

\*Translated from Tswana to English



## Interview with Andrew Pooe

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Nonhlanhla Ngwenya (NN): This is Nonhlanhla Ngwenya doing an interview with Mr. Pooe on the 28<sup>th</sup> May 2013. Mr. Andrew if you can just introduce yourself who you are and when you were born.

Andrew Pooe (AP): My name is Andrew Pooe from Mokgopa; I was born on the 26 January 1959. I was raised here and schooled here in Mogopa until my secondary level.

NN: And then parents?

AP: My parents are still alive, my mom is still alive and we're living with her, my dad is absent, my two brothers here in Mogopa

NN: And when did your parents arrive here at Mokgopa?

AP: My parents say they arrived here in 1913 from Free State when they bought this farm, Swartrand in 1911 and after they bought Hartebeeslagte after they arrived here in Mogopa, when they saw that Swartrand land is too small it can't accommodate farming, cattles and building. And then that's when they bought Hartebeeslagte in 1913.

NN: And when they tell you, how did they find the Mogopa land?

AP: Mogopa: virtually it was just a land that didn't have houses, nothing at all, just a land

NN: And the first people who settled here in Mogopa, did they tell you who were they?

AP: First people to settle here were Mogopa's Bakwena because when they arrived here there was no one. There was a man here called Ou Rouba who stayed alone, like he was the person who took care of this land but there was nothing else but him only

NN: Did that person own a land or the whole village of Mogopa?

AP: He didn't own anything; he was just a man who stayed here like he was a guard.

NN: And when you grew up, how was life in Mogopa?

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AP: Life in Mogopa; it was close to the community and doing their own things, not relying on any authority, doing their own farming. A lot of them, when they realized that farming didn't benefit them, they moved to towns like Johannesburg, Carletonville due to work. But the rest that left behind was because of the cattles they had and farming. They developed the place by building schools, churches and everything they had, they built it themselves.

NN: And did you attend school here in Mogopa?

AP: I started from primary here in Mogopa called Swartkop Combined, Swartkop Primary School. I don't know why they called it Swartkop. I finished my standard 6 there in 1974. After that I went to a secondary school that was here in Mogopa that was called Kutlwano Secondary School where I finished my junior certificate in 1977. From there, due to lack of finances, I had to be like everyone else and go look for a job in town. I ended up in Carletonville mines, where I worked. I worked there until the forced removal period when there were threats that we're relocating. I wasn't agreeing with that

NN: Before we get there, I just want to ask about Mogopa's education background, what level was it? What quality was it?

AP: Mogopa's education quality, like I said, that in those times it was Bantu Education, but it helped us because our school was one of the best Western Transvaal because it was able to attract other kids from outside, it wasn't just attended by the Mogopa's kids. It was Carletonville, Randfontein and others were from Soweto, Potchefstroom, Klerksdorp, Koster, Corleen, Bloemhoff, Schweizer-Reneke, it was a big school that could attract students from outside. I don't know if the reason was education or the discipline of the school that attracted people from different places also. But the school was disciplined and many were able to complete their studies and get to the university and Mogopa is where they initially started.

NN: And then Mogopa and other communities: how was the relationships?

AP: The relationship between Mogopa and neighboring townships was good because we were working together. Sometimes when Mogopa didn't have enough resources, they would outsource

NN: Okay we can continue on the relationship between Mogopa and the neighboring townships

AP: The relationship between Mogopa and neighboring townships was good; we were interacting with them in a peaceful manner. We were helping each other with farming and so on. Mostly there was no problem between ourselves, we were helping each other and we all went to churches together as neighbors, we were meeting and so on.

NN: And when you talk about farming, just to take you back there, did the residents in Mogopa own these farms or white farmers owned them?

AP: The farms here, since they were in Mogopa land, even the farms were for the people of Mokgopa, each and every family was allocated a plot where we can farm. There was no one who was deprived from farming and there was not that people were not given an equal privilege, it was just a matter of being given the land and everyone given permission to farm. And those who managed and had the energy to farm with huge space of land, others didn't have that energy,

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They had small land. That is how the land was allocated. There was no one who was deprived, it was purely common.

NN: And traditional structures before force removal; how did you run things here in the land of Mogopa?

