



Interview with Jane Vilakazi

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TM: Today is the 12th of June 2013. I'm Tshepo Moloi in Driefontein with *uMama* Jane Vilakazi. We're going to conduct an interview for the SAHA (South African History Archive) 1913 Land Act Legacy Project. Mama Jane, I'd like to take this time to thank you for giving us this opportunity to interview you about the history of Driefontein. To start off, maybe you can kick off by introducing yourself and telling us where you were born, and how you came to know Driefontein.

JV: Thank you, Tshepo. Like you've just said, my name is Jane and I was born in Sophiatown. We were then moved to Meadowlands around 1955. My family surname is Khumalo and I was married to the Vilakazis. I arrived in Driefontein in 1980. When I arrived here I heard the news about the forced removals, which I witnessed when we were removed from Sophiatown when I was growing up. As people were resisting the removals, *uBaba* (Mr) Mkhize arrived. Although I can remember when exactly but I think it was in the early 1980s. I can't remember whether it was 1981 or 1982, but somewhere there. Mr Mkhize – Saul Mkhize – arrived with lawyers from the Legal Resources Centre (LRC) and members of the Black Sash. They came to advise the community it could fight the discriminatory government which was in power then. That's when we formed the Council Board of Directors, and I became a member. Over a period of time, I think it was in 1983, an incident happened. We were going to have a community meeting at a school and then a certain white man, who was a policeman, together with Khumalo who was employed at the magistrate's office, arrived. The meeting didn't go as we had planned. The *boer* (white policeman) shot and Mr Mkhize was killed. After that incident we continued resisting the removals, with the help of the LRC and the Black Sash. Those organisations really helped us to remain in Driefontein even today. The government couldn't remove us. I can still one day when we approached *uBaba* Enos Mabuza he informed us that he didn't have a place for us. He wouldn't take people from Driefontein and accommodate them in his land. That made us very happy, because we didn't want to move from Driefontein. Then we were working very closely with the LRC. Black Sash was at that time no longer actively involved. The people who were living in the nearby farms were being chased away from those farms. And we would accommodate them in our homes. Remember that Pixley Ka Seme bought this land for our forefathers in 1912. So, we'd accommodate these people. But then we realised that the land was becoming small. We continued working as the Council Board of Directors until the elections (i.e. 1995 local government elections), and councillors were elected. Then the Board... Oh no. Before the elections there was a structure called the RDC, Reconstruction Development Committee.

TM: Okay.

JV: It was when the Council Board phased out and all the stakeholders within the community became members of the RDC. But I must say the RDC didn't contribute much to the community. I think at the time many people were not knowledgeable about developmental issues. We were not trained and/or we were not properly briefed about the exact role of the RDC, or what it was. You know, before the RDC and the elections we as the Council Board we had contributed a lot in Driefontein. For example, we brought water. Before then we didn't have water. We used to get water from the dam and pits. The LRC and Black Sash helped to us the pipes...

TM: Oh, to pull water from underground.

JV: Yes. That's how we were able to get water, although they didn't reach everyone. By then we already had electricity. When we went for the elections, the Council Board had already phased out. Councillors were elected, and they work. Or should I say, they used to work? But you must remember that when they took over we had just defeated apartheid, so many of them didn't have the knowledge about what councillors did or were supposed to do. The government offered them

training, but this kind of work tended to take a very long time for people to fully understand it. You must remember that we were from the background of darkness and now we had light, but this light was still dim. But as time went on ... Yes, there is Driefontein even though it is still not adequate. You must remember that we were under the rule of the *boers* for a very long time. Our ANC government is still young. It can't satisfy everyone in a very short space of time. It's like when you have a home and four children, you can't buy them all shoes at the same time. You'll budget in such a way that you'll for two first and later for one, and so on. I can say there's development: we have the RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme) houses, though they were not properly built. There are no roads there and the toilets there cannot flush. Some times they overflow and that causes problems. Our municipality is struggling to meet all the demands, because of the area we live in. First, because of the vastness of the area under it and the budget. That's why things do not go as planned some times.

TM: Yes. Let me take you back, *mama*. How old were you when you were removed from Sophiatown to Meadowlands?

