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Dale: Okay it is the 23rd of March 2010 and I am interviewing Trevor Ngwane. Thanks Trevor for making yourself available. Listen before we start on the questions around the APF I have been asking everybody a little bit about themselves because we want to know a little bit about the individuals that played a part in the APF. Just tell us where and when you were born?

Trevor: I was born in Durban in 1960 on August 16th.

Dale: Okay and places that you've lived since then throughout your life?

Trevor: Well I grew up in Lamontville, a township in Durban. Then Zulu Land Ngquthu then I've lived mostly in Soweto my adult life.

Dale: Okay and just tell us a little bit about your family. Are you married, do you have any children?

Trevor: Ja I am married with four kids, they're grown up now. The youngest one is a teenager ja.

Dale: Okay and schooling for you?

Trevor: Okay I've got a BA Honours from WITS (University of the Witwatersrand), but I studied also at Fort Hare with UNISA (University South Africa).

Dale: Okay and you presently I understand are doing a Masters Degree?

Trevor: Masters ja with UKZN [University of Kwa-Zulu Natal]

Dale: UKZN.

Trevor: Ja

Dale: Okay and just tell us a little bit about your work and your jobs throughout your adult life.

Trevor: Okay I first worked as a researcher for the then CSIR briefly and then I taught at WITS but my other jobs before that is as a teacher, as a clerk, as a laboratory assistant but you know those were short jobs during my youth, my early youth. But then I worked mostly, okay I taught at WITS for a few years and then I worked for a union - Transport and General - and then I also served as an ANC [African National Congress] Councillor. Those are the jobs; there are many jobs that I've done.

Dale: What subject matter were you teaching when you were teaching, the subject matter?

Trevor: Subjects?

Dale: Ja.

Trevor: Sociology.

Dale: Sociology? Okay alright. And just briefly describe how in your own words how you became a political activist, how you became politicised and entered into the world of political activism?

Trevor: Okay I became active a bit late in life, but my father was an ANC supporter so I grew up with an awareness of apartheid. Although in my childhood I was a bit cocooned off because I grew up in a mission hospital so I mean and I wasn't exposed to racism, the way I suppose if you grow up in a township. So maybe I became more of a political animal through studying Marxism at University, meeting you know people who were kind of disciplined revolutionaries who took this thing seriously. It just coincided with the '84/'85/'86 uprisings so in a way you know I'm sure that kind of connected the dots in my head. But I was a mature guy at that time and then I joined a Trotskyist group and then I became a serious revolutionary.

Dale: Okay and what were your specific interests? I mean how did you come from that background to be an activist with regards to specific issues around privatisation or opposing privatisation?

Trevor: Okay what happened is that I became an ANC Councillor for my area in Pimville, a Ward Councillor and then halfway through my term of office there was a move towards neo-liberal policies. The Johannesburg City Council announced you know Igoli 2002. So that's how you know my first opposition ... so I tried to oppose it as councillor within the ANC caucus you know also my constituency until matters came to a head and I was more or less fired by the ANC. But to be fair to the ANC they didn't fire me, they gave me a difficult choice; I had to recant, the old Stalinist confession, withdrawing. I couldn't do that so they said well, oh the other thing they said there are other local government elections so they made a deal with me whereby they disciplined me long enough for me to make it into the next round of local government elections. So then they said look the second test is if you run as an independent consider yourself expelled. So this is how it happened. So when that happened there was a lot of publicity because at that time the two municipal workers' unions were opposed to privatisation so the press was kind of paying attention and then suddenly there was me an ANC Councillor who got fired for opposing the same thing. And in fact I made common cause with SAMWU and IMATU and we formed IGOLI 2002, the committee that happened after that workshop with SAMWU under what was called CANSA, the Campaign Against ... whatever, but it played its part really, but it didn't last long. So that is how it happened - through being a councillor and then getting expelled and then meeting up with the union. Oh and then the union formed this committee to include community structures because the government was saying the union is selfish you know, this will benefit the community so they were saying the union needs to show that in fact this was bad for the whole of society. In fact at that time SAMWU was very progressive in its approach, for example calling for a minimum amount of free water, interested in service delivery from the point of view of the ordinary working class person.

Dale: Okay and just how did you ... both politically and ideologically ... how did you at that time understand privatisation because that word is quite encompassing in a lot of ways? How for you at that time given your opposition to IGOLI 2002 and what had happened, what was your political and ideological approach on the issue of privatisation?

Trevor: Okay mine was a lot of baggage you know because I felt this was part of the ANC and the Communist Party's move away from socialism. So this was part of a broader ... or a bigger critique of what was going on. So in a way privatisation was a specific concrete and in fact actionable campaignable issue. So to just give you an idea, you know when we started fighting around electricity in Soweto, this

happened in an theoretical way; we used to meet in Soweto sometimes in town with this Campaign against Neo-liberalism in Southern Africa, George Dor and them, quite theoretical you know. And after a while we were getting frustrated so we were saying - what is the issue that we could take up concretely so we discussed and said electricity. There was a broader critique so it wasn't these days you get all these protests, you know people are fighting for electricity, water so some would call it spontaneous, but my own involvement you know was an intersection of a theoretical critique, a broader political critique with concrete issues which affected the masses. So from day one it was ideologically loaded so to speak.

Dale: Now the formation that led to ... the formation of the SECC before the APF ... in terms of chronologically - just tell us a little bit how the SECC was formed?

Trevor: Ja so what happened is that - and this also is related to my own personal history you know - because when I was a councillor you know ESKOM moved towards, okay it wasn't really privatisation but preparing ESKOM for privatisation, commercialisation business methods so there's electricity cut offs. So as a councillor I had to respond in the community, so I was involved in that quite a lot as a ward councillor. Obviously we were not limited but we were persistent but after a while it was frustrating and also at about that time I had this clash over privatisation by the City Council. So even as I became more militant as a ward councillor I found myself outside the ANC and during that year I got involved with CANSAs and I was the one who said "an issue that we have been bugging people here for a long time is electricity". So that's how we took it up and then because CANSAs was more or less an NGO type thing we linked up with the AIDC and the AIDC organised two workshops and in those workshops AIDC was also against neo-liberalism. So in those workshops it was clear that we needed to unite different townships in Soweto because there were struggles, in Orlando East, Meadowlands others marching, others negotiating. So we said let's put it all together. So at about that time on the other hand all hell was breaking loose with Igoli so when IGOLI 2002 was formed and they needed community organisations SECC was there, fresh almost from the manufacturers you know. I think that's what it's been ja. I can't remember which came first but secondly SECC joined IGOLI.

