead with other studies with the University of Free State. I was told it is the only programme at the time in the country that they have, I'm not sure which other institution it is linked to abroad.

Facilitator: which year did you start working, early 1980s?

Respondent: I think it was mid 1980s when I was employed at the supermarket in Warrington, it's around 1985/6

Facilitator: so what encouraged you to look for a job or a full time job, was it part time or full time?

Respondent: One was a bit confused at the time, you know my parents were struggling, it wasn't that easy to decide on the way forward except to say it is important to get an income so that you can assist them because we didn't even have a house at the time, we were staying in a shanty, there was a need for me to get employed and assist them. So ultimately I got trapped in continuous employment because I could see that it is assisting in terms of income for the family.

Facilitator: so were you the only child in the family?

Respondent: no it's myself and my younger brother, we were two

Facilitator: The political environment of Warrington, a small town in the 1980s, how would you describe it, maybe there were no politics?

Respondent: Warrington is one of those areas that I think was highly mobilised by the civic movement at the time as well as the UDF and as we move on towards the late 1980s it became clear that that town was now becoming part of the broader struggle of the country, because we lost about two or three victims due to the police shootings in that area, around 1986/7. So as we speak today it is one of the areas that is noted to be developed in terms of social infrastructure, roads etc., but in terms of political it is I think, people are participating. The challenge with the community is to be understand the leaders, there's another matter which is obviously a challenge everywhere else. But the trade union in that area, they've been in a way coming and going. For example SACAWU was there, as we speak it is no longer there because of the number of shops, for that sector there are too less, and the membership has dropped, SATAWU which was SARHWU then, it is no longer that strong like before because of railway changes, the sector in terms of the rail network it has changed, the privatisation of Transnet etc. So as we speak today we've got a predominant public sector unions in the form of SADTU, the teachers, NEHAWU and POPCRU and then you will have maybe NUMSA there and SAMWU. So the private sector unions are quite less in that area

Facilitator: so you mean the economy of the town has gone down, in other words slightly?

Respondent: I think it has been devastated by privatisation of the rail and the restructuring of Eskom because I remember a lot of people were employed by those institution at that time, so it has of course being negatively affected. It has gone down but the challenges is of course the current ..(unclear) to uplift it.

Facilitator: Your first job was in a supermarket. What were your expectations and what were the disappointments as a young man working in a shop?

Respondent: Well before I went to be employed at the supermarket, I used to do some peace jobs obviously, I don't know whether this is necessary for you

Facilitator: It's necessary

Respondent: okay. I also learnt that in the construction where we were working, building tennis courts, and as you know it is related to .., like the stuff that we used to build a road, so that mixture, you have to remove the old one and dig it – like a tarred road. So that was the most challenging work I've ever done, it was for about 7 months. I then left and went to Johannesburg with my father, I worked at a manufacturing factory in Kempton Park

Facilitator: really, I live in Kempton Park

Respondent: Sebenza Industry, an industrial area called Sebenza there, I worked there for a couple of months, that was around 1984 and this was the time .., when I left Johannesburg it was because we got arrested for not having permission to work in Jo'burg, for the fact that we were from another province, a small town, during the days of Group Areas Act

Facilitator: you guys got arrested?

Respondent: yes we got arrested and were awaiting trial for about 8 to 12 days, at the time police were quite brutal. I never saw somebody beating somebody with one clap, this side and this side and you get blood, it happened. And not just that, the brutality of inmates for people who were on awaiting trial, amongst themselves abusing others, physically, violently, those things. Those were the experiences that shocked my life. You can imagine at the time one was very young, around 20 something, 21-25 so it was quite tough. But I landed in the supermarket after the ordeal in Gauteng was not a success, having being arrested and had to go back home. My mother was very worried and said don't go to Jo'burg anymore unless .. - so I landed in a supermarket and in the supermarket I became a shop steward there, they elected me to other responsibilities. In a nutshell that's basically, maybe I have to respond to your questions for now.

Facilitator: Your first job, construction, was there a union in that construction?

Respondent: It was a disaster, there was no union and employers were quite brutal there, there was no union, there was no formal meetings, you were employed without any paper work except that you give them your ID, and

then that's the only paperwork. The next paperwork is when you get your pay in a plastic bank money bag, there was no other paperwork. No contract of employment, or particulars of employment at the time. I left that construction because of the conditions of employment there and there was no other way that one can get help because in that town, unions that were dealing with the sector, were not visiting the town and that's how tough it was. I then looked for another job and I landed at a supermarket called Spar in Warington.

Facilitator: when did unions come to your attention, growing up as a young man, you probably don't even know that there's a union?

Respondent: the first union that came to my attention is SARHWU because in the middle 1980s towards the late 1980s, South African Railways and Harbour's Workers Union was very strong, particularly in our area and they used to use us as young boys to distribute pamphlets and maybe send meeting notices because in those days the cellphones and so on, so we had to run around. In fact we were doing that work in the entire province. It was quite difficult because I remember it was at the time there were restrictions posed by the state, I think of Emergency or state on COSATU's operation, there were those restrictions so we were guided by the union leaders of SARHWU on how to move around with these pamphlets, we had a lot of camouflage, we would be moving around wearing our school uniform and when you are asked where you come from you were going to a school function or something, particularly on Fridays. A lot of work was done on Fridays and Saturdays because they don't expect kids/young boys to be on the road or somewhere ..., during the week, but for the weekend it was easy to operate. SARHWU has influenced me and the advantage again I had was a former second deputy president of COSATU, Godfrey Olifant, he says in my

hometown, he is currently the Deputy Minister of Minerals and Resources to Suzan Shabangu.

Facilitator: he comes from Warrington?