JV: I was roughly ... Because I was born in 1954. I think I was seven years old. No, when was Sophiatown removed, 1954 or...

TM: 1956

JN: Okay. I don't think I had reached 10 years. But I can still remember the removals.

TM: What do you still remember?

JN: I can still there were trucks taking peoples' goods. They transported us to Meadowlands. There was no electricity. It was dark and the houses were too small. If you were a family of 15 you were forced to live in a three-roomed house. Some of the members of the family slept under the tables. We were squeezed in into those houses.

TM: How many were you in your family when you were moved to Meadowlands?

JN: Hey, we were many. I think we were 10 or a little bit more.

TM: Children?

JN: Together with the parents.

TM: Okay. So you grew up in Meadowlands. Did you start your schooling there?

JN: Yes. I grew up in Meadowlands in Zone 4. I started to attend school at Mpumalanga Primary School. From there I went to Mzimvubu Higher Primary, then Meadowlands High.

TM: So after you completed school... Okay. Let me ask you this question first. When you still attending school did you visit other places outside Soweto?

JN: Hey, that's the sad part of it. You know, I come from a very poor family; we could hardly afford to visit anywhere. Maybe I should take you back to my childhood. I was brought up by my grandmother. I hardly knew my mother. Then young people liked to live in town, *emakhishini* (domestic workers' quarters). I must say I'm clear about what had when I was a child. I was told that I was very ill and my grandmother took me to the clinic. When we arrived there she found *umama* Winnie Mandela. I think my grandmother informed her about our situation at home. Then we found a house.

TM: Where, in Meadowlands?

JV: Yes. And we also received ... what do they call this thing? Welfare something.

TM: Sort of a grant?

JV: I can't remember it. But, yes, it was something like that. That's how we survived when growing up.

TM: So, Meadowlands was the only place you knew when you were growing up.

JV: Yes, it was Meadowlands.

TM: After matric what happened – what did you do?

JV: Like I was saying, we had a tough life. You'll never believe I once worked at a cafe owned by a Portuguese, where I was earning R6 a month.

TM: Mmm ... And when was this?

JV: Hey, after my 21st birthday. How long was I? I can't remember the exact year.

TM: It's fine. We'll calculate. It's probably in the 1970s.

JV: Yes, it was in the 1970s. You're right. After leaving that Portuguese ... Oh, my aunt was then working at the Rand Clinic, in Turfontein. She was able to find work for me there. I used to clean there and earning about R15 a month. Then it was a lot (laughs). We were surviving anyway (laughs). I continued working there. My aunt and I were like friends. We moved from there together to work at the Rand Clinic, in Hillbrow.

TM: What's your aunt's name?

JV: Rodah Khumalo. She has passed away. We worked there for some time, then I left her there. I went to work at ... What's this place called? At the Summit Club, in Hillbrow. I was also a cleaner there. Then I moved to Florence Nightingale Clinic. I also worked there as a cleaner. Actually that's where I met Mr Vilakazi.

TM: Ah!

JV: We fell in love. He then paid for my *lobola* (brideswealth), and then married me. That's how I came to live here in Driefontein.

TM: When Mr Vilakazi was still courting you did you visit Driefontein?

JV: Yes, I would visit.

TM: Then how was this area?

JV: *Eish*, it was tough. You know, we'd go and draw water and when I looked at the water I'd find that they red. I would visit for a weekend but would return home without having drunk water here. I would eat their food, but avoided drinking water.

TM: Where did they get water from?

JV: At the dam. This area is red naturally.

TM: And the houses?

JV: It were mud-houses. But, you know, when you're in love you end up saying I'll cope (laughs).

TM: When you first visited this area before 1980 how would describe the women who lived here then?

TM: They were very poor and struggled. But they loved this area. Even though they struggled they made means to survive.

TM: How?

JV: They tilled the land. Some had cattle. They survived by trading. Their trading didn't involve the exchange of money, because they didn't have it. You see, for example, if you had maize and I harvested beans, we'd exchange our goods. I'd give you beans and you'd give me maize. This trade involved different kinds of goods they were harvesting. That's how they survived.

