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## **SECOND INTERVIEW WITH EMMANUEL MAGOKGA - Part 2**

### **START OF AHP\_MAA\_MokgogaEmmanuel\_20080225b**

**Dale McKinley (DM):** Ok we are just into the second session of our interview with Emmanuel and we are speaking out from where we left off yesterday. Emmanuel we had asked you a question I think the last time that we asked, which it's a very involved question so feel free to discuss. To say, responding in whatever way that you want ...how do you think the recent development of the ANC and the Polokwane changing of leadership ...how do you feel about that? How do you feel in particular about how it has affected not only what you think of it but also in terms of the work that you are doing in this community and the possibilities for changes?

**Emmanuel Mogogi (EM):** Ja, Dale I feel and I see that way that it can be the changes after the leadership, the new leadership of the African National Congress (ANC). So I do believe that the leadership of comrades JZ they will make a big difference in South Africa. So I believe that because especially where I'm staying in Mandaagshoek or let me say in Limpopo where different communities from Mokopane where PPL Mining is mining and then where Twinkling in Mogobading is mining and other communities including Mandaagshoek and others, many more who are fighting or who are complaining about the mining that are talking place without consulting them at the place that they are using their own things that they are using them to be grown better. You know the way that they are living now. So I think this government, the new leaders of the ANC they will chip in or they will help the communities because I think it is the song of the ANC, they are always saying that we need a better life for all the South Africans and the province of Limpopo really is in South Africa. So, meaning that the people from Limpopo they must get the benefit from the mines especially the people who are staying next to the mine, the affected people because what the mines they are doing here they are not feeling free, they are not feeling happy about what they are doing because they are just people coming to the land and drilling without consulting the chiefs, without consulting the community, community losing the land and now there are other people landless people because of the mines. They have lost their ploughing fields; they have lost the grazing fields so they have lost the land because of the mines. And I'm blaming

the mines and I'm also blaming the people who granted the permission for that company to come to enter our land without the authority of the people who are living there. So I'm saying that is totally wrong and that is not acceptable from the people of this country. So I think we need the changes, the movement in the country and we need the changes of the political parties, we need government to change also itself.

**AV:** Ok and you know the question I was starting to ask you yesterday when we stopped the interview was ... apart from how you feel about Polokwane how do you think your neighbors in the Maandagshoek area ... do you think it's an important event for them? Do you think they are excited about it or do you think people have just greeted it as yet another congress?

**EM:** You are meaning the people...

**AV:** The community in general?

**EM:** Yes I hope everyone was watching at the TV at that moment to see who is winning because we were interested to know who is winning and then all of us wishes that comrade Zuma wins and then it happened that comrade Zuma wins. So we are feeling happy and proud and from my side I'm taking Zuma as a hero. He is being in exile, he was in the army, he was in the struggle, you know when we are saying you are a comrade you must be involved in these things that I have mentioned. So I think when you are a comrade really you must be involved in the things that I have mentioned just now because people like to blame comrade JZ because I heard the last chairperson of the ANC Mosiua Lekota, he was saying how can a man at this time still singing about "Umshini wam" and from my side I believe that if you are really a comrade, if you've been involved in the struggle as a leader you must know different things and also you must sing when you are with other comrades to show them that you are really a leader. So I'm not saying if you are not singing you are not a really leader because Zuma shows us that he is active in everything like a comrade to lead the country.

**AV:** Just about that song, you know a lot of people have heard the "Umshini wam" especially in South Africa there is particularly from the media and from sections of the white community and from sections of the African community as well, they have not enjoyed that song ... saying its not appropriate to the period we are living in because why do we talk about the machine guns? For you what does that song mean?

**EM:** For me the song is just a meaning about where we are coming from and it's meaning also what it was happening at that time of the apartheid government. If you were watching the TV after comrade Zuma's win at Polokwane they have shown Zuma when he was still at the army and then it came to my mind to say it's where we are coming from and it's how we won the battle and it's how we defeat the old government. So that is why I'm saying to you that when you are a comrade you must be involved in different things and also you must sing when you are with other comrades.

**DM:** So how do you think, the first question actually ... since December have you sensed any changes that have taken place as a result of what happened? Do you see any changes in attitudes from the mines or the government or anything like that?