Respondent: same hometown. He has of course shaped my thinking in terms of people's organisation, changes in the country, etc., the union involvement. When he was elected it actually encourages me to take union business seriously and there was then a post at FAWU, Food and Allied Workers Union for a branch secretary at the time, on full time basis, that was in 1992, I applied for that position and I was successful at the time during the interview. I worked for about five/six years roughly and then the union changed the position to organiser. I then became an organiser in the same Kimberley branch office of FAWU. I worked there until I was then elected as the regional secretary for Free State Northern Cape. At the time FAWU had one regional office for two provinces. I then relocated to Bloemfontein. I was then based in Bloemfontein, I left Bloemfontein around 2006/7 back to Northern Cape.

Facilitator: so you know these people, the old man, Janki Sondiyazi?

Respondent: yes I know him

Facilitator: I interviewed him

Respondent: I worked with him, he was reporting to me. He is my predecessor actually, when he left the union's secretary position I then came in.

Facilitator: but then you were then introduced, you went to work in a supermarket, so I assume you were introduced to FAWU through that supermarket

Respondent: the SACAWU experience was quite a difficult one because we were now beginning to build a union structure in Warrington and then that's where I was a shop steward for Warrington at the supermarket but then there were these other towns, Christiana, Bloemhof, Chankemp, Aswater, Warrington. I was then elected as the chairperson for a local of SACAWU for those towns that I have just mentioned. Now employers seemingly they pick up that we were going to cause some problems for the number of shops in these towns, they dealt with our leadership. I was the first one to be dismissed at Spar and I was represented, before I got dismissed I had a case and I was represented by the same gentleman, Godfrey Olifant together with Mannie Dipico, they planned my representation. Mannie was the organiser of NUM, he was working full time, he organised with Godfrey who was released by Fenchman de Beers to represent me there, with their own ways of releasing him. It was in that hearing that I started to understand the formalities of a disciplinary hearing and also realising that indeed they were not happy about my activities as a shop steward there and the work that we were doing ..(unclear) – not just in Warrington but around those towns. So I was dismissed in .., around 1987/8 I don't remember the year. It was a lousy case but at the time the country was moving on with the political changes. Our town Warrington opened an Advice Centre. I was employed in that Advice Centre, as a volunteer, no salary, no pay, no benefits except when people

get their salaries and maybe give you something, R20 or so, one had to be patient until 1992 like I was saying, that's how I joined FAWU from being a volunteer. But at the time when the ANC was unbanned we were the first group to open an ANC branch in Warrington and it was one of the branches that were seriously doing some serious work. I did not occupy any serious position in the branch, I was a BC member, an additional member there.

Facilitator: what kind of serious work did you do as a branch of the ANC?

Respondent: We were mobilising communities particularly around recruitment for the ANC and community members to start understanding the ANC rules/constitution and the programme of the ANC at the time for campaigning for constitutional assembly, free and fair elections, all those demands that the ANC was putting ahead to the then government.

Facilitator: people say that this a coloured province, ..(unclear) I don't know in terms of the ratio. What was the position of the coloured people in the early 1990s about the ANC, where did they stand, as you were organising this branch?

Respondent: As a community in Warrington you will know, you will see that each town was segregated by the set up of apartheid in terms of coloured, Indians, whites and Africans. So when we did our recruitment we never shied away to go to coloureds, to Indians as well as even white people because that's what the ANC taught us that it is a non-racial organisation, it's pushing for a non-racial society. So obviously the numbers of these groupings to join the ANC differs but they did participate.

Facilitator: Going back to SACAWU days when you were in the supermarket. What were the pressing issues there for the union?

Respondent: The pressing issues was to unite workers; to recruit them into a union and be organised, so that when they raise their grievances, like wage increases and other conditions of employment, then they will be doing that in a united way. That was a key challenge. It wasn't easy to unite workers because the level of intimidation by the majority of employers was very high, but the Indian employers were quite diplomatic and corporate should I say, in solidarity to what we were doing, because they would encourage their workers to join but also have some conditions that were somehow political, "don't do this or that, but it's fine we understand", we could then see that these are the people we can actually work with, enhancing our plans.

Facilitator: but would you say you succeeded to set up this particular structure?

Respondent: The answer is yes and no because even today some people do refer to what we were doing, what we were trying to do, what we did, it was a success that was perhaps to some extent not sustainable due to challenges of the day at the time, because of intimidation, leaders in the union getting dismissed obviously interrupted the programme and the sustainability of the structure, and that was a sign of intimidation in reality, because other people started to shy away from the union movement, and I will say to a greater extent it has shut down that union there, because employers will make an

example and say "what happened to so and so, where he is and so on", with their own propaganda.

Facilitator: so they will use those examples to refer to ..?

Respondent: to demobilise

Facilitator: did they succeed or they succeeded?

Respondent: their success is maybe in terms of the economic restructuring also, because the economic restructuring when it happened in a form of other businesses closing down or reducing staff, it obviously affected the future growth of the union and in the employer's view it is also assisting their course to shut down the union or reduce the influence of the union, so in a way yes they succeeded because as we speak some of the unions are no longer there, like I said earlier on, as a result of the restructuring, the economic dynamics and to some extent the fact would be, the owners of those businesses how they run their businesses, it is nothing to do with maybe government but it's their own decision to shut down and relocate and so on. It affect the union's future.

Facilitator: In a small town like that, the levels of racism how would you describe them?

Respondent: It has become sophisticated, it has become subliminal, those who are playing the race card they do it but pretending as if they are reasonable, so they are doing it in a very clever way because they know it is acceptable, it is being declared all over, universally it is not the right thing to do, it is no longer a good thing to do, it is no longer a legal policy, so they still do it. But I think the challenge we have as people in that area, is the transformation of communities as a non-racial society, that's the challenge. And obviously it's going to take a long time because I believe transformation should start with me, and if I'm not embracing transformation but I'm embracing racism, whatever other things that are not correct, obviously I'm going to affect the changes in communities, so I think that's how the challenge is in terms of the social ills.

Facilitator: as SACAWU did you have to battle with such issues in the workplace, supermarket? Issues of racism against the workers?