TM: And this trading did it only take place among the neighbours or was there a special time where everyone met to barter their goods?

JV: It happened among the neighbours or people who knew each other. They would negotiate. You know, I have harvested this and share it with you but you have to give me what you've harvested.

TM: Wow!

JV: In 1980 you moved to Driefontein on a permanent basis...

JV: Yes.

TM: What made you to decide to leave your employment and come and live this side?

JV: Then I had children. I first conceived when I was still working. My mother said "No, I'm not going to look after your children. You must sort yourself out". I conceived my first born out of wedlock. In fact, I was telling Gille (de Vlieg) that he's staying at Bramfischerville (Soweto). I brought my second born to come and live with my mother in-law.

TM: Oh, here in Driefontein.

JV: Yes. That was sorted, no problem. But in a very short space of time I conceived another one. I tried to have my mother looking after the child but she said "No ways. You must raise your own children". Then I had no alternative. I looked around while in Joburg and concluded that indeed it was fun but was there a future for me there. I weighed the pros and cons, then I decided to move to Driefontein. I had a beautiful mud-house - I still remember it.

TM: Where, here in Driefontein?

JV: Yes. My home is not far from where we are. You know, when I mixed the mud my mother in-law would be surprised. She would say *wena o buya eJozi but the way wenza o daka ngakhona* (you come from Johannesburg, but you are able to mix mud). You know, I used make beautiful decorations with mud. I stayed here since then, and everything was alright.

TM: When you arrived here you were a *makoti* (wife) and where did you live?

JV: I first lived at my mother in-law's house. Then I built my own house.

TM: Where did you build it?

JV: In her yard.

TM: Oh, the Vilakazis were standowners...

JV: Yes, they were standowners. There was an ample space in the yard. They allocated me a space to build my own house. By then we were still a small family, so I built a three-roomed house.

TM: Who was building your house?

JV: We bought wooden stems and we hired builders. Then I placed mud to the structure and decorated it. Well, I grew up. By the way, when I arrived here I was still young. I'll show you my pictures.

TM: Did you ever ask where the Vilakazis were originally from?

JV: They were from Bethal. My father (father in-law) had a friend who used to work in eGoli (Johannesburg) and he'd visit his friend who also had a house here. So he liked this place. At first when they came here they became tenants in another person's yard. That person lived up there next to Mama [Beauty] Mkhize's place. Then the owner of that place was then living alone, because all the members of his family had passed on. He wanted to sell his place. So my father bought it. But I don't know how much he paid for it.

TM: So, when you wanted to buy a stand you had to negotiate directly with the owner.

JV: Yes. Then you both have to go to Wakkerstroom to change the title deed.

TM: When you first arrived how big was the place that your father in-law had bought?

JV: It were morgens then ... It was very big. I can't recall how many morgens it was.

TM: Who else was staying there?

JV: It was my in-laws.

TM: Didn't they have tenants?

JV: When I arrived, no they didn't have tenants.

TM: When you arrived the news about the removals...

JV: People were talking about the imminent removals but then they spoke in hush tones.

TM: Do you know how the community of Driefontein came to know about these news?

JV: When there were meetings I would go and listen.

TM: Who called these meetings?

JV: Who called these meetings? *uBaba* Manqele and others.

TM: What were they in the community?

JV: I can't remember what they in the community. This happened until *ubaba* Mkhize appeared in the scene.

TM: But before *ubaba* Mkhize's time when you attended the meetings called by *ubaba* Manqele and others what were they talking about?

JV: They were saying the *boers*... Okay, I now remember. There was a hailing system coming from Wakkerstroom. The magistrate would use the hailing system to inform the community that there would be a meeting to discuss the removals. You see, *ubaba* Manqele was friends with my father in-law. Okay, when I arrived here my father in-law had already passed away. But *ubaba* Manqele continued that friendship with my husband. So, he always visited our home and when he gets there he would say *Ngizoqela umakoti sihambe naye e mithingini* (I'm here to request the daughter in-law to accompany me to the meeting). At the time my father in-law's sons were all in Johannesburg. Even my husband was living in eGoli then. That's how I started attending the meetings and would hear about the planned removals and when we were supposed to be removed, and the area we were to be moved to. Then there was a certain committee led by *ubaba* Yende. They used to called themselves ... What did they call it? Members of Committee ... No, I can't remember what they called themselves. They were in favour of the removals, because *ubaba* Yende wanted to become a chief where we were going to be settled. Differences arose within the community: one group was against the removals and another was in favour of the removals. So, I'd attend these meetings, but I could tell that the people there their views differed. Then *ubaba* Mkhize appeared in the scene and formed the Council Board of Directors. Mr Yende's was called Members of Committee or Community Members... No, I don't remember. Mr Yende and his group didn't like Mr Mkhize. They started holding their own meetings with Prinsloo, the magistrate.