Dale: That's right.

Trevor: Then IGOLI met with WITS Committee which was fighting against privatisation at WITS University which led to retrenchments of 601 workers so the two things came together. And then you had the APF.

Dale: So at the time what other groups were involved in that coming together to initially form the APF?

Trevor: Okay on the anti Igoli side it was the two municipal Unions SAMWU and IMATU there was a church organisation Industrial Aid something NGO I can't remember, or Phambili, I can't remember - Rob's friend - and then there was SACP Johannesburg Branch, there was SANCO, there was DSM Wiseman Trotskyist protest group. There was SECC - I don't know why SECC was a bit blurred maybe it was still very young. I can't distinguish clearly but it was there. So those were the anti Igoli. On the WITS side was NEHAWU [National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union], SASCO [South African

Students Congress], I think another student organisation. So you know, there must have been a few others I can't think of ...

Dale: Okay and just describe for yourself what happened with you in the ANC - and this was also happening in the SACP, people were being marginalised, pushed out as a result they were part of the opposition that was as a result of a whole range of neo-liberal policies that were being implemented - how do you think that impacted ... I mean it impacted on the formation of an organisation like the APF? Clearly it led to that partially but I am talking about politically and ideologically ... would you characterise the formation, the initial formation of the APF as almost a response to what was going on outside or was it something that was desired to take up a new political space, if that makes sense?

Trevor: I think firstly I must say me, I got expelled by COSATU in 1993 already for opposing, okay we didn't call it neo-liberalism then, it was the move away from socialism to capitalism. I think my group we emphasised class collaboration with the bosses, holding hands with the bosses. So also my expulsion from T&G was not unique, it made a whole lot of trade unionists were being expelled. This was clearing you know the decks for the ANC to take power, at that time the ANC was getting ready to take power you know in its part to generally shift, moved to the right. There were many other processes you know tripartite negotiations and trade whatever. So now but I think with liberation in '94 that that event was of such momentous importance and maybe Mandela and them played their hand so well that the opposition was minimal actually or had already been pre-empted or stamped out because some people got killed between 1990 and 1994. And it's not just Inkatha violence, assassins ... I got this one comrade of mine, he was killed, he was murdered. And when I talked to other comrades in other areas there is a big suspicion that there were death squads. This is not something one can say easily but we do suspect that the apartheid special branch could not have had that kind of information. So there was connivance there - I'm sure with the Communist Party. So in any case that's how we were approaching ... but in any case we were all happy with liberation, I was ANC and doing liberation campaigning for the ANC ... next thing it was a year later and the local government elections and I was a councillor. But when the move to neo liberalism in 1996, I think away from RDP to GEAR, I think that's when the penny dropped even with COSATU and the Communist Party. Except that maybe because of their political trajectory they just continued to the right but there were a few strikes by COSATU. So I think, I don't know if I am answering your question ... I think it was a broader thing you know. And maybe it was just a matter of time before movements such as the APF could be formed if you know what I mean and it did. Okay maybe this really answers you. Indeed when the APF was formed the backbone was alliance organisations - SACP, SAMWU, in fact IMATU was following the lead of SAMWU. So obviously there was a need for a struggle within the unions and outside with the community; against neo-liberalism. But then pressure from the top, from the alliance, COSATU, ANC, SACP and then SAMWU pulled out of the APF but they didn't say goodbye, they started missing meetings so obviously it was an unprincipled pulling out. So what it means is that the alliance was able to contain the opposition so that APF found itself more or less, not isolated, but the only one in opposition to these policies when in fact COSATU, SACP ... so in a way they were scapegoated by Mbeki, close ranks against these ultra-leftists whatever, whatever. Obviously that went along with repression being inside the alliance.

Dale: And I mean did you agree ... in those early years as you say that the alliance component gradually left the APF ... can you just speak a little bit to the way the APF organisationally developed in the first two years because it started out more as an activist forum didn't it?

Trevor: Well firstly it started off as these two committees you know which had unions and then the concrete struggle and then combined you know because SAMWU was fighting against the policy to do with the workplace while there were no other jobs. On the other hand NEHAWU at WITS they were losing their jobs but then I think when it came together it became more generic in its critique it was now privatisation as a policy both the University and at the Council, probably also at home so the critique kind of thickened. What was the question again?

Dale: The organisational changes and form of the APF.

Trevor: Ja you are right. And then when the APF was formed I think it took an activist forum form because maybe SAMWU and them maybe they were pulling their feet a bit because I mean the way it was formed, it was formed as a unity of labour and community structures. So the APF structure should have been SAMWU, IMATWU, if there was an SECC, SANCO, SACP can you see. But I think from day one ... there was that kind of, I remember this guy coming from SAMWU the late, I just can't remember the guy who died, a nice guy from Dube but in any case, so they attended but it was, it was now activist in a sense that people who were there were not necessarily representing organisations. And also because it was action oriented so it was also picking up I would say activists who were opposed to privatisation but did not necessarily belong to structures. And in fact even those who belonged to structures found themselves maybe kicked out like SASCO comrades, SA Communist Party. I think any ANC person would've persisted with us could have been kicked out. So it was an activist forum in that sense and also I think it was an activist forum because COSATU and the Unions were not embracing it in their usual very highly structured way. So there was a bit of opportunism I think. But in any case it worked well at first and I think for me what distinguished the APF in its own eyes at least the popular talk was we are not here to debate privatisation but to fight against it. So it was a militant you know action and that kind of sustained and it could be sustained through an activist forum ja. But gradually the activist forum took shape and in fact as the Unions pulled out and as the work of the APF got more known and more people were attracted it kind of became a community based structure. And people who attended were half individual activists of the APF and half from community structures and remember those structures didn't have a name then - social movements - it was mostly maybe some civic or some group fighting around that and I remember thinking that the first organisations that attracted our leaders, those leaders were people who were not outside the ANC fold. SOPA, PAC, SECC when they started having Inkatha because these were people - Sofa-Sonke ... okay maybe they were looking for a home but they are not held back by the ANC kind of corporatist politics not making sense you know ja.

Dale: What other community organisations began to join after the initial, I think the two initial ones were SECC and KCR (Kathorus Concerned Residents) if I remember those were the two initial communities. What other areas became involved in the early period?