Respondent: It was one of the obvious things but at the time it was difficult to raise it directly as we can do it now. You had to put on the agenda priority areas, or items like your wages, transport, and motivate by saying that the food prices is high we can't afford and poverty, and also indicate issues of violence that was affecting people who are both working and not working, we were grappling with those challenges, which of course social ills and also apartheid legacies actually.

Facilitator: violence you mean political violence?

Respondent: violence in general, where workers stay in the communities, what is the employer doing because workers don't have a transport. For example when it is Friday and you work overtime until 6/7, when you have to work from work back home, those who see you as an opportunity for income they will stop you around the road assuming that it's Friday you've got your salary, those kind of things.

Facilitator: but was it sorted out this issue of transport?

Respondent: it was never sorted out because there was a problem of public transport for example. There was no public system at all except a few taxis which we didn't afford, but you will also understand the distance between the township and the town in Warrington is not more than 5 kms, it's less but when you walk and tsotsis confront you, you think about the safety and the safety would have been transport.

Facilitator: and then the issue of wages, did you succeed there?

Respondent: when I started at Spar I remember I got about R400/R500 per month and when I left that supermarket it was just above R600 but less than R700, I still have their own payslip because I show them to my kids, handwritten, Joseph Legamane. We succeeded in terms of agreeing with the employer on a x-increase which was different from the increase that the employer will impose, instead of giving us a R20/30 increase maybe he will give us R60 because we have negotiated for it, fearing that we might embarrass him with a strike or something, bargaining dynamics. So I would

say at the time we succeeded, but it was a long road to go, because we were not happy to get that salary

Facilitator: so you were earmarked for dismissal so to speak?

Respondent: and it was unfortunate because when we relate our fears to some of the people who were guiding us, they outlined the realities, the dynamics or the risks that were involved, it was a question of taking it upon yourself as to whether you will proceed or you will stop and suffocate with your grievance. To some extent it becomes an individual decision to participate or not to participate. Some of us decided to participate and so on.

Facilitator: did others stop maybe and say "gents I'm out of this"?

Respondent: there are others who dropped out unfortunately

Facilitator: which reasons did they put on the table for dropping out?

Respondent: Family reasons were dominating the explanation of people who said my child/family, other people were not necessarily coming from Warrington, they were from other villages around Warrington, so they would site those reasons, I can no longer do this because of time, and all those constraints and so forth

Facilitator: Looking back or today do you think those people regret why they dropped out or they feel they've actually advanced better than you guys who remained in the unions?

Respondent: it's quite a difficult one to comment on fairly because circumstances that people lived in then and now were different. But the shortcomings are still there, both at the time when we were trying to build our structure and even now, and those constraints is jobs. Some jobs are there but they are not either sustainable, as we talk today that they are not decent enough and so on. So there are people who chose to leave the structure or the town or the employment for those various reasons. My comment on this is quite limited.

Facilitator: and the levels of exploitation at that time, or when you had to live you lived comfortably?

Respondent: The level of exploitation was very high because Warrington, I don't know why it was so unfortunate. For example exploitation starting from where people live. There were no government built houses there, during apartheid, in the African township, in the coloured there was. That exploitation has to do with people trying to transform their life out of a shanty into a house, a two roomed, one room, or three or four roomed at least. People had to struggle with their pay, the salaries that they get so that they can at least live a life out of a shanty. So it was a very tough situation and this is where some of the teachings and messages from leaders of the unions then, different unions was about a salary, that if you improve your salary you will be able to improve your life, you will be able to pay for your kids schooling. All these things started to make serious sense that by the way I

struggle in Taung because I did not for example have transport when I'm in Taung, Taung is 64 kilos from hometown, I was schooling there I could not go back because there was no transport. So it started to make sense a lot and even relate it to a personal experience of sleeping without having a meal in Taung, far from home, waking up in the morning without having breakfast, having to move quickly to the school so that we can request or ask other students/scholars who stay in the boarding school to give you something from their breakfast because there were those in the boarding school. That's how we survived. But all these things started to make a huge sense that by the way the problem is actually the workplace where my mother/father works, where I am also going to work or where I am working and so it relates to everybody else who is employed. But later in life one then relates that problem to politics, it's because of the set up of apartheid, the conditions, the development of our people and so on. It actually clarifies my understanding more and more.

Facilitator: I know you have left Warrington but probably you still go back home. The levels of exploitation there today compared to the past, or have things changed?

Respondent: You mean in terms of the workers?

Facilitator: ja

Respondent: It hasn't changed much when you look at the inflation rate for example. The food inflation because it means that 10/15 years ago the wage rate that people were getting then compared to now, it is hasn't

changed a lot because they are still paying more or less the same price of bread and milk etc. for the same income that they are getting. So the absence of trade unions in any area, it actually creates more frustration for the working people in that area, because employers get away with the advantage of not bargaining with anybody, they just impose R13 increase or 7 cent per hour. So the exploitation still continue.

Facilitator: When you were fired from work did you regret it?

Respondent: It was a debate in my mind as to was it the right thing to do for me to continue with trade union activities, or did I do anything seriously wrong in the workplace and later on when I get some explanation from the then organiser of the union, it was clear that they were just targeting me or some of us for union activities. I learnt a hard lesson Brown when I landed in hospital in Warrington, this was around 1990/91 and I landed there because I had a problem with my eyes, when I was at the hospital for about three/four days I developed some problems with my health that I did not go there for, and that was now, all of a sudden I had chest problems. My brother was fresh from school and also in Jo'burg, we were communicating and some family members realised that there's a problem and there were sisters/nurses who were progressive at the time within the hospital, they could see that there is something that was not good that the doctor gave me and they realised that thing is actually creating problems. It was like closing my chest. I left that hospital at night with the pretext that I'm going to Kimberley Hospital, so actually my brother and me hiked from Warrington at night and back to Jo'burg and at that time both my brother and my parents were Jo'burg working there because it was tough in the area. I was alone at Warrington. And then in Jo'burg doctors picked it up that the medication that was given to me, because I had some of the medication to show them

and also to take because not knowing what is actually happening. They picked up that the medication was a deliberate mixture that was building asthmatic sickness, I still live with that today. Nobody in the family has asthma I've got it.