AP: We did have traditional structures, which among them, there was a few who were in charge. There was Baphuthing [Unity in Sesotho], Baramorola, Bakwena (Crocodile in Sesotho), Bakgafela, Batlounge [Elephant in Sesotho] and each and every clan had its own representatives, they had 2 from each clan then, from there it was Council under the headmen that was there at the time.

NN: So were they the ones who made decisions for Mogopa?

AP: Yes, the representatives from each clan were the ones who made decisions that governed the entire community, the entire village

NN: So there was no head leader or chief who was in charge of Mogopa?

AP: There was one headman; successfully there was a headman but most of the time they were from the More clan. The headman was from More Clan. Historically they said he was the *kgosi* [king or headman in Sesotho] but the truth of the matter is that he wasn't a *kgosi* [king or headman in Sesotho], he didn't have the *kgosi's* [king or headman in Sesotho] quality and that's why we called him *kgosana* [Chief in Sesotho] that is in charge of other clans that I mentioned.

NN: Okay, and then you said the land was owned by people before the handover right, and then other townships besides Mogopa, Driefontein and Braklaagte, who owned the lands?

AP: Unfortunately I don't have a proper history of Braklaagte and Driefontein because as you can see geographically they're very far apart. Braklaagte is in the North West near Zeerust and here we're in Sundervop and Driefontein is in Mpumalanga somewhere in the East, we're 100 km apart. So I don't have their background apart from reading from the history to know that they were also from the force removal struggle.

NN: And according to you, what was Mogopa land used for?

AP: The land was used for agricultural purposes, especially in crop production and grazing. Crop production is referred to maize, sunflower, and beans. And then grazing was for the cows to eat

NN: Were there any organizations here before forced removals?

AP: Mokgopa being rural as it is and very far from towns, there were no organizations. The only ones were social clubs called stokvels. Until the forced removals there were organizations which came in to assist the Mogopa people, TRAC - Transrural Committee [Transvaal Rural Action Committee], South African Rural Churches [South African Council of Churches], our partners in Germany, our Crubulant [Covenant] (not sure of the spelling) Project: it's only when people became enlightened with the organizations that were from outside.

NN: And before forced removals, how strong was the relationship between neighboring townships?

AP: It was good relationships. Everyone was known and the social group was neat, we knew each other. There were parents in our vicinity,

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We all respected them and they respected us as young boys and children. There was respect; elders respected youth and the youth also respected elders. Life was so good, although obviously there were a few conflicts. Where there's a lot of people, there will always be conflicts but they were not as serious in a manner, that there was instability or complaints, hatred and so on. It was very good. Life was very good.

NN: So in other words you would say that people in Mogopa were very united?

AP: In all respect. People in Mogopa in everything they did, they were cooperative; there were normal debates for particular issues. An issue could be debated to a point that we all agreed through reaching the consensus and nobody could be grieved. What is agreed on is what will take place, if there's no agreement it will be left unresolved. But there was a culture of democracy within the issues at present

NN: And according to you, would you say that there was an incident that led to you being removed from Mogopa or anything along those lines?

AP:\* Yes, there were some incidents, because I remember in 1969, the threat of being removed has always been there, long before the 1984. In 1969 there was this talk of removal, house painted and numbered and that we're relocating but that never materialized. It all died, we don't know how. The community was forced to believe that we're safe, whilst others were removed throughout the country. The last straw came in 1984, in actual fact 1983 because 3 years before or 4 years before that, there was a headman named Jacob More who was working in Carletonville as municipal policeman and he became the head after the death of the old man called Diale Moore. Then everything changed. We experienced corruption, we experienced conflicts, we experienced maladministration. Then the community rose against the way we were doing things; is not the way we're used to living, there's too much corruption. Then the local commissioner, who was the magistrate at that time because there was this arrangement that the commissioner, he's tied to the commissioner and magistrate at the same time. He had such a strange relationship with More and procedurally the community was bound to complain to the commissioner, only to realize that the commissioner was in a strange relationship with the headman, Jacob Moore. I still remember when there was a general meeting at a school hall and those issues had to be addressed, and the same commissioner by the name of Mr. De Villiers said Jacob More will become the headman of this community. In actual fact there was a vote of no confidence against him and the local commissioner said, Jacob Moore would become a headman until he dies, and this is what angered the community. Apart from that we all know that there's been a policy for Bantustan. We were described and classified as a black spot in a white land. Then the worst is, now we're led by this guy Solomon Rathebe, who was a member of parliament who was then minister of foreign affairs in Bophuthatswana Government under Mangope. He played a very important role in Mogopa removal because he was one of the leading figures, forced removals here in Mokgopa, as he was a foreign minister in the Bantustan under Mangope. This was done politically speaking because this was a policy for Political National Party to remove the blacks from their ancestral land. Solomon Rathebe's position for Bophuthatswana Parliament, coupled with the forced removal policy of the National Party Government. Now they capitalized on the situation that was prevalent in Mogopa at that time because of the conflict between the community and Jacob Moore. So they capitalized on this conflict that this is the right time to come in. so they went in and destroyed the community.