**EM:** Dale ...the changes that I have seen is the first leaders of the government of the ANC, I mean they are out now - Lekota, President Thabo Mbeki and Nkosazana Zuma

and other people. The changes that I have seen is what they are doing now because they are aware now Phumzile and the others they are aware that next year is the time of the elections, all of them they will be out. What they are doing is the MEC, the Minister what they are doing instead of doing things easily for comrade JZ or for the next people who are still going to lead this country - it seems they are making things difficult. Let me give you an example. Now as I said about the problems of the mines because is what I have experienced in Limpopo especially, I'm not excluding other provinces ... the guy called Zandile the DG of the DME have announced on the 21 of January that they will grant or they will look at certain grants, the convention of Anglo American and they also announced that before they grant those conventions they have to communicate with the communities and they have to communicate with the local government, everybody must be involved but before that can happen they are giving Anglo American until the 31 of March to grant their convention. So what I'm saying here is he is passing the ball himself, I believe that he is passing the ball to the community that side to get the ball meaning that they are taking the powers that they are controlling to be themselves, they are aware that they will be out so they are trying to change things. It is the changes that I'm feeling that they are taking place now, so if nothing changed it will be better for the communities if that things changes to those who were the leaders by that time they are trying to make themselves rich or they are trying to make their families to be better more than the way they are now.

**DM:** Ok, if you were to try to look at ... after the elections ok ... 2009, with this new leadership coming in clearly there is going to be a change of guard in the ANC and there are two different parts to my question. The first one is what do you think is going to happen? And secondly what do you want to happen in terms of that change of leadership for these communities where you live ... and your life?

**EM:** From where?

**DM:** From ... ok, you talked about how the elections are going to mark a change?

**EM:** Yes.

**DM:** So there is going be a change of guard, all the new leadership they will be coming in whoever they are. We don't know what's going to happen between now and then but there will be a big change. Now, what do you expect? This is a question we were asking you about 1994 if you remember, your expectations, what do you expect will happen and then what would you want to happen in terms of specifically of your life and this community here ... ?

**EM:** Dale as South Africans, I was saying that we are going to be equal as the former President, after he was released from the jail from his speech in Cape Town he said black people, Indians, Coloureds and everybody who is living in this country we must be equal and together. So I was saying also really we are going to be together, this thing of discrimination is going to be done, is going to be at the end and then the workers they are going to be free, they will earn better living wage, the treatment will be the same to the Indians, the black people and the white people. So my feelings and the way I was thinking I realised that nothing is taking place to what I was thinking and then to what the former President was saying ... really there is nothing that has been taking place at this moment. So I'm still wishing that we can still be together as South Africans, we can sing the same song, we can be one nation because now if you can see there are different

politicians in the country instead of being one politician and sing one song because we are saying all those politicians we are saying we need people to have a better life, so why we don't come into one umbrella and do what we wanted to do, all of us.

**DM:** Ok so you are expecting that this particular leadership is going to move more in the direction that you are talking about?

**EM:** Yes, I believe so especially by the leadership of comrade JZ. Most of the people like to say comrade JZ is not educated and then he can't do anything he is just going to give those small boys like Vavi, they are just going to do things without telling him because he can't even read ... because when I was listening to the radio a day before the elections at Polokwane after Mbeki's mother talks on the radio, there was a guy who was talking on the radio. He said that Zuma can't even read, he can't even talk English, he doesn't know anything. So those people who are supporting Zuma are coming to use him, they will do things without informing Zuma because he can't do anything. We know that people were just trying to influence and speaking comrade Jacob Zuma bad and I believe myself that comrade Zuma he can talk English as he is always talking on the radio and he can write as I think he is always writing things because he is the president of the ANC now so we know education is needed to be a leader. But if people like you can be a leader even if you are not educated. So I think we must teach you on how to, the community or the people they must learn, they must teach on how to lead the people so I think Zuma without the fear he knows how people must be lead. So I think he is a good leader and he is going to be a good president next year.

**AV:** Can I ask you a question. You know in 1994 a lot of people would have said ... you know after 1994 we are all going to be equal. In fact, we have asked a lot of people - I mean we have interviewed them - and then they said that was what we thought after 1994 and it didn't happen ... because a lot of people don't believe it happened. And now what if it doesn't happen again? What if it turns out that our best hopes don't come true?