Then came the period of TRC, I was ill advised because I wanted to submit something particularly with this experience, I was ill advised by some guys and then I lost out, I did not submit anything, not to say to get but just to recall that I've experienced this thing during the time of oppression. I forgot about it and went on with my life. Basically that's what I can say, but it was quite a nerve wrecking experience

Facilitator: It never came out who was responsible for this?

Respondent: the suspicion there was that my then employer, the supermarket and the doctor and some people around him were conniving because when I left the hospital my employer came here to Kimberley Hospital to look for me and when he arrived back in Warrington, his comment to some of the employees and the co-workers there was that "daardie ou skelm is nie daar in Kimberley, ek wonder waar's hy", I did not hear him say that but my comrades were telling me that, in fact warning me not to go and work again there. In Jo'burg I was hospitalised for about two/three weeks for both eyes in Hillbrow, Joubert Park. My mother used to rent a flat not far from Karos hotel in the corner. So that's the experience with that.

Facilitator: but you still went back to Warrington?

Respondent: I went back to Warrington after I was healthy and they realised that I'm still not changing, I was charged with insubordination, not taking reasonable instructions something like that and they dismissed me. I was dismissed, I took my case to SACAWU in Kimberley here, during the days of the Conciliation Board because there was no CCMA, but that case died a natural death at the Conciliation Board of then Department of Labour. So I just forgot about it because there were other opportunities in life that were coming.

Facilitator: so from 1992 to 1996 you said you worked as a volunteer, after being expelled from work?

Respondent: I was expelled from work in the 1980s from the Spar and then I volunteered after I was expelled or dismissed from Spar, I volunteered, I was unemployed for a long time, and I volunteered at the Warrington Advice Centre, it was gutted, it was burnt down by some white people at night. I still have the newspaper cut of that, but I was not alone as a volunteer. I remember Patrick Mothosima, we were together there working in the Advice Centre and another lady. And when this opportunity at FAWU of a branch secretary came I applied and was successful.

Facilitator: The activities of the centre, it was called Warrington .

Respondent: Warrington Advice Centre

Facilitator: advising who on what?

Respondent: We were advising community members who had different legal matters, where to refer them, who to contact, there were cases I remember we also communicated with the Black Sash then, the Human Rights Commission at the time it was called, is it Human Rights Commission, the predecessor of Human Rights Commission is the current body, the predecessor to that, and a lot of other relevant, even social services in a form of government service, UIF and the likes, because that area Warrington is quite a rural town, so people who stay in that town, work in that town, some of them are from villages, rural areas so there will be high level of ignorance about their rights, what to follow, the procedures of certain claims and so on. So we were advising people on those matters. But what was also dominating the Advice Centre in terms of complaints was work related cases, including people who did not know that they must apply for government pension and so on. And at the time they had to wait for three months for the old age pension. In other words they will get pension this month and wait for three months and after three months or two and half months then they get it. Other people didn't know where to go and so on. And abuse related cases also, violence, the police must come in, at times the police were not doing their part well, you keep on just sending people and they will come, there were police people who were not happy about us referring some people to them with matters that they have rejected or given a lousy explanation. So the Community Advice Centre was really a general advice centre on anything. We were not trained, we were just using our common sense and we were using the material that we were given in order to know something and refer people and keep a data of contacts of many people, land claims, land affairs staff etc.

Facilitator: How as this office sustained, I'm sure it was in the middle of a town, in order to be paid..?

Respondent: It was sustained by fund raising and some people who volunteered to donate whatever. The donation for example, people will come and drop lunch for us, people will come and drop some groceries for us, we even went to an extent of going back to those people for a donation for a family somewhere, who have a funeral and there's nothing for that family, we were co-ordinating those kinds of tasks. The sustainability was really predominantly done by fund raising. For example we called a function one day of a television actor, Raitlhwana

Facilitator: he's back actually

Respondent: I've got his photos

Facilitator: really, he has not changed

Respondent: when I show it to my kids when he was on screen they couldn't believe it that here I am here is this man, I had to relate the story. There were also some black/coloured/Indian business people who were really supportive. Some of them were also assisting the civic organisation with some documents in terms of papers, just to keep the work going. So they were also helping us, not huge but you could note that they made a difference, dropping sugar and tea for two weeks and so on. And we will then ask us not

to bring a donation, delay it up until this one is finished and then we will notify them, that was the set up.

Facilitator: and when white people burnt the whole thing down that was the end?

Respondent: We recovered, we were trying to restart it again, but the damage was serious and also there was a threat from the land owner, the property owner because there were also people who were harassing him directly or indirectly because they would do that harassment without being identified and then he would relate the story and say I am getting these things and so on. But shortly thereafter, I think this was the time when there was this vacancy at FAWU which I then applied for.

Facilitator: so you saw this post in the local newspaper or you were contacted?

Respondent: It was in the DFA

Facilitator: but this post was in Bloemfontein?

Respondent: the FAWU one, FAWU had at that time they had an office in Kimberley which was a branch office and they've got a regional office now in Bloemfontein with another branch office in Bloemfontein and another branch office in Kroonstad. So there were three branch offices, Kimberley,

Bloemfontein and Kroonstad but the regional office was in Bloemfontein above the branch office. So the position that I applied for was for the branch secretary in Kimberley. That office was actually opened by the late Fikile Jodo, the post became vacant because he was involved in the car accident and he was paralysed, and we then made sure that we rename the branch office after him, Fikile Jodo branch until this day. He was amongst the activist or the generation of Mannie Dipico, Dipuo Peterson that grouping.

Facilitator: now what did you bring to this office of FAWU?