Trevor: Okay I can't remember that one clearly but certainly as SECC organised Thembalihle because Thembalihle used to attend SECC you know and then they graduated. And then we also organised Kliptown and they also started to attend in my branch in Pimville and then they went to SECC when they were strong enough. And then there was DRD through SECC because they were facing an eviction, forced removals. So we made common cause but their issue was so big that I think it had to go to the APF - they were a whole community there. People just got consumed by the SECC. So those are the ones I remember. Certainly I think KCR attracted - just as SECC - a few others like Simunye I think ... Vosloorus I think there was an organisation in Vosloorus, I think soon there was Tembisa. So in fact KCR I think two or three. Then at the Vaal, the Vaal I remember going a lot to, and I was going with SECC comrades like Virginia, Dudu and them to Matladi at Zone 3 Sebokeng. So they had their own thing. So I went with them and attend their meeting on a Sunday morning until they joined the APF. So I would just say to summarise there was no recruitment strategy by the APF, of going out but I think through its affiliates, early affiliates, probably also individual comrades who live somewhere in the APF new affiliates joining. Later we had to go to Pretoria, Tshwane quite a lot and I think we got one organisation going there and later that organisation sprung a few or were attracted, quite organic.

Dale: The other aspect of the early APF and the people and their organisations was the ideological heterogeneity that came in because there were also political groups that came in as well as communities, individual activists, and people from unions. Did you at the time see that ideological heterogeneity as a strength, something where as you say people looking for a home in some ways ... would you characterise that period as a sort of coming together of those people who were politically and otherwise have been pushed into that space?

Trevor: Exactly. You see this is the same as this thing we came from on Saturday - the Conference of the Democratic Left. The feeling you had there was of the Left and movements on the ground kind of finding each other you know overcoming you know their differences. Not in a sense of they ever having a dispute just coming from different traditions and being able to talk and agree that we meet. So that's the way that the APF formed and in fact I think where all of us were in high spirits you know, we were really inspired and I remember the activist forum was a beautiful thing. There was a lot of emphasis on openness, debate and the way forward wasn't clear so there was a sense of if we hold together. So I think the first year or two was really wonderful in terms of tolerance.

Dale: Okay and also those early years just speak a little bit through how the APF internally began to change organisationally, how it was structured? Because it changed quite substantially from the first time it was formed up until let's say 2003 for the first three years. So the internal organisational structure how did that shift?

Trevor: Ja okay I can't remember clearly but I remember that the activist forum started to feel that because I think it started every week in the evening and then maybe once a month or once in two months we would have a forum where activists from the community could attend in bigger numbers. And also it was a search for accountability and structure you know the forum, the activist forum could report to and there was also I think the foresight that the APF is growing so it was being properly structured and I think also because as the alliance partners dropped out you know a firmer, politically

distinct political identity emerged because really when the APF had SAMWU and then I mean there was no question of the APF being what some people would call a 'call to attract' you know. We could have been a 'call to attract struggle' but it wasn't a call to attract opposition to the ANC in the broader generic sense. So now you had this activist forum meeting every month, every week I think once bi-monthly we going to forum. I remember we even tried having it in the community maybe in the Vaal. And slowly this kind of fanned out. It was a three monthly thing and then there was a need now to have a proper chairperson and that moved us to the AGM. But I think before the AGM we had committees because they didn't structure their work properly. You know so there was the committee on media and a committee on this and there was a clearer kind of space and structure for activists to contribute and account.

Dale: And if I am correct you were elected as the first secretary of the APF is that right?

Trevor: I was the first secretary of the APF and its first organiser.

Dale: That's right. Now during those first two years, just speak a little bit about what you would consider the strategy and tactics of the APF. How did the APF engage its action from the beginning in terms of campaigns, against the State and the issues that it took up?

Trevor: Okay at that time I think the idea was direct action you know because our frustration was there was no mass organisation against privatisation. Instead COSATU, SACP were caught up in debating forums within the government. So it was just this need to go out in the street and actually say "we don't want this" and some of it took a form of media stance you know just getting publicity in the very early days, but as the APF attracted a bigger constituency it was possible now to have proper marches because if there were only twenty of you or thirty marching, so what you need is to have an action, like a demonstration, a sit-in that kind of thing. In fact when SAMWU pulled out it was clear that you know we needed the masses but when masses came in we were able to actually have marches. I think at first the marches were more in the various committees organised by those communities who maybe were half inspired by the APF or felt the APF would provide political interaction, support, and pamphlets. I remember we used to bus people to actually support the community in struggle. At that time it was very specific things - people losing their water, electricity, there were housing evictions. So the campaign was more organising solidarity for communities in structure. But gradually you know the APF now started to have its own campaigns in a way it's done to say now let's start this thing, let's have such a march. Engaging the government, I don't think there was a lot of engaging with government except in marches because I think the government was not very tolerant at that time. I can't remember once having a meeting with government [laughter] I don't think it was us saying we don't want to meet with them, but we would march but we never really got an audience. But I am sure some segment, some structure or committee but it was quite rare, it was this marching, the memorandum whatever.

Dale: How do you think that the initial response of the state and the government and the ANC to the APF's activities shaped the APF?

Trevor: It kind of pushed the APF further away from the alliance. Certainly it made the APF vocally opposed to the ANC government as such. So I think by doing that a problem was created where

communities and organisations were being identified with an alliance in a way or easily hived off from the APF. Some of the rhetoric made it easy for someone like Mbeki to see us as 'the enemies of the people'. Another thing is because there wasn't much going on so it became quite prominent at least in terms of the media and also in the radar screen of the enemy, the ANC, probably bosses also. So there was a campaign occasionally in the APF. It's just that maybe we were not paying attention, we expected it but certainly there was a concerted campaign to discredit the APF in broader society you know also particularly among the alliance and rank and file membership. I think a lot of work was done because the ANC has got good grassroots structures, good structures you know, making sure that people were educated that 'this is the enemy and be careful of this people'. So this is what happened and as a response to that the APF also started maybe feeling alone you know although we did orient to COSATU, supporting COSATU. But I think the politics inside the APF - okay this is debateable because this was debated at the time - but I think the politics started to be, okay not inward looking but there was now less hope of ever winning the alliance rank and file. So it was almost as if now we have to build our own constituency, find the disgruntled find those who are fighting. I mean it's amazing I remember we used to have organisations which applied to join the APF. But when I think about it now, it's not something strange because the APF actually was a campaigning organisation and ... it would be a form of a united front, it was not a united front in the classical sense because it also allowed individuals, it also allowed all splintered left-wing groups but the traditional front of unions, party you know the form. So as the united front it had to be self conscious of the need to balance different traditions, trends and at the same time it had a challenge of keeping it together and at the same time the challenge of locating the APF within the wider dynamic of South African society', both politically in terms of campaigns of what is possible, for example in terms of this attack, this undermining the APF. So there were all those kinds of challenges which I think one would really need research like this to tease out exactly what happened. I mean I've got my own opinion but I don't think I will be comfortable just to say that's the way it happened. So you can take that into account.