[TIMECODE: 50min:04sec]

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NN: \* Meaning that the incident that happened is that your leader was working with the government for you to be removed?

AP:\* Yes, the leader Jacob More with the help of Solly Rathebe and some of the councillors, they were responsible for the removal assisted by the National Political Government.

NN:\* Okay, you talked about when they were being removed, they came and wrote numbers on your doorsteps, on your doors I mean. What other tactics were used for you to see that you were being removed?

AP:\* There was not much activity at that time, there was not even any sign that we'll be removed because they only placed numbers on our door steps, after that remember that was in 1969, and then there was nothing. Life went normal up until in the 80's when the real thing happened.

NN:\* And what tactics did they use or the government use to remove you? When you were being removed...

AP:\* Firstly in 1993, 1983, Jacob More with just a quarter, a few members of the community moved out of the village and went to settle at Pachedraai. In the process they destroyed all the infrastructure, the schools, churches, clinics and even took the engines that supplied the community with water. So they cut the means of transport because there was bus transport traveling from Carletonville coming this way in and out and then they removed the transport system. Virtually we were left in an island; we were totally cut out from the world. There were no schools, churches, our children had to... Because they started this removal in '83 July, midyear and the children of those people who remained here, spent half year without schooling.

NN:\* And how was the community's response towards the government withdrawing schools, churches and clinics?

AP:\* Well, with the help of Black Sash, TRAC and other NGO's, which were organized by Black Sash and TRAC, and also South African Rural Churches [SACC] together with our partners in Germany; during that year in December, the community started rebuilding a 5 roomed school. It was built by the community and no contractor was called from outside, only the members of the community volunteered without any pay. Everybody volunteered to build that school so that by January the following year our children should go to school. And unknowingly we thought because they've destroyed the school and the other group has left, so we're left on our own and we'll see what we can do. They came on the 3<sup>rd</sup> February the following year after that school was rebuilt and that school was destroyed during the 1994 forced removal on the 14<sup>th</sup> February.

NN:\* And then here in Mogopa, what else did government build a relationship with the community besides the leaders? What else did it build before removals in Mogopa?

AP:\* Understand that there was no government contact in those times. The only contact between us and the government was the commissioner. So obviously the relationship that was built was between the commissioner and the headman, Jacob More. No other people here who had a relationship with the government official

NN:\* And when the force removals finally happened here in Mogopa, how was the community reaction towards that?

[TIMECODE: 45min:31sec]

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AP:\* The community was devastated. The community was left devastated. Virtually, life stood still, but community's perseverance and unity that was here, was strong and they really stood together and said that we'll fight. With the help of people who were in these organizations I mentioned, they were able to stick together and fight

NN:\* Okay, the first group was removed on the 14<sup>th</sup> February and the last group that remained, what did it do when it remained here in Mogopa seeing that they're the last people that were left in Mogopa?