Respondent: there was a hunger of understanding exactly the trade union movement in its totality, there was that eagerness and to be honest, at the point I was unemployed I had a lot of dreams that if I can get a job that I want I will do my level best and that FAWU opportunity came and when there were interviews I requested them not to speak English, I asked to speak in my mother language, they all laughed and said I'm the only one who made that request. They allowed me, we went and as we proceeded, some of them were using English and we both used English and Setswana because I wanted to make sure that they understand what I'm trying to say because I was seriously desperate and using your mother language when you are desperate sometimes you become clearer and they understand you, it's like when you're angry they will understand you better. And of course English, one did not know it like today, so there was that doubt and I asked one of the guys which language they were using, I said I will make that request if they say no it's fine then they understood.

Facilitator: so was this office new?

Respondent: it wasn't new, it was there already, it was in the same building with ..., ja there was an office called Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) we were also at the time when we were doing the work at Advice Centre, these people used to advise and help us also take some difficult cases, but then when I worked at FAWU we were sharing the same building with LHR

Facilitator: so that came in handy for you?

Respondent: A lot, a lot of advices also when I was at FAWU particularly on cases was from those people. My mentor at FAWU as branch secretary working full time was really Godfrey Olifant, Mannie Dipico and the late Mazoy, he was the official of SAMWU who has since passed away. Those people have groomed me in terms of labour issues. I remember one day going to arbitration with Dairy Belle, first time ever that I went to arbitration, FAWU didn't take me to any course and I was only 6/7 months in the union. I went to Manne in the morning and told him I have arbitration with Dairy Belle at 10 and I know that he used to go to the office very early around 7 or 6 and I went there and I found him. He was laughing at me "what time is arbitration" I relate to him at 10, he said "but you only come in now" – he showed me how difficult it is to prepare for arbitration on the day of arbitration. Luckily enough that arbitration did not conclude and it was not finalised and I went back to him and then he advised me accordingly and one of the most important advice there was for FAWU to take me for some training which they did quickly and now I started to know what to do. So I really brought some commitment and willingness to learn in that office, I was not a guru on knowledge of anything related to labour and this is how I ended up adopting labour activism, it's something that one can contribute.

Facilitator: what needed to be done at FAWU at that time?

Respondent: It was to co-ordinate, you mean in the office

Facilitator: in the office it was vis a vis the problems of the workers thus the people that you are servicing?

Respondent: ja even today like you see all these files, there are files of different companies, at FAWU at the time it was the same, there were files that needed to be followed up on dismissal, on suspension, somebody had made a grievance and it was not finalised by the employer and then we had to find out what happened to that grievance, and dismissals, somebody succeeded in that case but was not reinstated. It was more of an administrative nature. That's why it had to be a full time somebody in the office and that occupation was called branch secretary. And you also had to co-ordinate the release of shop stewards from different workplaces to attend different structural meetings like the Branch Executive Committee (BEC) which comprised of shop stewards from each different workplace where there are union members as per the union constitution. So those notices would go out, those request to release and negotiating recognition agreements with the employers, negotiating wage increases, handling and consultation over retrenchments, there was that kind of work that one was doing.

Facilitator: and in terms of training, was there enough in service training during your stay at FAWU?

Respondent: ja there was, there's been a lot, the example I can sight now is the arbitration course in Cape Town. FAWU booked us a flight here, the first time in my life boarding a plane to Cape Town for a week, there's a serious education, the nitty gritty, the nature of a dispute, analysing a case, comparing that case with the industrial court rulings at the time, comparing those and comparing to your case, how strong is your case, doing those analysis, it was quite interesting. It has actually made me to develop an interest in research. My dream was to .., one of my ambitions was to obtain that degree and venture into a research kind of route.

Facilitator: so how long were you there in this office, you went to, at some point in time to Bloemfontein?

Respondent: I was employed in 1992 and I worked there for a very long time until in 2003 when I went to Bloemfontein.

Facilitator: so what would you say were the milestones when you were at FAWU in this office, Kimberley office when you look back?

Respondent: I think it was the learning that I've acquired there, the co-operation, the high level of exploitation that workers were experiencing, particularly in a city like Kimberley, there was not a huge difference of exploitation from a small town to a big town because I see that the attitude was the same, the experience that workers went through was the same, so to me it was the learning and I realised that the challenges were quite bigger than what I thought, maybe it will be easier in a bigger town, because there

were still people who were moving from here and then six/seven away from the workplaces in the big city compared to where I came from that it was a shorter distance, there was no transport but even here there's no transport. So it was like the same problem in a way. But the milestone would be the democratic principles in terms of understanding how to respect the mandate of workers, reporting back to them and the feedbacks, implementing their decisions, democracy in the making so to say, for me it was the main milestone because even workers who were not aware of their own power as workers to the union, when they unleash that power, given the opportunity they make a huge difference for other workers who are also members of the union.

Facilitator: In terms of benefits particularly for women, maternity leave were these things ironed out in the 1990s or were they still an issue?

Respondent: it was an issue which I think SACAWU around the 1980s or early 1990s, I'm not accurate on the years here, took it very seriously at national level and they reached an agreement that they termed parental agreement, SACAWU not necessarily FAWU, but FAWU and other unions we used that agreement of SACAWU so that as a benchmark when we negotiate with the employers, because it was a good agreement with the supermarkets, in certain supermarkets in the country. So women issues have been there but they were not necessarily given the necessary support and attention as compared to now because at the time there was no legislation that empowers women, as women, black and white. So it was still a process. So those demands were still there but not at the level that they are at the moment.

Facilitator: the reason for your departure to Free State?

Respondent: I was firstly approached by some workers in Kimberley who were delegates to the regional meetings, structural meetings. They said they were talking to other workers about replacing Janki Sondiyazi because he was moving from the secretariat duty to the legal department of the union. I was hesitant because I wasn't sure because I know it was an elective position and I feared the election thing because a lot of dynamics, I hear what people do. So I feared, they said you are just going to act there's no one there. So they also indicated, I also indicated the implication for my family that this will impact on my kid and so on. But ultimately I went to Bloem and I had to do the travelling between Bloem and Warrington Kimberley and so on. So I acted in that position for a year and then in 2004, around August there was a regional conference and I was elected formally. There no opposition because I had a fear if there's somebody who is going to contest I will back off, and then no one contested then I went and took the position up until 2007.