**EM:** I as indicate to you those things that are not happening in the country is because of the leadership that we are having in our country. I don't believe that comrade JZ he will have the problem of the leadership. I think he will do what he is going to do what the community is saying. But unless the people who are going to be next to comrade Zuma, unless they are not going to comply with the rules of the country or the instructions of comrade JZ and that is where I can tell you we are going to have problems. And then what is happening now, the experience that we are experiencing now in Limpopo where the people have hired the security and are fighting the people ... so we will be going back to the battle again. So if really by the times of comrade JZ if nothing that is going to happen, (then) we are going back to the bloods.

**AV:** Ok let's hope that is not going to happen. The next question will be ... Jacob Zuma has been formerly charged and he will likely go to court/ What do you think will happen if he is convicted?

**EM:** About comrade JZ's charge I know he was unfair treated at other things by the Scorpions but even if they can find him guilty and put him in the custody but he will remain to be the president of the country. I don't think they will find him guilty. So about those charges that he is charged I believe that he will come out from court because I

believe that if they will really arrest him it will affect the people of this country. So I'm not convincing the judgement, we need judgements for anybody but if they try to pursue him comrade JZ, it's going to be a fight in the country because we take him as a hero in this country and then from where he is coming from, the people from Kwazulu-Natal they love Jacob Zuma more than the way we love him maybe because he is a Zulu but no matter he is a Zulu or a Pedi or a Shangaan but we love him the way he is working for the people of this country. About the charges I'm telling you I'm having the fear because of the leadership that we are having, they can force Zuma to the prison, but if they can do that I'm telling you it will affect the people of this country.

**AV:** And whom do you think the violence would be directed against?

**EM:** It will be directed to...because we believe that as a community we believe that the cause of this problem is Ntate comrade Thabo Mbeki. After the issue of rape before we can go to the courts he just dismissed comrade JZ from his position, which we feel that was wrong. He was supposed to wait for the court to rule that you see, so I think all this it will be going to the government and comrade Ntate Mbeki.

**DM:** Ok just a follow up on that because one of the other questions I had was about the courts. It is not about JZ it's about your own experience about the court because you are in the struggle here Maandagshoek, you've had experience with the justice system and the courts here. You've been arrested and had to go to, you've taken the mine to court and there's legal things going on. Do you believe as a community representative here that there is fair justice in this country for everyone?

**EM:** No, it is still depending on how much you got in your pocket. There is people still where the problem of the leadership as I have already indicated ... here people they are still taking bribes, people they are still biased, people when they are judging somebody they are not judging somebody through what has happened, they are judging somebody because they know him where he is come from and we know they are judging somebody because he is poor, he doesn't have money to pay or to cancel that issue that he was facing now, so there is no fair judgment in this country in general. Even the people of Maandagshoek we are not feeling happy about the judgment that we are facing, I don't want to touch the issue of comrade JZ, I don't want to touch the issue of Shabir Shaik because if the issue of Shabir Shaik is linking to the issue of comrade JZ but if you can see now even if I touched the issue of JZ before ... what comrade Shabir Shaik he did he was with comrade JZ but just look at what is happening. The issue of comrade JZ is going on and is taking long and we don't know what is the problem because if comrade Shabir Shaik is in the custody, comrade Zuma must also be in the custody but you will see when things go on I don't believe comrade Zuma will be in the custody. So I think it's just the question of where are you coming from, who is fighting with you and other issues.

**DM:** Give us an example of one of your own experiences with the court system here in the last 3 years that tells us about what you are talking about ... that kind of bias, the experience that you have in the community here in the court that might give us an example of the things that you were saying?

**EM:** For...like myself I was arrested with the other comrades and when I went to court several times and I have never saw the complainant against me or against those people that were arrested and I know that the state, the government and the mine they are always together. When we are at the regional court the Station Commander he was told by the prosecutor, he was chased out by the prosecutor because the Station Commander he was trying to bribe the prosecutor to make our case to be strong for us to remain in the custody because they were having a caucus before we can come in, so Richard (community's lawyer) was there so I was told by Richard that the Station Commander was trying to get the prosecutor to make our case strong but he was chased out. So he is not starting to do that ... meaning he has started somewhere about other cases that we are facing. So there is still other comrades who are facing other cases in Maandagshoek and we have opened the cases ourselves against the mine, against the security and those people who are not South Africans. But those people they are not arrested as we are talking ... meaning that there is something that is flying, we know what they are doing - traffic cop taking bribes at the road, we know how police are taking bribes on the police stations, so we know all this stuff ... so there is something that is flying.