TM: Okay.

JV: Like I said earlier that the reason we're still here it was because of the LRC and Black Sash.

TM: Before the LRC and Black Sash, you mentioned that Mr Mkhize appeared on the scene and formed the Council Board of Directors. How did that come about – can you take us through the process?

JV: Hey, I have forgotten some of the details. I must say that there were other meetings which I could not attend, so I can be accurate.

TM: That's fine.

JV: But when I first met him he was with the lawyers like Aninka [Claassens] and Geoff Budlender. They suggested that we should form a committee to represent the community.

TM: Did they suggest this in a community meeting?

JV: He (Mkhize) invited few people, particularly the standowners, to that meeting. It was in that meeting where he told those people that we should not allow to be removed from our own land. He pleaded with them that he should not be the only person resisting the removals but others should join him too. That's how the Council Board of Directors was formed.

TM: But before this meeting had you heard about *ubaba* Mkhize?

JV: No.

TM: He appeared on the scene because of the removals.

JV: Yes.

TM: Before the formation of the Council Board of Directors were the meetings held every day or on weekends?

JV: Not every day. Although I can say exactly when, but there were special times when they were held. Probably after a month there would be a meeting.

TM: When the announcement was made that the people of Driefontein should move did they say where to?

JV: They said we should move to eBabango and at Lochiel.

TM: How was the community going to be divided?

JV: It was going to be on tribal basis. If you were a Swazi-speaking you going to be taken to Lochiel and isiZulu-speakers were to be removed to eBabango.

TM: When you first arrived here did you find that indeed there were only Swazi-speakers and isiZulu-speakers living here?

JV: There were Basotho.

TM: What was said about them?

JV: No, they didn't say anything about them. They only targeted the Swazi-speakers and isiZulu-speakers.

TM: Why did the other group want to leave Driefontein – did they state their reason in the meetings?

JV: They were power hungry. They wanted positions. Mr Yende, who was leading the other Board, wanted to be a chief.

TM: You also mentioned that after the 1983 meeting the Council Board of Directors was formed and you became a member. How did it come about that you as a woman ended up in that Board after all you were still relatively new in Driefontein?

JV: (laughs)I don't know. But you are correct. In most cases such issues were led by men. But I think it was because of Mr Mkhize's wisdom. I was not the only woman in that Board. *uMama* Madlala was also in that committee. I think it was because of Mr Mkhize's wisdom.

TM: How was the first Board elected?

JV: It was nominated by the members of the community, both the landlords and tenants. Mr Mkhize didn't discriminate people on the basis of being a tenant or a standowner. That's how the Board was formed. But before the nominations, the committee held a short caucus to discuss the processes and who exactly would be fit to be in the Board.

TM: When did the committee meet to caucus?

JV: You see, when we were going to have a meeting the following day, the committee would meet the day before to prepare how the meeting should proceed.

TM: How did you plan?

JV: (laughs). Hey, Tshepo, I can't remember all these things.

TM: Whatever you can recall.

JV: Remember we already knew the people who were against us. And we knew those who supported us. So, we were always on the lookout for people that we thought could be in our Board.

TM: So, after that you'd then go and meet with the community.

JV: We used to lobby but then we didn't use that word.

TM: How did you lobby then?

JV: We'd discuss this issue with people in the community, to say we think the chairperson should be a person with such and such qualities. Secretaries and so on.

TM: So, were members elected as it is happening today through the ballot box?

JV: No, people would raise their hands.

TM: Wow! Oh, so your name would be called out and...