Facilitator: Free State is a province on its own and Northern Cape is a province on its own, an outsider so to speak. How did you find the place, did you succeed, did you manage or were there challenges that you didn't expect?

Respondent: The first challenge I think was the distance because when I look at the Northern Cape, somebody gave me the information that the Northern Cape occupies about 30% of the landscape of South Africa and Free State around 8 or 9 or 16 or so I'm not so sure. When you combine them it's more than 37%, the direct implication was that I had to deal with the geographical

set up, where there are those factors all over. What was even worse, the second challenge, was the responsibility that was given to FAWU by SADTU, that FAWU should be responsible for organising farm workers now, officially and that was the declaration/resolution of COSATU. So when you look at these two provinces, you had to deal with the statistics of farm workers which is another challenge, unorganised, untouched in terms of trade unionism. Those were the challenges. And also the number of farms in these two provinces was a huge task. I could see that this is a marathon that one can run and complete, its a marathon that is baton based. You have to run, give it to somebody, back off somebody, take over. But I immediately adopted an approach that it will be proper to also build the union structures and make sure that it is balanced, it is dominated by young workers because they are faster in thinking and so on. So we succeeded in terms of making sure that the leadership of the union was dominated by young people, both male and female. We succeeded as FAWU in the province in the region at the time, because I remember when I left FAWU in Free State the person who succeeded me was younger than me with about 8/10/12 years, and that was the intention that we should do that and also make him aware that this is not record breaking that we are doing, we are guided by leaders who came before us. There has to be second layer leadership in the union, in the people's organisation generally. This is one of the successes that I think we did. But the other sections was to improve service to union members because we do get feedback from different workers who will say they appreciated what we have tried and/or do, even though you haven't done much, somebody gets in here, I'm referring now to Free State office and talk to you for about 7 minutes and when the person left that person is happy. After a few days or few hours you get a message that says that person is so happy, what have you done to him/her and so on. That was also a plus for me, I immediately recognised feedbacks and built on them. But also were the learnings from my mentors. One of the things that they will tell me was that you must never lie to workers, you must never promise them and you

must never connive with the employers workers will kill you. Conniving don't take precedence and that thing has worked for me, I must say wonders because I even understood it much deeper and better and one is able even to talk freely about it to other people. When workers said I must go and work in the Free State I was like saying these principal should be the same that will apply, because in Bloemfontein I was responsible for staff members as well. I had to improve my understanding, working with people who are reporting to me, it's a challenge but I used the materials that were available in the union and outside to make sure that I empower myself and it helps me.

I enrolled at the University of Free State in 2004 for an Advanced Certificate in Labour Law. I got a distinction, I then enrolled for BML, this programme which I went there for about 2.5 years and I couldn't complete it because some serious other attacks that maybe we will come to as we proceed.

Facilitator: you mentioned the fact that you had to organise farm workers, which is more or less a big challenge and so on. What was in the minds of farm workers vis a vis the issue of unions? How much did they know about unions?

Respondent: There were advantages and disadvantages, farm workers who were farm dwellers permanently were much more distant from information about unions and so on compared to farm workers who worked in a farm but having strong family relations in townships. That's another simple study that we use, and we also got some information from people who were working in the university of Free State about the farm worker set up, basically in terms of the dynamics there and just for us to make sure that we get the message across. So we started with farms that were stronger in terms of awareness

level and we used that as a spring board to other farm workers because when we talked to those farm workers we informed them also encouraged them to take the message to their colleagues in the adjacent farms and so on, and that was working. But to some extent we were not ready enough because there was an avalanche of demand from farm workers and we were not ready enough as a union in terms of the capacity of staff. Our own level of understanding in terms of the dynamics of the farmers. We were somehow in a very challenging situation. I must say Brown until today, you will hear that many of our leaders talking about the challenges in the farming communities, particularly for farm workers and that sector is very dynamic, dynamic in terms of the distances, dynamic in terms of level of ignorance, the rate and level of intimidation, the level of allegiance to Mr/Mrs/Employer/Master, that set up and also the impact of apartheid really. It has affected a lot of people particularly in the farming community, it affected them very seriously. They will tell you the owner of the farm will kill me, they don't say he will dismiss me, they say he will kill me, "please go". We will understand, you don't want to talk to people who's levels of fear is very high, you're going to create problems for yourself from that person "don't tell him we were here", its a legal thing that we were doing, "take your papers" that kind of thing. We would understand that we have to be strategic and make some success with farms that we think are ready to accept the unions but also scan carefully the employer, the owner of the farm, how is he related. Sometimes it's very disturbing to find that some farm workers and farm owners were related to people in the police, the magistrates, so they could handle trade union threat in a very sophisticated way. Somebody who is owning a farm beat a farm worker. That farm worker goes to report to the police only to find that that police knows that person. Some of them are actually sleeping at the farm, they've got very strong family ties or a wife or a cousin, there were those instances. And it is still a reality until this day of which is a normal thing, people live with families in different sectors of the economy, they interact for their own survival. But the problem is where the element of

corruption comes in, where they don't deal with these complaints from farm workers or workers generally fairly because of the conflict of interest that is now coming up.

Facilitator: but did you to some extent succeed to recruit?

Respondent: we did succeed. We succeed even more when COSATU like I said closed this, SAPPAWU, there was a union called South African Plantation Farmers Workers Union. When that union was sat down by COSATU Congress, their membership went to FAWU and they had members in different areas. So all that we had to do is to identify where they've been organising and try to resuscitate those structures. Success that I can refer to is in that context.

Facilitator: was there another major assignment that you had to do other than recruiting the recruitment of farm workers when you were in Bloemfontein?

Respondent: The major challenge or task/assignment was to also make them feel the importance of being in a union and feel the empowerment of being able to bargain with the employers, that this process of learning and educating them, training them differently and also use the different meetings of the union, formal meetings, structural meetings, informal meetings to train them, and that helps us because amongst them, some of them got this talent of even engaging with the employer. That's where we then pick up that some of the people in the farms are people who did not succeed in the urban areas then they went to the farm and then in the farm they succeeded in terms of their own level of leading, of employment, whatever.