AP:\* After the building of the school, life was going to start afresh, but unfortunately by February the community had to be removed, by force. I still remember by November 1983 there was a threat that the remaining members of the community will be removed by November 1983. It never happened because during that time there wasn't mobilization, there were people like Bishop Tutu, Allan Boesak, quite a number of heavy politicians, people who were well known in the country; people who were supporting the Mogopa community. They came here and did a night vigil which was highly publicized and then I think the presence of Bishop Tutu, Allan Boesak and others, scared these boys away because the removal couldn't take place due to the massive publicity regarding this night vigil. So they stayed away until Christmas, New Year went, then when we were preparing to open the school in January, they were also planning to attack us on the 14<sup>th</sup> February, but then they came. Immediately when they took our stuff in the house, immediately came a Bull Dozer... the walls, only a few people that were lucky, were able to pick up their roof material and move to Bethal almost by Brits. They're also the Bakwena's [Crocodile in Sesotho] and we have a relationship with them whereas some were so unlucky, they had to go straight to where their stuff were, in government trucks to Pachsdraai. Those who managed to take their possessions, they went directly to Bethal. We then mobilized and regrouped. Those that were taken to Pachsdraai, we will never stay here

NN:\* Okay, before we get there: when you were removed, what form of resistance did the Mogopa community show that they're not willing to move out of Mogopa?

AP:\* The resistance that we did, I would say the people of Mogopa did it with their feet - that we're not going, despite of the threats. The government was using different tactics to remove the Mogopa people but they stood firm and said we're not moving. We're not going, you can arrest us and do whatever you want but we're not going. With the help of all these organizations there was massive publicity to help Mogopa people, then some embassy, until Mogopa got an international attention since there was other foreign governments that was criticizing the National Party about Mogopa. So these are the things that made Mogopa to become international. The other governments that were protesting, there were other organizations internationally that were protesting, so this is what kept the Mogopa people together being aware that they're not alone in this, there's other people out there who can see that the life we're living.

NN:\* And what role did the people of Mogopa play towards the forced removals?

AP:\* I know of some old ladies, because this removal was not discriminating, either on gender or whatever. So men and women stood together. I remember some ladies who organized themselves moving around and also holding meetings, moving around and collecting donations from the very same community. They were, their role was visible, and they were some who were already part of the leading structure, because the structure was dismantled after Jacob left and his group.

[TIMECODE: 39min:38sec]

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However, they played an important role in the decision making in organizing and meeting. The women themselves, they also played an important role.

NN:\* What was the youth's role before the removal of the Mogopas? Before you were moved, what role did Mogopa play?

AP:\* Culturally you'll understand that the youth, if you're not married, you don't go to the meetings you don't participate in community matters, stereotype thinking. Well, we accepted that but during the removal I still remember my grandfather was very much, 2 grandfathers of mine were very much in the forefront. I used to sit with them, giving them my opinion only at home but when they have to go to the meetings they would say I can't go there. But things changed after 1983, after the removal itself, after that one-year. So there was no discrimination, young boys, women, young girls, we all went into the same meeting.

NN:\* So you would say here in Mogopa, when it comes to decision-making, culture played an important role?

AP:\* Yes, culture played a very important role because before the removal they would tell you, no one was allowed to go to community's meetings because no woman was allowed, no men who're not married would be allowed, it was such a stereotype, typical thinking you know. But I think things changed because I still remember my grandfather came to me when I was 16yrs when he was going to a meeting and said but you're not going to say anything in the meeting. And I said it's fine, I won't talk in the meeting, I'll attend with you but I won't say a thing. But when we came back, we sat and digested what was being said, exchanging views and he liked that because wherever they went with their meetings when he comes back, he would tell me what was happening and at that time it was taboo not to tell what was discussed because it's men's stuff at the meeting and some they were not affecting them, it was wrong.

NN:\* And when they removed you here from Mogopa, did you get houses or you had to build the houses from the scratch?

AP:\* There were no houses. There were tin shacks that were designed there. Whoever designed them, the government was buying them. We found a lot of them empty because that place was prepared for the entire community and unfortunately the entire community didn't go there. So we found empty shacks there; they placed us there in 2 roomed houses, they didn't care how big your family was. But we only stayed for 2 days in Onderstepoort. I remember Black Sash organized trucks, rented, and they sent them. I was still a young boy at that time at the age of 25yrs, I was still very active, some of my friends and some of the youth, some other old men who had drivers licenses were driving those trucks, day and night. We were going to Pachsdraai with families going to Bethal moving out of Pachsdraai, and then we settled there: there were no houses. We had to start and build shacks with our sacks and stay there

NN: When they placed you where they did: did you continue living the lifestyle you lived in Mogopa, like following tradition and rules you were talking about? Or now it's a different story?

AP: It was a different story; the social fabric was no more. It was as if now it's a new life.