Dale: Now during those first two years, there were two large events - the World Conference against Racism and the World Summit on Sustainable Development - that the APF was quite intensely involved in and that in many cases at least with the WSSD it would from the outside look like coming out of the APF almost in some ways. Just speak to how you felt, how those two events in particular contributed to the growth and the formation and the character of the APF in those early years?

Trevor: Okay the first to say is that the APF was not alone because it was already called a social movement like the TAC, Jubilee and whatever, but certainly the APF ideologically and in terms of prominence, in terms of action was more militant. You know the TAC was maybe bigger but I think it carried a different relationship with the ANC and the alliance and their issue was almost a moral issue. I mean they said no there's no ideology here, we want struggles. So the APF was quite prominent. So what was the question?

Dale: How those two international events shaped and formed ... helped shape the APF?

Trevor: So when the first it was the World Conference against Racism if I am not mistaken - when it came to civil society or also another things we mustn't forget globally it was an international anti-

globalisation movement which coincided with the formation of the APF and in a way inspired the APF. So when these two individual conferences came the APF was well positioned maybe in terms of its politics to respond. And at that time there was a lot of tentativeness amongst the Left as to how to respond to the ANC's rightward shift and also these international conferences were also causing confusion because they came to South Africa as a reward for South Africa being a democratic country. So people were thinking what better place to have a conference against racism than post-apartheid South Africa. So in a way these conferences were here to celebrate our democracy, what we have achieved, backed by the International community. So I am trying to explain why it would have been a bit confusing for the unions no matter how left-wing as long as they got caught up in the actual politics for NGO's and other campaign organisations SANCO. So I think the APF was clearer because of its battles, because it had fought the ANC on the ground. The ANC had almost declared its position; we are neo-liberal that's it - sorry we lie about it but on the ground ... so the APF was confident and clear, its message was clear and it attracted the various people who wanted to be part. So at the World Conference against Racism, despite the fact it was in Durban and the APF was in Jo'burg but APF transported over a hundred comrades down to Durban. Although I must say the LPM also did the same so in a way the APF also its influence and impact and in its view of itself was enhanced because it was not alone in Durban. So we are the APF and every march was of one hundred thousand people or maybe twenty thousand people. So it really gave the APF confidence. It's the same with the World Summit, I think since it was in Jo'burg it was almost in the APF's back door and also organisations and left wingers who wanted to oppose this conference or make a statement during this conference gravitated towards the APF. And also at that time the international movement they had this conception of having parallel activities whenever formal events by the enemy so when the UN ... okay some of them took up a form of protests, they must protest against WTO meeting but since WSSD was going to meet for a week, so the protests were organised for a whole week. So in a way the protests were a parallel event. So you will find that as part of the protesting of meetings, workshops. So there was that tradition from the broader movement of actually organising something when you get Summits like this, by the UN. You know Summits which on the surface are progressive you know, they're fighting for sustainable ... but parallel mostly with NGO's but it was based on movements coming with a different set of policies, critique you know and also complaints about being left out. Some were not really critiquing if they wanted to be part of the discussion but that's why it's a movement you know. But it did enhance, I think WSSD set the stature of the APF and it gave the sense that the social movements hence had arrived in South Africa.

Dale: Okay now actually you've answered several of these other questions. As a result of this you then became the full time organiser. Was that 2003 or what year I am trying to chronologically kind of...?

Trevor: Ja it must be 2002 I think.

Dale: 2002/2003 and that was at the same time that the APF for the first time was able to access external financial resources right? Just describe for yourself as someone who was there and as the first organiser as well, how those resources impacted on the organisation, either negatively or positively?

Trevor: Okay it was you know positive certainly because now we had money you know to organise our campaigns, I think we could have t-shirts now, we could have meetings, and we could travel around

organising, an office is very important you know, we need space to meet. So it was quite good you know. I think it also allowed for international travel I think so it was good. I also know that sometimes we make donations to other social movements and struggle, even unions. On the negative I think the problem in the APF is that because when communities who are economically depressed ... so you had now a membership, and a leadership which was unemployed whatever, whatever. So the affiliates of the APF were not self sustaining excepting for a few and even those who at first had been self sustaining maybe at a very low level started increasing their resources they need higher than what they had so a bit of dependency developed. Okay but this is something debated at the time. This is not a straightforward issue at all you know in a sense that you can't organise the poor and expect that we have millions to fund a campaign, so you must have a way of getting money but whatever money you get there's the politics of money ... so maybe APF didn't handle some of that politics quite well I think. so dependency developed and then also you get a bit of not corruption but false generation and false reporting now because the money is handed out because you have to give now so the few things that happen. But I think also politically there was a bit of damage on the ground because when people are poor and there is an organisation with some resources it becomes a power base - so maybe people would want positions. It's hard to separate economic and political interests at personal and organisational level but I think that on a personal level one can say maybe sometimes people were also getting something because of the money or getting confused ... the other negative thing our enemy started attacking us, 'you're getting imperialist money'. Also overtime it became important to keep on having the same level of more money. So in a way just as our affiliates became more dependent on the APF, the APF's structure itself became more dependent on the donors although the donors didn't really you know set conditionalities but obviously there was a dynamic.

Dale: Okay and as organiser just speak a little bit to the kind of communities and allies that the APF worked with during that period from 2002 onwards. Who did the APF orient towards as a group and as it began its campaigns and broadened after WSSD?

Trevor: The APF critically oriented towards going to the struggle and increasingly orientated towards communities struggle who sought APF's support when looking for solidarity. That's what happened although there was a strenuous attempt to maintain an orientation to the unions. So for example whenever COSATU marched or had a strike, the APF made a point of discussing within and providing support. To a lesser extent but certainly not to be undermined, the APF started orienting towards other social movements for example the WSSD and the World Racism thing with the Social Movement's Indaba which was formed during the peak of battle but out-lived the battle. So now the APF had regular meeting with social movements and then through that with other organisations you know outside South Africa, the kind of international solidarity.

Dale: And just speak a little more to that international solidarity and the impact that had on we call political education or knowledge or consciousness level that may have impacted on the APF and its activist base?