JV: Yes. And the people would show their approval or disapproval by raising their hands.

TM: When you were elected into the Board what position did you hold?

JV: I was an additional member.

TM: So, there were two women...

JV: It was myself, *umama* Madlala and *umama* Mkhize.

TM: Alright. And who were some of the people in that Board?

JV: It was *ubaba* Mkhize, *ubaba* Vilakazi...

TM: What was Vilakazi's name?

JV: Johannes Vilakazi. He was the older brother to my husband. And *ubaba* Manqele, *ubaba* Ntsibande, *ubaba* Mahlaba, *ubaba* Gama, Bheki Nkonyane. I hope I didn't leave out anyone.

TM: So, that was the first Board of Directors.

JV: Yes.

TM: What tasks did you set for yourself?

JV: The first task was to fight against the removals. After we had received the reprieve, we then focused on development. Like I said, electricity was installed by the help of the Board of

Directors, for water to be pulled in by pipes it was because of the work of the Board of Directors, through the help of the LRC and Black Sash.

TM: Okay. After you had formed the first Board who became the first chairperson?

JV: It was *ubaba* Mkhize.

TM: In 1983 *ubaba* Mkhize is shot and killed then what happened to the Board?

JV: It didn't stop functioning. We elected ... [silent] *ubaba* Maswazi [Mkhize], Saul's brother, to take over as the chairperson. But he was assisted by Johannes Vilakazi.

TM: How did the Board fight against the removals – you mentioned the lawyers. But was there another method you used to fight against this?

JV: No, there were no other methods. We'd hold meetings with the lawyers and they'd give us the way forward; advice us on which procedures to follow. But after *ubaba* Mkhize's death, I think the power of the then apartheid regime deteriorated slightly because of that incident. We waited until after the court case. And during this period the lawyers were with us all the way, fighting this issue. Then we were informed that Driefontein would not be removed anymore.

TM: But while you were fighting against the removals didn't the police and the other group that was in favour of leaving harassing you?

JV: We used to harass each other. We'd say bad things to each other and about each other. Some of the youth were killed. I remember Themba was murdered. And Mfanamfana. At this stage this had developed into a rivalry between the ANC (African National Congress) and Inkatha (Freedom Party). I can say the Board of Directors was sort of a shield, because we knew that we were ANC. So, all the youth which supported us were following the ANC, like Shelly [Shelembe], Mfanamfana, and Themba Dlamini.

TM: Okay, finally Driefontein received a reprieve. But then you also mentioned that the *boers* from the neighbouring farms started chasing their tenants from their farms...

JV: Yes, they chased people away from their farms.

TM: What happened then when the majority of these people came to settle in the location?

JV: We'd accommodate them. I can still remember that the LRC helped us to establish the Advice Legal Clinic. You see, some of these people were farm labour tenants, working for accommodation on those farms. Their rights differed from the farm dwellers, farm workers. The farm workers went into the farm to work and after work they had to leave. The farm tenants lived there. So, the LRC was trying to fight for these people not to be forced out of their places. Tensions developed between us and some of the *boers*. Interestingly, I was employed in the [Advice] Legal Clinic. I know that most of the *boers* around here still don't like me. We worked there assisting those people, including people who could not receive their pension because of the wrong date of birth written in their passes. We resolved such issues. We dealt with the issues involving the UIF (Unemployment Insurance Fund).

TM: Where was your office?

JV: It was where I had suggested we should meet. Yes, at the Advice Centre. Oh, there's something I've forgotten. During the time of our struggle against the removals there was no clinic

here in Driefontein. We first built a mud-clinic. We identified and recruited Sister Paulina Mosoue, who lived in eGoli but was prepared to relocate to Driefontein. That's how the clinic started here.

TM: Who built it?

JV: By the community. The community contributed money. I can't remember whether it was R5. But then we bought building materials, especially mud and wooden stems. The clinic was built with mud. I worked closely with Sister Mosoue when the clinic was first opened. I then moved to the Advice Centre.

TM: So, you built the clinic even though there was a chance that Driefontein might be moved

JV: No, then we had been informed that we were no longer moving.