[TIMECODE: 35min:07sec]



\*Translated from Tswana to English

I remember when there was a whole lot of people, the entire village, we were all in the *kgosi's* [king or headman in Sesotho] yard, council. It was huge yard, so someone's shack was there, 1m apart; you see the danger?

NN: Yes

AP:\* If one shack caught fire, the entire village could have burned. People would have died and it would have definitely would have been a disaster, we stayed in such a situation for a period of some months, then the chief said move others to the next section, village and we built our shacks there. But life was never the same in Mogopa because we have those people from Bethal and they have their own culture and their own living. Here we are coming with our own lifestyle, everything changed.

NN:\* And when you arrived there, how did you adjust to the situation in Bethal?

AP:\* What we experienced was very difficult; there was so much frustration. It was the kind of frustration that morally and socially even if things don't go well, we started experiencing teenage pregnancy, we started seeing a lot of people indulging in alcohol, some families were destroyed. It was hell, it wasn't the lifestyle we were used to. It ended up being free for all, without direction. Mogopa life was destroyed and it's never been the same again even though we came back.

NN: When you arrived in Bethal, how did the removal affect your traditional way of living and doing things the way you did in Mogopa?

AP: In Bethal, you'll remember that it was Bophuthatswana. We were not allowed to be on our own; we were not allowed to build the whole social structures, political structures. Actually, they just wanted to absorb us, and forget who we are, where we come from, we ended up being Bethal people. That is why we envied people who stayed in Bethal. But because we resolved, our parents who were strong, said no, we can't stay here, we're going, the struggle continued. We fell under wrong structures, they could not allow us to hold the meetings, and we fell under their structures until we had youth movement. I phoned Pule and Hlapi, they were acting as messengers for elder people, in charge of the communication, TRAC and the Reef Committee. I came and joined them, I suggested to them that these younger people are the ones that will assist us, we need to force our way in. Then they allowed us because we saw being resistant and they ended up being part and parcel of the structure. They saw it as convenient because they were able to send us to workshops organized by TRAC, went to quite a number of TRAC's... We met people from different organizations like ANC underground. Then they enlightened us in one way or the other, and we soldiered on. We played an important role as youth in Bethal until we went back to Onderstepoort. We played a very important role in Randfontein in completing their matric and they used to come home and we praised them for that. After they completed their matric and they joined us, we were growing one step at a time then we managed and no decision could be taken by elderly people without consulting us. They would ask us is this right or wrong when we do this? Then we kept them together stronger because they saw that we're serious as youth in the community.

NN: And when they removed you from Mogopa, who occupied after you've left?

AP: No one, except the white farmers here, then they took their cows and made it grazing land. Koster brought a number of white farmers; Ventersdorp came with a number of white farmers because they belonged to Vaal Triangle Union,

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it's the one that took them and brought them here to bring their cows. There was one man who guarded their cows for them.

NN:\* And then where they moved you to, were you able to farm as you used to do here in Mogopa?

AP: No. We could do that because remember during the forced removal, they came without any arrangement. People lost their livestock; they lost their cows taken by the whites from neighboring farmers. We left here leaving our mealies because they placed their cows there; there was no time to pick up whatever belonged to you. A lot of people lost their livestock, so when we went to Bethal, Onderstepoort, we were already bankrupt before we could even reach there. They stripped us of everything we had, so if someone destroys your house, do you think you will leave with your cattle? It's running all over, you won't take it, so that's how we lost. So in Pachsdraai, even now they can't plough. In Onderstepoort there's nothing, the soil is not so good and they can't plough. In Bethal there's a place where people plough, but it's for them. We didn't have anything to do, job prospects, there were no job prospects and that is why there was so much alcohol because when everyone wakes up, what do you do? Then people started drinking, taking their sorrows away but it made things even worse.

NN:\* So in Bethal, what brought you together to fight back for your land?

AP: It was the structure elected by the community, some even volunteered. Then the men and women united and the youth joined them, but it's these structures that kept us together, ensuring that there's hope in all of us.

NN:\* And as a youth during that time, what did you do to keep yourselves entertained, or were you trying to figure out how to get back Mogopa?