Trevor: There was a lot of flying around - like me I used to go to the World Social Forum. But there was also work done in Zimbabwe I know sending people there and formations and I think through the World

Social Forum the APF, through the SMI was part of the Southern African Social Forum and African Social Forum, and remember we also had NGOs like Khanya College which also worked internationally. So there was a lot of overlap and intersecting activities which constantly exposed the APF membership, at least the leadership to internationalist perspectives which I think is quite important. So the view that we are not alone we have the support I think it will be relevant today with the eruption of xenophobia. So you know those days a problem but the foundation was being laid for those kinds of struggles.

Dale: Okay and in terms of any impact on the way that the APF oriented itself increasingly as its campaigns went to the state itself and to the ANC government in terms of ... a better understanding of neo-liberalism?

Trevor: It was very important because now we are going to share experiences with comrades from Brazil, even Zimbabwe because like Zimbabweans they explain to us [that] Mugabe is not a socialist in fact he started implementing you know certain adjustment programmes and I think in '99 or something' I think that was the date "oh really so" ja. So this is what happens and then I think we learned the story of Mozambique. So it strengthened and enhanced the APF's critique of neo-liberalism and almost entrenched the APF within that groove and remember the International Anti - Capitalist Movement their swear word was anti neo liberalism. In fact I would say even less than anti-capitalists or kind of sending out the World Bank, the IMF and specific policies such as World Trade Organisation liberalisation, fiscal austerity so in a way that also helped the APF to have a better grasp, a better critique of what's going on. I would argue that there are many comrades in the alliance even the top leadership I think they understood much later what they were going in for really. I am not trying to excuse them but I do get the feeling that some of them didn't realise that they were bringing themselves to a corner - I'm just judging by the way you know supporting Zuma all that, the ANC you know, the Mbeki class of 'what, what' project. I mean they were in agreement in a way in that through their specific actions you know or promises or mission you know and when it started to strangle them then they started to cry wolf you see. Whereas I think the social movements, certainly the APF I think were clearer, we were clearer of what to expect, how things are going to deteriorate.

Dale: What were some of the key strategic debates within the APF? The APF began as a group to grapple with for example, issues about participation in elections and these kinds of things? Just speak to some of those; those were key debates that happened within the movement over a long period of time.

Trevor: Okay I think the truth is any organisation is going to have two or three wings in terms of ideology, strategy, tactics and at first those are fluid but it soon was to ossify in the sense that, because if you believe one thing, one thing, you like to believe something similar on a similar level. So I'll say just like an ideal type I think there was a position although it's really an ideal type because it's a caricature, so it's not fair or it doesn't sound fair but there was a position which ... said the APF is a campaigning organisation, dealing with a specific campaign and that's what it is. So it's almost minimalist, so the APF should focus on its campaign, do well in its campaign and almost like TAC ... that's how they approach campaigns - it's now called the so called most successful Social Movement exactly because it's argument [is that] it didn't want to fight the ANC ideologically, it didn't want to alienate anyone who is pro ANC, it spoke to the silent majority, to the non-political" on a moral issue which everyone can believe in, in fact.

So there's that. There's a lot to say about that, it's focussed but obviously there is no organisation which can just do that, even the TAC had to deal with forming alliances with COSATU later it had to have that militant campaign against the government you know. Okay there's historical accidents ... we have something like Manto Tshabalala you can bend your back backward until it breaks she just won't understand. So the TAC politicalised so there is a minimalist position next to that. So anyway it's a critique, it's a similar position except that it jumps from the APF as a campaigning organisation to give the APF powers which it doesn't have, so you get people who say look the APF can act as a party, we don't need a party because APF that was a party. The APF can unite the working class against the ANC government. So it's almost saying it's a campaign organisation but giving it a lot of things, attributes which it doesn't have. I would say now coming to the third position which I think, because it was more like the APF is a campaign organisation but because there are no political parties it has to do some of the tasks of political parties sometimes, but it was not suited to that. That's why some people say what you need is a party because the middle position was "why do you need a party if we can do the work"? The first position was "no, no, no let's not talk about parties, let's concentrate on the campaign". So something like that happened. So then those in the middle who gave all this power to the APF started to think, I think it started to coincide with a desire not to work with the unions, not per se but because they are part of the alliance. Now that's the theory of the block, the pole to attract. So the APF can do it on its own and say "attract the left, attract movements, attract the masses so that you can move to power" and maybe in the future we can even be a party I don't know. Within that there are also anarchists who just attribute too much weight on local organisations they even see that as the future government. Now the third group, it was a position that though the APF cannot do it alone, the APF it's not an accident of history, but the form it took, its accidental and the APF needs to be more than what it is but also the APF is limited; for example it cannot be a party, but we do need a party, the APF must help the process to create such parties. So and also the APF has to orient as much as possible to the unions. And the APF should keep on growing, whereas I think you know the middle position ... I can say the APF must grow obviously that must be but I think there was just that and let me just give an example. You know there was a debate on May Day, so this debate cut the APF in half actually. Although the one side won because some were saying let's have a May Day together with COSATU or invade or join this idea of coming as a block and others said no let's have our own meeting and consolidate you see. So criticism was there, we must consolidate, you need events to consolidate but not on May Day because May Day it's workers day, that's the day you have to reach out to organised labour and show that, so there was that debate. So from that point of view when it came to elections you know those ideal types they won't always urge because it was just ideal type but things just fell that way. There'd be those, okay it is just that the agreement which say's we are only about campaigning for liberalism it's hard for it to be in a credible in a highly politicised situation but I think there were some people who were thinking that way, the first position. Why should we go into elections, we are not about elections, we are about the campaign against privatisation and within that remember specific communities were fighting specific aspects of privatisation; now we are just fighting the electricity, no, no we are fighting eviction. And also remember that although problems were the same, but each community will experience problems differently, like KwaMasiza hostel, it's a hostel but they can even argue that our problem is unique "know you guy's you have your 4-roomed houses"; it's the same with the shack dwelling people you get that argument with Abahlali "you know we are shack dwellers, we are not the same as so and so'. So