Some became foremen and so on, some became drivers, he was a driver somewhere I and J or Coca Cola in the urban town and got dismissed and doesn't get employment, he goes to a farm he gets employment, he is driving a big lorry and those things, but he's got a knowledge of a union because he is from the urban area.

Facilitator: interesting

Respondent: it is indeed and we were building on those experiences because it was advantageous for us.

Facilitator: so these guys were willing to be part of unions?

Respondent: they were, depending on who the person. Others wouldn't prefer to be seen because their employers trust them so much, their foremen, they are pulling strings for their subordinates, he/she fears that they will lose a position, he will be in bad books with the employer and so on. So they respect that arrangement, we also respect that arrangement because it's actually taking the whole good intention of better wages forward.

Facilitator: Why did you leave Free State back to the Northern Cape?

Respondent: It was tough Brown. I came back to Kimberley because I had serious problems. All of a sudden I had problems with employers and to some extent with some of our own activists in the brother alliance. Only to find that

the country is really changing so maybe I'm trapping on the toes of some people with my work, this is how I understood it. What was even worse it was at the time when COSATU pronounced that state resources are used against people who have descending views to certain people in certain power positions, either public or private. I experienced that thing personally, painfully, it affected my life, it has changed my biology. Biology in terms of my own psychology, my own thinking, it has damaged a lot of things, it has affected me financially, I dropped out of the university course, I was determined that I will get what I want because the first year when they took us through a certain programme there I got 3/4/5 distinctions and the following year I could see that it's still challenging but I can still get few distinctions on certain things, but it was more about business management side. I couldn't complete because of the stressful situation.

Fortunately I reported to FAWU and COSATU these problems and for some reason it was a bit difficult for FAWU to intervene at organisational level because these people were doing these things in a very sophisticated way, they were following me full time. My phone was tapped, that's what I know and I was even told by people who work with these things, that this thing is being bugged, but remember many people can bug your phone, there are many agencies out there who can do it, so I didn't realise that this problem is big. I had to relate it to my family. My family said but why don't you resign, I can't do that, when I resign I will not have an income "maybe it's what they want", because if I don't work how am I going to survive, it's difficult and I'm not qualified enough to say I will open a business, and even if you are qualified there's no guarantee you will succeed, maybe I should stick around, getting some encouragement from some people. I stick around, the problem got worse. I wrote letters to FAWU, I wrote letters to the ANC, I wrote letters to COSATU and the SACP. It's only when I wrote letters to the SACP and COSATU and ANC at head office level – attention to the then Secretary

General of the ANC, comrade Kgalema Motlanthe and Blade Nzimande and Vavu that this problem started to subside, since they subsided but they have not gone away there are still those subliminal things but when I scan the problem, I see black and white, Indian and coloured people which are involved in these activities of intimidating me. If you can see the letters that I have written, I don't have them all here. I will just give you a synopsis – this is the file. (he showed you the letters) this is at the time when I was employed there. The information, the guy who was driving this car, is a foreigner, he's a Somali in Kimberley and I reported this thing in the Northern Cape, I reported it to the police and that was their response.

Facilitator: what did they want exactly, are these business people?

Respondent: these were agents of business people, they were used against me. At the time that one is dated 2005 November, it is when I started to complain about problems in the organisation, destabilisation and all that. That is the letter that I wrote to .., that one is the latest 2009, I wrote it to JZ this one, and these cars were involved, this guy was disciplined and given a warning, the one who is driving this car, the rest I do not have feedback as to what happened. It has continued. This guy, he is working in the police crime intelligence, so this is actually the level of corruption that I had to deal with. There was a time when I got home I would find my door open in the house, the keys in my house went missing ..(unclear), and I was afraid they will put illegal stuff there and arrest you and kill me in their own way. This guy still stays in Kimberley and he was working for NIA. Personally I've suffered the following ... – these are the things that made me to drop out of school

Facilitator: this is serious and scary

Respondent: that was the letter 2007 that I wrote to the National Secretariat, including my general secretary of FAWU who is still the secretary. Immediately after I've sent this letter these people were nowhere to be seen, then I could see that it was a well planned political thing. I was given somebody here, there was this guy, I was told he is from the Presidency office, I was given him to relate my story to, I give him all these documents in September 2006, he said he will come back to me he never came back to me, but I continued to see these problems

Facilitator: Presidency Office as in ANC Presidency or state?

Respondent: State, it was just before the Polokwane turn around.

Facilitator: that's scary

Respondent: The problem is again the, within FAWU then there were problems that I had reported about some of the staff members who were not working ethically, this is where my problems started and I didn't know that I was wrong to report, but I realise that it was a wrong thing to do when you don't have support and protection, anybody who is going to fight corruption anywhere, I believe anywhere in the world without support and protection that person is vulnerable to anything. I've seen it, I've learnt that very seriously. Luckily where I am today, when these things started to happen because even in the mining sector, some of these employers were still doing these tactics. I reported quickly and NUM took it seriously, they even spoke to The Hawks from head office. Hawks phoned NUM Head Office, the General

Secretary of NUM, they spoke about it, it's what I went through. When I look back and try to find out what is it that I have done, comrades whom some are nationalists tell me that you've done nothing wrong, if you've done something wrong you should be arrested, you should be charged, your employer must be notified and they must tell you what you have done, you must account, those basic principles. It was just a social justice kind of a thing.

Facilitator: ja, not being harassed.

Respondent: exactly

Facilitator: but when you came here did people know about your problems?

Respondent: here not necessarily maybe unless they hear them informally.

Facilitator: How has it been here?

Respondent: This is another level to be honest. NUM is a very big union in Africa and is very internationally influential because its president is the president of a Global Mining Union, IKEM, Sokwane, so with that in mind it takes a lot of things seriously. It's own systems, far different from other unions, when I do the comparison, but you understand because they are in a much more challenging and economically bigger sector, Mining and maybe they have to also capacitate, which they are doing and they're encouraging us

to study. I'm bogged down because of the psychological impact of what I went through, honestly it's a challenge.