AP: Well apart from meetings, we were not holding them here in Bethal but in Anglican Church in Okasie, Brits. So those who could play soccer did, those who wanted to entertain themselves were in many ways and that kept us busy playing soccer, girls playing netball but there was not that much to cheer about. Those are the things that happened when the mind shifts and then you find yourself there.

NN:\* And then there came a point where you found yourself that you want to go back to Mogopa,. How did you find your way back?

AP:\* Well, before we came to Mogopa, when we were still in Bethal, I still remember when we hatched the plan, it was in Christmas. Victor Kunene had 2 ton truck. Towards two weeks before Christmas we started collecting scrap, raising funds. We took Victor's truck and went loading scrap and we told this man, Victor's father was one of the leaders, that we're going to Mogopa and this is how we're going. We're going to plant there, so we must all go, and they said not that way. We asked how, and they said when we're there, when there's problems we'll run away because we're still young, we will leave them behind, then we sited. Then there was a correspondence between our leadership through lawyers, with the minister of aid Mr. Gerritt Viljoen, putting under pressure that we're going to Mogopa then there was a lot of pressure and they said no, don't go to Mokgopa but to Onderstepoort and they showed us different lands, areas around the country. They said that we must go to Onderstepoort and stay there for only 3 months.

[TIMECODE: 23min:55sec]

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We were at a meeting in Pretoria, and I was there as an interpreter for elders. I disagreed during the session, to go there. What is the point of settling in Onderstepoort for 3 months because for these 2 months in the stay, there was a lot of work to do? We have to build shacks and all that. By the time we finish building these shacks, 3 months will be finished, let's stay here in Bethal and keep putting them under pressure so that when we leave here we go straight to Mokgopa. We can't leave here with our building material and build there, and leave here again and build elsewhere. Our furniture was messed up. Elders are just that, their word was final in going to Onderstepoort. We went to Onderstepoort and stayed there more than 2 years, not the 3 months they were talking about. Now the community came up with a plan and that plan is similar to the one we had in Bethal that we should go to Mokgopa and build our shacks. If we're going to do that, we have to ask for a letter from the government to give us permission, permit for us to go and stay there and want to clean our graveyard and they fell into that trap. A certain workman signed us and gave us the permit to come this side and clean the graveyard. The aim wasn't to clean the graveyard, but a disguise to come back in. When we had a chance at night we used to move our building material back this side with people's furniture, and build in Mokgopa. In the morning we build a camp so that we can stay in one place, women and children together to come and stay there. We built a big shack. In the morning they go to the graveyard and clean, late they come back here and rest. Yet we bring one or two a day, but these boys were not aware of what was happening. In the evening everyone goes to their own stands, so that they can build the roof. These white people started realizing that these shacks are now increasing in number everywhere, what's going on? Then they came whilst we were in Bethal from Onderstepoort to this side. They went to Onderstepoort with the current leader like Matthew Kgathetswe, Isaac More and Daniel Molefe, then they held a meeting with these white guys that no guys, we see shacks there and also kids and women. These men said "so what? Those people laid in those graves are also their ancestors". And they said, "You have to break down those shacks". And they asked them if all those people, if they expect them to all live in one shack; there's women and their children, they can't live under one roof. Then they brought in more shacks saying that rather than living here, these people should stay next to the school and we live next to the graveyard because we work there. We said no, we couldn't live like that because it's against our culture. Realizing that we're not prepared to move, they applied to the master of the high court that we be removed by force. That's when everything started and we said this is what we've wanted to do, then we went to the high court to a point that we get our land. We can't move, you can't remove us twice. That was 1989, you can't remove us twice. Then there was massive campaign, internationally they started watching. Then PW was forced and was asked by the American Government, they said you said you have stopped the first removal but what you're doing is the second one. So they didn't have anything to do because they've committed themselves that they wouldn't move anyone forcefully. The National Party was aware that the Mandela was coming out of prison but we were not aware, we were just doing that because we wanted what belongs to us. Then in 1990 we even went to Bloemfontein because we've built a school where we told ourselves that our children are going to school there that was the 2<sup>nd</sup> school we built

NN:\* By the community?