they will say "ah don't go into elections". The second position was "oh no we can go to elections but, maybe time is not right" or even if we do it has to be highly circumscribed we have to take into account funding, those politics. The third group wanted the APF to contest elections although with the debate I think people will end up talking at cross purposes but I think the kind of way I've laid it out, those who said let's go for elections would be accused of wanting to change the APF into a party, where actually those who wanted a party to be formed which is not APF, do you know what I mean but anyway in politics is not always fair so the argument was collapsed. Just as the argument of those who said "we must go into elections, but the time is not right" or has to be highly circumscribed started to sound the same as the anarchists who just don't want elections, just in principle. So the APF, so okay what I am trying to say is that when there is a debate, there are always two positions but in an organisation you will find three positions actually and annoyance and that's almost natural its left politics. In the world people don't experience it the same way, there are contradictions - so those are the main debates. I think also what it that debate I think of the use of money. I remember there was a debate about donating to a strike and then there was a voice that was saying "no the APF should first give its affiliates money and then give to a COSATU Union" which obviously has got more money than the APF to go on strike. So I think there were two things that worked there or two intersections, they not orienting to COSATU move position but also the one who says the money of the APF must be used inside the APF. So it's a more inward looking and I think it would intersect also the unemployed base of the APF. People, I don't think they benefit for their own pockets, but at least for their own organisations. How can you give money to a union when we don't even have money for an office or for a pamphlet? So that led to quite sharp debates, which maybe at that time were not so clear in my mind, I don't know. But it's quite clear to me now where the problem was.

Dale: And despite those, a lot of those debates and a lot of internal organisational challenges that the APF faced in those years, it didn't disintegrate. At the same time let's say quite a lot of other social movements were splitting or weakening a great deal. I mean one can argue that the APF is not nearly as strong as it used to be necessarily. The question is why do you think that the APF is still around ten years after it was formed? Because many people probably think that when it formed they wouldn't have thought ten years from now the APF would still be there.

Trevor: Okay this is the other debate we had you know. You see some people believe that communities, the working class, struggles, spontaneously, organically and then we intellectuals we have to intersect you know with that at some place. But when we intersect with it we must respect it and not impose our ideas. Put that way everyone would agree but there is a different view that in fact when communities try to, there is no such thing as the spontaneity. This is not to say the term itself is not applicable maybe there are degrees. You know I was doing my masters and doing some research and everywhere I go when I interviewed activists the way you are doing there's always a story, "no what we did ..." At first you know we are sitting in the canteen having a drink people they make up like amazing stories. In fact you want to be a researcher until you die it was just amazing. And then someone came down the road and then we forgot. And then my brother came out of jail then somehow and then you know how history goes when things come together. So there is that position which says politics is there from day one. And then some social movements such as the LPM, I remember clearly they would say" leaders we

are not political". So that's a mistake and its disempowering because politics is real and politics is not automatic it's, it's built so I think in the early days the APF built its politics systematically. I can assure you that there was a time when the APF you know during the debates even the hostility, there was this thing now that social political groups are not good but to someone like me it was just a joke because I remember when five political groups used to meet regularly discussing how to strengthen the APF do know what I mean? In a way it was, it was like okay here is something you can build comrades but I think within that it was also we don't want to take our fights into the APF because we know so. And at the contribution of those political groups obviously some would come with wrong ideas, but the contribution was to build a political foundation. So there was real debate in the APF which laid quite a clear foundation for APF politics and even if one could say no, no, no the foundation was provided by the struggling masses on the ground but the APF related, so there was a theory of relating to those struggles. The struggles always come first - do you see what I am trying to say here? So that point is as in the APF actually whether its strong in fact maybe I can point out many weaknesses which after I have written them down you can expect that the APF will be gone but my argument was that there was enough group politics. Look take the ANC for instance okay we are not fair, but if you compare them with what the PAC could have done in government, with what the ANC did, I think the PAC would not have done, achieved what Zuma has achieved the first month. You know because they didn't have a tradition, a history. So it's not that they got good politics the ANC, or they are cleverer it's just that they have a tradition of dealing with things. Okay now it's falling apart you know the ANC government, but I also think its falling apart because that tradition of theirs is not strong enough. I think the LPM the way it collapsed it was clear to me, the politics was lost, so weak that it was almost inevitable that it would fall like a house of cards. They are still around in pockets so one could say that the APF to a lesser extent there must be something there which is carrying it.

Dale: You mentioned on several occasions in your responses about the character of the APF - the APF's unemployed constituency, people who were not in the formal economy, people who are generally quite destitute at least materially. How did you think that that basic constituency itself shaped and impacted the kind of politics and ideology and now the challenges that it presented for the APF as opposed to unions or more settled kind of constituency within...that is within the formal economic realm?

Trevor: Okay there is the positive and the negative. On the positive committees are harder to control. When it's a union if you're a shop steward, you can get fired by your boss if you are a member you could be disciplined things like that. Whereas for the community it is more fluid it's a movement so whatever the ANC councillors on the ground did, because these affiliates were part of the APF adhering to their politics, they were almost unco-optable. I'm not saying all of them were unco-optable but there was no more kind of big move to be co opted by the ANC, even we've tried, because there have been moments where we've tried. Okay on the negative I would say that okay to fight properly you have to have a structure, so the APF became too loosely structured, it became too loosely structure. So for example, these affiliates didn't have a membership card system. Okay membership card system is debateable. For example meaning I argued that I would've stayed in SECC but I didn't win because I wanted to maintain the movement fluidly, but there's also something about membership because it means we know who we represent and like the SECC has no choice it must have an AGM every year, there is just no way it

can't not have an AGM because the membership runs for a year the constitution says so that's it. It's like Vavi he can jump over and interfere with COSATU but the comrades come in ... okay he can do everything to rob it of its democratic power but it's there. So with the loose affiliates of the APF some affiliates I think even today never had an AGM. Now this is quite a serious weakness in terms of democracy and it's certainly going to weaken the calibre of leadership because I know its formal elections it can also corrupt because now people are concerned about keeping my position. I think it's what happened to the unions actually so for an annual general meeting to aspire these days it's once in five years. So okay that's a different state but on the other side when no one is going to elect you and also people had to compensate in the sense that people can just come to you in a meeting and say what they think without having a report; so I think this was a problem for the APF and okay my critique, my criticism would be the APF is a united front type of body and it stopped acting like that, it started acting like an organisation, if you know what I mean? So we would be sitting around the table, you know we all have our opinions. There is no question of taking this back to the masses and even if it's done its formality because where are the minutes to prove that so I think this weakened the APF and I think sooner or later it has to be addressed.

Dale: Okay when you left becoming the organiser of the APF, you went back sort of becoming the organiser of the SECC for awhile. Just from that perspective have moving from ... this sort of centre kind of thing to the satellite aspect or one of the affiliates. Did things appear different from the affiliates side as opposed to the APF's side in the context of the organisation ...?