TM: Alright. You earlier alluded to the role played by *ubaba* Mabuza – Enos Mabuza. What was his involvement?

JV: He became involved during the time when the government wanted to remove us. We went to him, together with our lawyers, and we informed him that we have been told that Driefontein was going to be removed and some of the people from there were going to be settled in his area (KaNgwane), because they were Swazi-speaking people. We asked him not agree to this scheme. He, himself, was totally against this.

TM: Who went to meet with him?

JV: I can't remember who went to meet with him. But he did come to Driefontein and the whole community was called. He informed the community that he didn't have a place for the people of Driefontein and he was not prepared to accommodate them.

TM: Wow! Earlier I asked about the impact the increasing number of people who were moving into Driefontein – I mean the people who were chased out of the neighbouring farms? Because as the majority of people move into the area the land becomes small.

JV: Okay. Yes, the people moved in and the land became small... [silent]

TM: Were people able to continue farming?

JV: Yes, we were still farming, but the land was too small. The Council Board... Hey, I don't know how to phrase this. Okay, the Council Board was lucky because some of the farmers in the surrounding environs confessed that they could no longer live with us. I think they approached *umama* Mkhize, if I'm not mistaken, that they were selling their farms. At that stage we were also looking for extra land to accommodate some of the people who were living in the overpopulated stands. I can't remember who assisted us in this regard. But there was someone who assisted us and the Board of Directors was part and parcel of that. I can't remember whether it was Maree (i.e. the lawyer from the LRC). We were able to get these places, which had been bought for people. The tenants bought these farms and that opened some space in the yards of some of the standowners.

TM: Where were those farms?

JV: Up the road next to the road close to the canal.

TM: So the tenants left here and went to live there.

JV: Yes.

TM: Do people still till the land to farm?

JV: Yes, the majority of people use it to farm. Well, some people are just lazy.

TM: Then how do people survive?

JV: Hey, it's really tough. Some people are employed in the forest. Others are still working for the *boers*.

TM: What kind of work are they doing in the forest?

JV: Chopping down trees. And the majority live and work in eGoli. They only return home on weekends or long weekends.

TM: When the people from the farms started living in the location didn't tensions arise between the tenants and the standowners?

JV: No, there were no tensions.

TM: What was the reason for that, do you know? Because in many places such arrangements caused tensions.

JV: Well, even if there were there it would be minor problems.

TM: Such as?

JV: You know, standowners here didn't mistreat their tenants. They were cordial to their tenants. I think this was because some of the tenants who came from the farms were relatives of some of the members of the community.

TM: And what sort of minor tensions were there?

JV: To say, for example, so and so's cattle had grazed in someone else's farm. In such matters the Council Board of Directors was able to intervene.

TM: Oh, if there were problems within the community they would be reported to ...

JV: Council Board. And we would deal with and try to solve them.

TM: What about the police?

JV: The police appeared on the scene recently, to be honest. And the police avoided dealing with tensions between individuals. They would say 'go and try to resolve this issue'.

TM: In 1990 political organisations were unbanned and the ANC was allowed to participate in open politics. It then formed branches. What was happening here in Driefontein?

JV: You know, after the ANC and other political organisations were unbanned ... I must say that here in Driefontein the ANC dominates. Initially, we had one branch for the whole location. But as time went on, and because of the demarcations, we now have three ANC branches. There are other political organisations, although I do not know how they're operating.

TM: And you said Inkatha is also present here.

JV: Yes, it has a presence.

TM: I'm trying to take you back to the point you made earlier that there were tensions between the ANC and Inkatha, to the extent that some people were even murdered.

JV: Okay. You see, after the unabanning of political formations everyone came out in the open and showed which political party he/she supported. I said there were young people that supported us. *uBaba* Yended had already made it clear that he was a member of the IFP. At that stage it was still tense in Driefontein unlike today. The tensions between the ANC and IFP were brewing almost everywhere across the country. And that's part of our history. We were moving towards the elections...

TM: Which ones, the 1994 elections?