AP: Yes by the community, we requested for funds from other organizations. Then we went to Bloemfontein for an appeal because we lost the case

[TIMECODE: 17min:57sec]

\*Translated from Tswana to English

at the high court, and they said that we have to move out and we said we're not going to move out. But the National Party didn't have the strength or the guts to kick us out again, then they left it like that and we made an appeal. Whilst we were waiting for the appeal, now we started to move people faster day light and that's how we managed to settle here. When the court case was taking place in Bloemfontein, I didn't go. A certain policeman came with a tape measure to measure the school, wanting to see how many people are here and he was forced to send back the message that there's a lot of people and the school has been built, the only thing that's remaining is furniture and start working. Bloemfontein judgment appeal, we made an out of court settlement then we were getting closer. The big Mare who was the minister of development was forced to come here in Mokgopa, and the leaders together with Track said he must go and view the place himself because he doesn't know it. He must see trouble lying around here, what they've done with people's houses. so we were having a meeting across the street there with Piet Mare, this is the position. Then he was forced to say we can settle, that's how we settled here.

NN: And when you came back here in Mogopa, did you all come back or not? And for those who left, why did they stay behind?

AP: Not all of us came back, remember Mogopa is divided into many pieces, there was that group in Pachsdraai that left in 83, we left them there and settled in Bethal. When we were in Bethal, supposed to move to Onderstepoort, there's a group that stayed behind in Bethal and we went to Onderstepoort. When we were there, we had to leave another group, so there was a group left there. So that group joined us from Onderstepoort eventually, but there's few houses, one or two that's left.

NN: So you're back but not all of you are back?

AP: Not all of us are back, there's others who stayed behind

NN: Any particular reason why you think they stayed behind?

AP: One, the ones in Paksdry the reason is very simple, they're bitter because when they left, they rebelled against us. So they still feel guilty because these are the people that when they moved, there was war between them and us, they remained there. The group in Bethal, one of them is Philip More, and the other group, he was part of the leadership then we said that we shouldn't come to Mogopa, but settle in Bethal forever and we said no ways, are you mad? And he managed to influence, him and John More, they managed to influence the other members that they must build houses in Bethal, then they started building whilst we were staying in shacks. We refused to build and said that we were leaving; we moved and left them there. Now they both called us names, they started being the opposition, now they feel guilty and we told them that we'll go there and we'll arrive there, they left behind and now they're shy. It's guilt that makes them stay. However, in our constitution, we said they're part and parcel of us, if they want to come down here, they can come down anytime. We didn't want to fight with them we just wanted our place

NN: And the other group that stayed behind?

AP: They will kill us

NN: Who will?

[TIMECODE: 13min:19sec]

\*Translated from Tswana to English

AP: Them. No it was bitter and one of them is here and is messing us around. Today I have formed a corporative, I want a land to plough and they refused to give me permission. They stopped us from coming here. I fought with my own brother, he told me to leave with him and I said I'm staying behind because I'm here, now we're divided. We're divided.

NN: I'm sorry. If you're okay, we can continue

AP: Yes we may

NN: After you came back here in Mogopa, what was women's role since before you left you were under traditions? When you come back were you still under traditions or?

AP: No, we did away with that when we were away because there was no need to entertain such petty ideologies, we were all under a threat, so we've done away with that tradition. Right now whether we like it or not, there's constitution of the country and does not allow discriminating people because of gender. So in our committees we have more of them, the previous one there was one of them. The chairperson was a lady, I was her deputy, so there was a proper arrangement, there was no squabble. I never undermine her because she was younger than me and she's a woman. We worked together.

NN:\* And how did the community relationship change if you don't mind me talking about that after the removals and you get back your land?

AP: We came here united as we've been but along the way conflicts will always be there, we could not see things the same. People were always doing things in a very strange way, they'll always be there and they're still there.

NN:\* In your opinion, do you think people in Mogopa are using the land the same way it was used before you were moved here?