**DM:** Do you think it doesn't matter who you are, if you are caught doing something wrong you it's bribery, that you should pay the price even if you are a President in this country?

**EM:** Yes...

**AV:** Let's say it turns out that Jacob Zuma did take the bribe from Shabir Shaik and on the basis of the money that he received he went and negotiated on Shabir Shaik's behalf do you think he should go to jail?

**EM:** Yes I agree that if he done something wrong he must go to jail. But I'm also saying to you that it will have conflict. It will sound otherwise to some communities so even if they must judge that, they must be careful. Comrade Zuma is not just a simple man, he is a leader of the people of this country and then we are looking at comrade JZ all of us, so we hope the best for him you see.

**DM:** Ok I have another question ... just sitting on the JZ thing and also from Polokwane ... I'm sure you are aware that about 2 weeks ago there an announcement that Patrice Motsepe gave 10 million rand as dividends to traditional leaders. Do you know about it?

**EM:** Yes I do.

**DM:** What do you think about the whole thing, given the fact that Motsepe is so central to the issues here in this community?

**EM:** When I saw that in the Sowetan - it was on page 17 - he gave the people money including Zwelithini right and then I was reading if I will find the name of somebody from Maandagshoek where Patrice is mining. I was reading the way down maybe that the paramount Chief of Sekhkhune, maybe he got something. I was aware that they got nothing. And I started thinking about that ... because they were speakers saying Patrice Motsepe is a good man, I don't know whether it was Zwelithini who was saying Patrice is a good man. But that is not true, Patrice is not a good man for the community of Maandagshoek. He is a good man for them because he gave them the money. If he can give people or the community we will praise him as a good man. So clearly to our side he

is not a good man because he is using our land there is people who were using the land where Patrice is mining, they were ploughing there, they were feeding themselves after the outcome of their ploughing. So those people they are the poorest of the poorest in this country because of Patrice Motsepe so I'm saying he is not a good man and he did nothing to the people of Maandagshoek, nothing for the people of Limpopo, because we are still suffering because of him.

**DM:** So what do you think of the giving if let say on that list you saw there was a chief, the primary chief Isaac Kholio, what do you think about money to the traditional leaders though? You said if he gave the money to the community you will call him a good man but it wasn't to the communities, it was for the chiefs?

**EM:** Ja it was even, it was not even the paramount chief of Sekhukhune, he was not on that list, it is other chiefs from other provinces. So he was just wanting to make his name to look as a good man, so to us is not a good, he just wants to be known in South Africa as he is doing the good things.

**DM:** What I'm asking you is this ... if for example chief Kgwete, Johannes Kgwete was on that list and Motsepe says yes here is a hundred thousand rand, how would you as a community respond to that as your chief will be getting the money?

**EM:** If really the money is directed to the chief, let's say is directed to chief Isaac, that money would be for the community. Isaac Chief Kgwete is serving the community so he is not going in his pocket because he is the chief of the people. So we are people who he is working for us and then we knew that money would belong to the community. But Patrice didn't do that so he gave other people the money - so is not good for us by anything.

**AV:** Ok you know when we interviewed some other people here in Maandagshoek they were saying in terms of people like Patrice Motsepe and so forth that what he is doing is wrong because he should know because he is black. For you, what does that mean? What does it mean to be black? What does it mean for him to know something?

**EM:** To know...

**AV:** That he should know that this is wrong because he is black? What does it mean to be black and what responsibilities do you have to other black people when you are black?

**EM:** If I understand your question is ... Patrice Motsepe is black, he is therefore for the blacks because of the BEE meaning that BEE is going to give the focus on the black people to empower the black people in the country. So Patrice he knows where he is coming from and he knows where black people are coming from and he knows how they have suffered from the old government and the new government and he knows what is needed for the black people, what needed to be done.