JV: Yes, the 1994 elections. Mfanamfana Yende was busy checking the ID's in one of Yunis's offices, helping some of the voters. He was there until very late. We're not sure who he left with after leaving that office. The following day his bag was found near the dam but he was not there. People searched for him but couldn't find him. After a couple of days his body was found floating in the dam. Well, we suspected *ubaba* Yende but we can't prove it. Time went by after Mfanamfana had passed away. Mfanamfana was also from the Yende family. The reason we suspected that it could've *ubaba* Yende who killed Mfanamfana was because he did not attend Mfanamfana's funeral, although they were related. Right, let's move on. Then after some time there was a certain young man who was very active, Themba Dlamini. He was a cattle minder. I think he was trapped. He was abducted and taken to *ubaba* Yende's house where he was severely beaten until he died. I think the two deaths was because of the tension, that they were members of the ANC and *ubaba* Yende was a member of the IFP. Or maybe it was because they supported the group that was against the removals when they were in favour of the removals.

TM: Didn't that cause violence as it happened in other places?

JV: There was some violence but not in the scale as it was in other places. But I must inform you that Themba "fought" after he was killed. We heard that *ubaba* Yende could no longer sleep in house because of Themba. His ghost haunted him. This happened until he himself passed away.

TM: Didn't the tension between the ANC and IFP force other members of the community to abandon their homes and escape to safer areas?

JV: No, that didn't happen here.

TM: Then in 1995 there were the local government elections and new councillors were elected into offices. I want to ask you about the role of these councillors. After the election of the new councillors what happened to the other organisations like the Council Board of Directors?

JV: The Board of Directors phased out. And the RDC...

TM: Yes, I want to know how the RDC came about.

JV: We were informed that there was going to be the RDC which was going to be responsible for the development of the community.

TM: Who informed you?

JV: I don't remember. It was formed. It comprised of the IFP ... Actually, every stakeholder which existed in the location: the ANC, NGOs (Non-governmental organisations), private sector, Law Clinic, Traditional Healers. These bodies formed the RDC. But as I said it didn't last long. It didn't have any impact.

TM: What happened...

JV: There were lot disagreements. The ANC had its own agenda and similarly the IFP had its own. And this caused people to disagree all the time.

TM: Can you remember one issue that caused disagreement?

JV: For example, electricity. We struggled to install electricity here, because members if the IFP argued that electricity was going to blind their cattle at night. We struggled a lot. We couldn't agree on minor things. Because of that the RDC didn't have an impact in the community. Fortunately, councillors were then elected. The first councillors didn't function optimally; because we didn't ... I was one of the initial councillors. This work was still new to us and we didn't have the know-how to do things. We would identify roads as a problem. I mean, even today roads are major problem here. Water is another problem. Then we already had electricity. Now we have water. We were lucky that in the new areas where tenants bought the land, the government after 1994 identified an area where a reservoir was built. The Board of Directors agreed that a reservoir should be built. At this stage the RDC was moribund. We in the Board of Directors were doing things on our own. We were interested in ensuring that our community was developed. The initial councillors didn't have direction.

TM: Who occupied the RDP houses?

JV: The councillors ... After 1994 we elected again in 1999. New councillors were elected. But they found that a foundation has been made. Because the first councillors had prioritised the road, RDP houses, water, and many other things. They were fortunate in that when they started there was a budget. That's when the RDP houses were built. And the road was constructed, as you can see the main road.

TM: You mentioned that initially people survived through farming. Do the people living in the RDP also farm?

JV: No, they don't farm. Some of them have found work in the mine. They work on a 6-month contract and so on. Others were fortunate to be employed on a permanent basis. Some, as I said, work in the forest. And others are employed in eGoli.

TM: But then looking back to the time when you arrived here in 1980 and now are there changes you can point out?

JV: Yes, there are big changes (laughs). We now have running water inside our houses. We have electricity. When I got here we were using gas fridge, draw water far away. Toilets were in the bush. But today we have toilets inside our houses; we're flushing. What more do you want (laughs)?

TM: That means your fight was not in vain.

JV: No. Look at where we are today.

TM: And you don't regret that you left Johannesburg to come and live here.

JV: No, I don't. I don't need that busy life. I'm fine here (laughs).

TM: Thank you, *mama* Jane. If there's anything we left out we'll chat about it later. But I think we were able to cover many issues.

[END]