AP:\* No, crop farming is dead. There was the communal project sponsored by the government, it has collapsed because of people wanting to lead and hold everything up and some don't have the capacity to, that's why it failed. In 1998 we went out with individual farmers, we went to the land then to the bank to borrow some money and started farming, but we could not succeed because there were politics involved in. or maybe sometimes with us, we didn't have the knowledge to plough in a proper fashion and we were not able to pay back the money we owed to the banks. Some of us we ended up having blackmail letters against us, repossessions, some of us had to pay the bank, some are still owing the bank, those kind of things and then we all failed except for two or 3, but still they don't have farms. They're still holding onto those properties but they're not going anywhere. So eventually there's no cattle to farm, we need machinery and we don't have them. Right now there's white farmers who are ploughing here, farming, took all the land. When I go to them asking for a piece, they refuse. We fought for this land, kicked out by white people, today they allow them in. No beneficiary, I've struggled so much and they were not there, the ones that are sitting in the offices right now but they deny me. They don't know where I come from, I've sacrificed my career, I sacrificed a lot. I took time to get married because I was more concerned for the community, I didn't have time to accumulate wealth and to ensure that I am an owner. I own a house. I only got a wife later and still not marry her in a traditional way. She was just there.

[TIMECODE: 7min:32sec]

\*Translated from Tswana to English

I haven't done the proper thing. Some have just come in, no it's fine, the meal is prepared and everyone is dishing out. They're dishing out for us but not assisting us.

NN:\* Do you think the current Mogopa leadership knows where it's coming from and the other thing, are they taking it to where it's supposed to go or they're taking it back?

AP: \* They're taking it backwards, virtually backwards. We're going nowhere. There's no development, I'll show you a pavement there that they're trying to build as paving. This is not a way to do paving, and they're doing it in conjunction with the municipality, it's not a way to do paving. There's a football ground they were trying to build there, sports facility. When you look at it, right people with normal thinking wouldn't do what they have done, it's a waste of money. There was a vegetable project, which they have destroyed. I went to the Community Builder of The Year competition and I was representing this community at that time. I became fed at the province where there and I couldn't go to the National level but I went up to the district regional, just on the final before we could reach the national level, then we became fed. Because of the vegetable project and we had a brief production project bought by Pule, so I took from Pule and we pushed on with good projects. We had to ensure that we work on them and improve them. When they came in they took a cattle and sold them, they destroyed the vegetable project which we were providing for the children and the destitute in the community, including the disabled every Christmas. The last day before Christmas or 2 days before, we pick up vegetables and give to the elderly, pensioners, the entire village, the cripple, the orphans, and we were distributing to them

NN:\* And that doesn't happen anymore?

AP:\* It doesn't happen anymore, they've vandalized it. When there was a funeral in some families and they didn't have money to do whatever, we would go to the vegetable project and pick up some vegetables to that house to feed people. Even when we couldn't buy a ship or a cow, at least we know that people will eat. They destroyed that whole thing

NN:\* Comparing current youth in Mogopa, if they're given good support, would they take it to where it's supposed to be or it's the same youth that is demeaning it?

AP: There are some, if they can get proper mentorship, they will. There are some that are being used to bring Mogopa down; these are the ones that are used to threaten people not to fight their battles. So some will manage, some won't. The ones I'm saying won't, if we find the group that is positive about life, maybe when they're sited there, they will follow. You can't give up on people, maybe they can change and repent because some are given money and they drink alcohol and given simple things, smoking dagga. I don't know if they're doing that because of the environment because there's lack of jobs but I won't say there's lack of jobs; there were jobs here from the mine created by them.

NN:\* How committed do you think the youth is to where Mogopa is going and how well do they know it, including its background

AP: \* Yes they know. You see there's a 90's group that was born here, what they know is that our parents were forcefully removed, they've never experienced that themselves. There are others who were born in Bethal, they know, and the majority, their schooling was disrupted in many ways, but a year before last Pule

[TIMECODE: 1min:30sec]

\*Translated from Tswana to English

and the other group, his colleagues went to see School of National ..., then highlighted the problem of the Mogopa people and told them that this is rural and kids are going to school, they didn't finish their matric and have nowhere to go, they don't have bursaries, their parents are not working, then they can't go to any institution. Here's proof tell them, let them mobilize villages, sell them to tertiaries, that's what we did last year and a year before last. We've taken children to Children Education and some of them are in universities. Well, this year we didn't due to the disruption here in Mogopa, our focus is defending. They're busy defending some of us, we don't have enough energy. Despite this situation, we know there's a light at the end of the channel, we will soldier on.

NN:\* Thanks for your time, if we are short of information, we will communicate

AP: I'm available

NN:\* Thank you very much

AP: Thank you

[END]

[00min:00sec]