**AV:** So do you think that every person who is black has a responsibility for black people and what is that responsibility, if yes?

**EM:** You know most of the leadership at the past was only the white people so when the time comes for the black people to be the leaders and then is because of the pressure of the black people until we got the leaders from the black people side. So I think those people they must be proud and take the responsibility of those people who made him to

be there. Even if we are equal, we are singing the song of equality but he must always focus on those people. Is like when you are a father in the family but you are also a leader outside your house leading the country you must also everyday give the focus to that family but also as a president you must make sure everybody must be covered in your leadership.

**AV:** And then just a question ... sort of a follow up from that. You know in the apartheid years one could say the main fight was between ... or some people would say the main fight was between white people and the black people, White people have, black people don't. In modern South Africa what is the main rift in society, what is the main division? Is it between black and white or is it between Zulu and Sepedi or is it...what is it?

**EM:** Do you mean in general?

**AV:** Yes.

**EM:** There is a division within different people. The big difference I'm realising about it is black people. When I'm saying black people I'm not meaning Bapedi, I'm meaning Xhosa, Zulu, I'm meaning Indians, I'm meaning Ndebele so black people. There is still a difference between black people and white people. So even if among us black people there is still difference to Xhosas to Zulus and Indians and the Bapedi - so but it is not that much big difference because we have realised that we are one nation and we are all of us black What the ANC or what the black people they did it shows especially Inkhatha Freedom Party, the Zulu people that they were supposed to be with the black people what was happening by that apartheid time. Because if you can see especially the issue of the Shell House where the ANC shoot the Zulu people it was because the Zulu people they don't know actually what they want from the government because they were killing their brothers from their black peoples side instead of assisting them to fight the apartheid government. So now they just thought that this is our brothers they fought for this country and we must be together.

**AV:** Ok and then just a last follow up question. You were defining blacks very much in terms of how maybe Steve Biko would define it - you know there is blacks, there is Indians and Coloured, those who were oppressed by the white system. But if you go to Kwazulu Natal, Indians might be owning a lot of properties a lot of businesses and black people are exploited by other black people ... you know a woman working in the Indian's house and getting paid very little maybe even less than she was getting in the white man's house. What do you think is at the basis of that?

**EM:** Of the Indians?

**AV:** Ja, not just the Indians. Patrice Motsepe you know as you were saying he is exploiting the people of Maandagshoek ...how does that work where black people are then exploiting other black people?

**EM:** That is still a problem. If I still remember the words of Joe Slovo, comrade Joe Slovo before he died I don't remember the date but he was saying that he agrees that the black people will win against the old government but there is still going to be a problem when coming to the issue of the leadership because those people they will start by wanting to put the money in their pockets first and is where problems is going to be started. So that is what is happening. Is like now we are fighting as the communities, we are fighting as unionists, we are fighting as people from different movements but



immediately you are started to be recognised or immediately you are decided to sit down with the capitalist ... I mean let's take the issue of the unionist and then you are the organisers and you are black and then you fighting the right of the workers and immediately when you get the promotion maybe the secretary or maybe you be the minister somewhere, you start to change your life, you start to live at the good place. Maybe you are staying in town you are renting you are no longer staying with the black people anymore. So you are staying in town, you are using luxury things so you need somebody to come and take responsibility in your house then you employ black people. So you start to capitalise instead of the issue of socialism you start to capitalise and you pay those people less and you forget that we were fighting that people should get better wages but now that you are a capitalist, you are an employer you start to work as if you are a capitalist, to pay the people peanuts. I am totally against that. Most of the black people they are the leaders now, they are paying our brothers and sisters peanuts instead of showing them how they must sign the agreement, the proper agreements with them for the better life, for the children of those people who are working with those rich people - they are not doing that ... they are still doing the same thing as the whites they are doing. So, meaning that we were just picking them to be the capitalist.

**DM:** Just to shift a little bit in terms of this. How do you as a full time community activist, how do you support your family now?

**EM:** I was working at Sasolburg. At this moment I don't have anything for supporting my family so I'm lucky because my mother she is still alive and she is getting pension. And I'm also lucky because my wife she is working so she is supporting us instead of me supporting us it is my wife who is supporting us in this family and my mother is helping somewhere there, so is the way I'm living.