Facilitator: a huge one, a very scary episode

Respondent: I never knew Brown that stress can kill you. At the time when I learnt about these things, I was alone and I was thin and I was thinking very slowly not knowing what to do. People who were advising me, some of them were also harassed. FAWU advised me to get somebody who can just be a security for me when I do my work, I said it is so difficult because those people are harassing everybody, do something legal. There's a letter that a lawyer wrote with my instruction, to one of the guys who is a former MK, who was doing these things to me, and since he got that letter he changed his thinking and all of a sudden he is now a good friend to me, he is no longer following. There's nothing bad like somebody following you and somebody greeting you, somebody calling you by name and not one person, you are here in the NUM office, you move from here to Pick N Pay, you are greeted by six strangers calling you by name. Who are these people? Actually more than that. You move from where you are at Pick N Pay, you move to the Post Office another three different faces, walking or coming out of a car whatever. I then realised that these people can't know where I am. It makes sense to me that they are also using the urban area system (interruption - alarm went off) – that was the situation.

It actually reminds me of the 1980s when trade unionists were murdered and abducted and all that because it was a similar thing, but I then realised that maybe I cannot be used by some of these people, there's a conclusion, and as a result they are just trying to take me out but they would also use a lot of

propaganda. I was interested in their propaganda, to know what it is that they are alleging, what is it that they are bringing up, so that they can understand who is doing that. But it never came up, you will just hear the social gossip about you, you don't take it serious it's wasting your time, more interested when somebody is coming to you with the serious stuff. It never came up clearly.

But the my experience with the NUM, the NUM has a serious vision, it has serious vision, it has serious aims and objectives and it's taking all these visions very seriously. He's a big player, that's my impression. Sometimes when you pick up realities you develop a sense of responsibility and also being reliable because you are in a serious set up. That's my impression.

Facilitator: was it worth it to be part of unions?

Respondent: Yes it was because it was a small contribution that one could make without necessarily losing anything except time and energy, it was worth it, because you are just adding to the numbers of other contributors for change. I think it was and also it was because the economy of South Africa is in such a way that it requires participation of different people on different sectors so that we take it genuinely forward, so that workers don't feel left out, at least they've got a form of serious representation and so on.

Facilitator: is there anything else that you think is important which should have been part of this interview?

Respondent: Ja, perhaps the way forward after the interview, whether will I perhaps also access that information?

Facilitator: Definitely, I will show you the release form, actually we are going to transcribe it, if you want it back we can send it back to you by email because you may need for your own things or someone somewhere wants your own background history, you're supposed to give some speech and they don't know what to write, you can just say pick up things from the interview. "We have a comrade here, I read his biography"

Respondent: You made a very interesting point earlier on when you said for example people who want to write something they can just access information from the archives, I've developed that ..., interested in writing something. Actually you must go to, if you say Wits Historical Papers on the internet you will then be able to pick up our website and from there there's a lot of things about unions that we have, there's other things of course like ANC material, BCM material, church things and so on, but we do have collections on unions. FAWU for instance, we have their information, their letters, this and that and so on. What do you mean letters?

Facilitator: stuff that's been collected from FAWU offices in the 1980s and 1990s, your letters, your speeches, your anything that was saved, publications, magazines, events and so on. We are trying to get more stuff from NUM Central office, there's a lot of delays there. These things are there, it's things that people think they need to throw away – and people more or less don't know where to take the stuff to, that's where archives come in

Respondent: you're doing a very important because that thing is highly educational, because you are preserving history

Facilitator: Even some of these cases that you are referring to, that a case would like die and it needs to be revisited and so on, we do keep material on that. If there was a case of so and so and suddenly after 20 years this case needs to be revisited, and people will say where are the documents then you suddenly remember that you didn't destroy the documents, Wits came to ask for the documents, so the documents went to Wits. So you can access the information to resuscitate cases of this nature.

Respondent: you are saving humanities

Facilitator: the stuff is important, but for prosperity reasons you will actually see the importance of these things. When these things are now needed either by family or by union or anyone concerned

Respondent: like a writer

Facilitator: there was correspondence between NUM and SACAWU on these particular issues, we know, but where are those documents and someone remembers they were sent to Wits – when evidence is needed, that there was an agreement between the two unions on a,b,c – that's where archives come in. So the idea of shredding documents, shredding letters in office must actually be reconsidered in the light of this.

Respondent: throwing away evidence, record, history.

Facilitator: others are actually burning these things because they occupy space, in the long run you will need the information

Respondent: what you are telling me now is so appropriate because the Northern Cape is building an archive something

Facilitator: I heard about that project

Respondent: it's not far from where I stay

Facilitator: It's actually led by a kid who was at UWC, I think her name is Lebo but I know that she came here with the hope of kick starting that project, so that's where documents would go to, state documents and if she's clever enough she can actually talk to unions as well and other structures that the ANC .., because there's information that was generated through the branches over a period of years since 1994 or soon even after 1990 when the ANC was unbanned. So people began to write openly, letters, comrades, meetings, etc., where are those things from then till today and beyond

Respondent: our kids must seriously take education seriously, these things can only be understood in the context of education

Facilitator: I love history and archives and I've come to understand it much better, I was trained around that. So I take this very serious and I read around archives and the politics of archives as well, I write papers around that.

Respondent: so if you like we can also get a space in some of the national newspapers and put in your own article

Facilitator: I do write for newspapers

Respondent: which papers?

Facilitator: Sunday Times, City Press – but I haven't written anything for those newspapers in a longer time, maybe in four years, but I have sent some stuff to The Thinker for instance about archives and history. I do write.

END

Collection Number: A3402

Collection Name: Labour Struggles Project, Interviews, 2009-2012

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand

Location: Johannesburg

©2016

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document forms part of a collection, held at the Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.