Trevor: A bit although I think some of them were confirmed. That's when I got more exposed to the work which needs to be done at affiliate level. That's when ... you see if I was running away from fights in the APF, I went to the SECC and found a different type of fight, but still fights because the situation is so fluid because these are movements. So they can just decide today we will start attending ANC branch meetings, I am not saying that is going to happen but this is the situation on the ground. Or now we are going to pay our organiser ten thousand rand or we are closing down the offices now because we don't have money. So I was challenged to engage in debates so the line is needed there even more than the APF actually and I understood now why people at the APF level would be a bit disoriented because the challenges on the ground are different; on the ground people want their electricity connected. There are ANC members so people will say they are only using us can you see? So let's say for example we say lets only connect for those with a card. I can just imagine this happening in other affiliates ... what I saw in SECC, its base gets smaller and smaller because it starts being corporatist. So in a way I understood why the APF had such a hard time.

Dale: Just speak a little bit - because that raises another question which always affected all left organisations irrespective of whether they are social movements - about what one would call burn out, so much being demanded with so few in such a challenging space? Throughout your time, I mean I think probably many people that I have been interviewing in this project expressed this - that at some point in time they just felt burnt out and in some ways tired personally and it wasn't about politics, ideologies or a lack of commitment or any sort of thing but just a sense that you needed to have a break or space. Did you ever feel that at any point and time with the APF?

Trevor: Not in the APF... in the APF there are just too many fights, so this couldn't burn out, this can be discomfort.

Dale: Okay

Trevor: Okay with the SECC maybe it was a bit of a burnout because I opted to go and study full time you know, but it's almost like pre-empted burnout because I remember I once worked - I had forgot in my list of jobs - an important one, I was running a workers school at WITS. For four years...but I remember when I got a job at T&G I knew that it was time to move you know. So I don't think it was burnout but it was almost kind of exhausting what your contribution can make especially if you are still young, you still have energy so need to use it. With the APF I left when I still wanted to leave - you know my organisation said no you know there's too many fights so from here it's going to turn nasty and they didn't want me involved in nasty fights ... because when you fight you also fight with your soul so you need distance in struggle. So once you get all caught up you have insomnia now it's not good and you can also mess up your politics. So no, I left the APF when I think it was still quite fulfilling actually and challenging and maybe although there was discomfort, but my response was like a war you know. You know you are going to fight it out; this is when the group said no this is not the way because remember the other thing is a united front we have one dominant position but of the necessity it's harder to maintain a position because what if tomorrow two new organisations join. We used to say "what if COSATU decides to join the APF, what are you going to do, kick the out" and they say 'here we are'. Obviously now so what I am trying to say is that in a united front one has to fight differently and expect more difficulties so it was clear to us that there are some fights that you can't win in the APF, maybe someone could do it in the nature of the affiliates maybe it's only until they are strong that they'd be able you know.

Dale: Sure and just a quick follow on, on that one. In recent times the APF has faced some very serious challenges about the conduct of some of its members. Do you think the time that you were here that the APF paid sufficient attention to what we would generically call the gender question or the relationship between male and female comrades? Do you think that that was something that the APF properly took up and addressed as part of both ideological as well as an organisational issue?

Trevor: Well it was to some extent ... the APF took the gender question, maybe not adequately. Certainly I remember that me I was critical of the APF's efforts in a sense that where we had women's meetings and women's discussions, but I didn't agree with the approach that they wanted to hide off women that sort of thing almost falling into identity politics, and the same politics which characterises the new social movements where every struggle is equal, let the women fight their own battle... because my view is the problem is capital and women are oppressed because of capital so we have to fight their battle as if we have to get rid of capital. And I think what later happened with scandals, I think although maybe it's unfair, I think it has to do with that politics where women have their own separate meetings. Now how are you going to educate the men about gender issues but I don't know maybe that's unfair but certainly I mean the APF could have done more I imagine. I know that SECC had a policy of 50/50 everything. I think it wasn't like that at the APF but we used to argue that position when we had delegations. But obviously what was needed ... so maybe you're right there ... was a thorough

discussion of gender within APF structures as a central programme; that's why I link it with my critique of hiding off of women. Because what is happening now, the women are hived off at APF level but how are those debates feeding back through the structures reaching the chauvinist men? So it's almost as if, take the office bearers of the APF, especially the men, they almost have no direct role in espousing this ... so maybe that's what happened.

Dale: Okay just a few more last few larger questions. How do you think the more recent - you mentioned this at one point earlier on - political shifts within the ANC and in the country and what's happened particularly within the ANC - as you called it 'falling apart' in some ways - how do you think that's impacted on the APF and its own orientation and its politics in the last let's say particularly two or three years?

Trevor: Okay I think what happened is that the APF found that it couldn't win with disillusioned ANC members, which is problematic. Why can't it win ANC disillusioned members or supporters? So this means it has to enhance its politics and I think it has also, especially recently or with the election of Zuma - Brian Ashley wrote that thing the 'Left must Vuka'. I think people got a bit frightened and now the question of an alternative is quite urgent because although we used to fight against ANC but we never liked the DA and those type of people so the ANC was almost a devil we knew and the devil which sometimes spoke our language and the devil we came from; whereas now recent developments with the ANC almost jumping over the cliff of reaction. I don't think neo-liberal policies are just being many moral questions, leadership questions, gender, Zuma. So people realised that maybe there was just no way forward there. So I think increasingly we'll see the APF being forced to deal with questions of elections, of building a party and in fact I know for a fact that some APF members were attracted to COPE and that's not because they are running to win, it's because something political which would challenge the ANC and be an alternative came around and the fact is that is what it needed. So I think this is a challenge to all. Take TAC's Zachie Achmat whose beloved ANC is exploding, I mean what is he going to do you know because clearly now when they run out of ARV's, it is not because the ANC doesn't want to, it's just they cannot manage it. Or it's because of the tenderpreneurs or a whole lot of problems which basically require a new government and a new political party - a new political party a struggle for power. So I think it might be that because I saw during the last election some things coming up. I can't remember what it was called but it was this pamphlet like an anarchist pamphlet about No...

Dale: It was NOPE

Trevor: Ja NOPE, Ja you see NOPE although you know addressed itself in militant, but NOPE was back in the question really. You see this it's clear - the actions and power of state is looming up quite large. The state can go dodgy and fall on us it's possible or maybe I don't know if the DA because they want to form alliances now, now this is dangerous, this is going to shift politics further to the right because they are going to consolidate now on the right of the ANC, the ANC is not going to go more left, it's going to be pulled more right giving the comrades the utter confusion now in the strategy. I think the Left, the APF at least the thinking part, those people. So I think a lot is going to happen in the APF.

Dale: Okay and just you know with the benefit of hindsight which is always good when one is looking back ... the APF is now almost ten years old, it's a decade old. What would you classify as major achievements and also its major weaknesses or failures?

Trevor: Okay the APF fought against neo liberalism or capitalism at a time when no one was prepared to fight, but I don't mean there were no fights, but I mean what was happening was that the fights were very low key, isolated, fragmented there was no real program, no visibility and they could be easily undermined, isolated and contained. But APF came on the scene and challenged ANC clearly openly on problematic policy, ideological grounds. So it contributed to certain political alignments the political sphere, the culture. It also defined what a new social movement is because without the APF maybe the only definition has been the TAC which is almost like an in-house critique based on access, on morality. And that's not because the TAC is stupid or they chose to underplay class questions in favour of savings lives - that's noble - but the APF was able to put the issue. Even when now later Blade Nzimande talks of the 1996 class project whatever, whatever some of the thunder he got from the critique of the APF which was quite open and outright. I would also say the APF made protests respectable again because I am doing my research so I have periodised protests say around 1994 it was a line although maybe it's not accurate you find that millions like increasing strikes but it was a line in struggle and when protests was happening it was called popcorn. It was insulted and then the one day strikes by COSATU, general strikes, Mbeki started being nasty calling them working with the enemy, counter revolutionaries, ultra Left and that pulled them into line actually. COSATU was repeating what Mbeki was saying when there is protests they are anti-alliance. I remember that clearly. So the masses despite their militancy felt struggling or action was something wrong and I am sure if people had insisted to struggle or be militant, under those situations maybe repression would have been sharper and people would say ja they deserve it 'why are they questioning our own Government'. I think also the APF helped South Africa, the movement in South Africa, the broader movement including even the ANC, alliance people to relate to the International Anti-Globalisation Movement because the ideology and inspiration in struggles came through the APF actually although there are other organisations, NGO's. But I think the one structure which in a way through the LPM, you know the LPM was working with the MST but I think LPM was doing less focussed systematic political work. So they were less effective but still they remained. And then also maybe the last thing APF did I think that although this must be qualified a thousand times, but I think that the present protests are another wave. So if APF guys are struggling there are new social movement, ways where the APF was quite important and then there were these protests we see and then even election last year, the same protests but now in stronger ways you know what I mean. So in a way we can say the APF continued the tradition of militant struggle and protest and in fact they took the baton when the race was going. Okay on the negative I think the APF failed to take advantage of its momentary prominence because after that it was almost overtaken by these protests going all over the show and I imagine if handled properly these protests would have happened with a clear link to the APF, at least some of them. The APF can't do everything, they can't but I imagine some of the protests would have been - like what happened I think Kliptown they had a mass uprising or something about two three years ago you know organised by the APF. But it was very community based. I think Thembehle had something like that, even Motswaledi recently although it was away but it came to SECC for support before. We had to write some pamphlets for them

or at least a press statement. So this tells me that the APF was well positioned to actually link up and influence and put together all these uprisings but it didn't happen because the APF didn't reach out or it didn't have enough politics to help it to reach out. Okay they also had internal problems. I think the other problem - the APF keeps on postponing a debate on the party and power so this is problematic because what's going to happen and is happening now is that this question is just going to be the question of the day and it will find APF not ready. And usually when that happens short cuts are taken wrong decisions so I would have been happier if the APF had been debating this issue. Okay we have been debating but it was too much yearning you know what I mean so this is not good enough. I think even within the name, you could have spent some time with the name. Okay since we are not going to call for a party, where are the strikes going, what? I think that deep analyses and discussion of where we could lead our struggle you know. We would have leaned to a debate of the party. Okay maybe more healthy then just okay let's talk about the party so this is a debate which hasn't taken place. Now let's see what's happening now. Now we have people called the Conference of the Democratic Left, you see in a way they are overtaking the work of the APF you know but since you cannot be competitive it's not your rival, I support them, I'm part of it. But I think what they are doing they are almost wanting to address the political issues head-on; this is what they are trying to do. Whether they are capable of doing that I don't know, probably not; but this is what we are trying to do. But I bet you if they are trying to do their work properly they will attract the protest, more than the APF, the home of protest can because they are merely connecting with the political questions. Everyone is asking the political questions in South Africa. It's just that the bourgeoisie press want to reject it as the scandalous Zuma, the buffoon Malema but the question is where is the country going, how are we going to solve service delivery, how can we solve unemployment? There's a global economic crises, there is also education crises, students are failing, the universities are ... the protests, I think the protests are just symptoms of deep problems. So people are starting to realise that what we need is not just resistance or survival, we need solutions. And you cannot have piecemeal solutions, you can't solve an ARV problem without solving a health problem, but how are you going to solve a health problem if you haven't dealt with a whole budgeting structure? So I think this is where one would think now. Hopefully an organisation like the APF will be able to climb into that experience and contribute. I can say that one would not be over critical over APF if we see it in perspective in context as one organisation which came into being when there was a need and did its best and history is moving on and it has to find its place like the ANC, I mean it's done its job now, it's had its NDR the rope now is socialism so it's just an obstacle so one can view things in that kind of broad historical ... and I think the judgement on the APF will be sympathetic.

Dale: Okay you've covered most of the last three or four questions that I wanted to ask you and the one thing I do ask everybody that I'd interviewed, is there something that I have not asked you or something which we haven't covered specifically about the APF and that you would want to add? I don't want to leave anything out that might be of importance or that you think might be of importance?

Trevor: Ja no I think it's things I've covered actually because I just think what is needed is politics, the best politics possible and its increasingly so in South Africa today and the danger now is that with all the problems, short cut solutions is going to come charlatans, xenophobia, Messiah's, populism, I can imagine even tribalism. Certainly now Malema is playing the race card. And all this is about politics, so

like I said what saved the APF from extinction, from attacks. By the way we also didn't mention repression also took the form of NIA [National Intelligence Agency] infiltration. I am sure there are many agents inside the APF trying to destroy, but politics stood it. We all know, some senior Bolsheviks were in the Okrana but the line was clear, the line won the day. So I think if politics is taking care of the APF, there is a future for the APF and for the struggle generally.

Dale: Thanks very much Trevor, thanks for your time.

Trevor: It's my pleasure, thanks.