**AV:** Just on that thing. You know, a lot of people have said that when that starts to happen you know we have seen it more often that a women find it easier to find employment and men are sitting home and being supported. Does that change the relationship in the household?

**EM:** Come again?

**AV:** Does it change the way you and your wife relate ... the fact that she is working and you are not?

**EM:** No there is no changes because its just like me tomorrow I might be working and she is not going to be working, so we are helping one another. So when we meet, when I meet with my wife we agreed that we will live together then we will help one another so we will try to make our family to live easy and better like other families. So I don't think it's a sin when my wife is working when I'm not working, I think is just a normal thing and I think is good if somebody is working.

**DM:** Ok just a few last questions. One thing we said last time when we talked to you ... obviously the struggles here that you are involved in have continued and didn't stop. Give us an update over the last while. What things have been happening in this community since the last time you talked to us, particularly with regard to the mining - the new mine organisations coming here, how have you experienced those things? Ok let me just rephrase that question and ask you specifically, what we want you to do is tell us

the story of the struggle in Maandagshoek, give us an ...feel free if you want us to take 10 or 15 minutes. It's ok to tell us if you want to look back - but just give us a history and that story up until the present?

**AV:** If you meet us and we knew nothing about this and you want to explain to us about what was happening here in Maandagshoek, where would you start and how would you tell the story?

**EM:** You mean in general?

**DM:** Yes just like you were telling somebody?

**EM:** What is happening in Maandagshoek about the struggle that is taking place now between the community and the mine. As I am one of the activists in Maandagshoek what is happening there is Maandagshoek is rich in platinum, chrome, nickel and many other things that is grown. So the companies they are already mining in Maandagshoek like Modikwa and the Anglo American.

**AV:** When did they start?

**EM:** They started in 2001 from that side and they started to mine by the old order of the mineral rights. I mean that they granted the permission by the old rights so now there is the new order of the mineral rights and by the old rights this place was belong to the Anglo American so by the new order they had to convert to the new order where communities ... by that time of the old order the community was not included when they were making the agreement with the government. Meaning that the minerals were belonging to the government and then the government they were just deciding themselves on which is the best to mine at Maandagshoek, they were just deciding alone. So now by the new act or order they had to consult with the community the people who are affected who are staying next to the mine. So as the community we knew that there is a new order they had to consult with us first because it was difficult it was painful to us because they were just taking our land without consulting us, so we were complaining as community. It is where they are calling the police, is where they are making court interdict against the community members because they are the people who are rich so they can make everything they want. I explained earlier in the past that when Patrice talks everybody is listening because Patrice is a millionaire, so when he talks about the mines everybody is interested in the mine. So everybody wants to have the mine where people they are staying, everybody does not care about the people who are living there how are they going to survive, how are they going to be safe, how are they going to get employment, everybody is looking for his stomach. So where the struggle started is when people started to loose their land without their consultation, it's where people started to loose their grazing land and experiencing the cracking houses, people started experiencing different things and it's where they stand up/ We knew that we fought the old government but now we are still facing the problem of the past. So it is where we started to toyi-toyi against our brothers, against those people who own the mines here like Patrice and other people who are forming the BEE - they are the problem now. And one other thing that is happening is that when the community is trying to protect their land against the mines the police are coming in, the politicians are coming in and the people who are working for the government are also coming in as I said earlier that everybody is interested in the mine. Nobody cares, even the politicians who are singing, that we will fight for the right of the communities, they forget about that meaning they forget to be

after their words, what they have said to us. We went to the Premier's office, we went to the politicians, we wrote the letters to the President saying can you help us. We wrote the letters to the Minister, myself I write the letter to the Minister Buyelwa Sonjica. I write the letter to Xingwana Lulu the Minister of Land Affairs to intervene on this issue, asking them that the issue of the Maandagshoek in Limpopo can you intervene, can you send the third party to resolve this problem because there is a problem between the mines and the community – the community, they are complaining that they are landless because of the mines, you gave them the permission so can you come and explain, can you give the community a chance to mine themselves. Then it's where there is conflict now everybody is going down toying.

**AV:** Ok if you were to ask for a time-line of events what would be the first events for you that started the struggle?

**EM:** This issue of the mines, myself because I was working in Sasolburg and then I came here in 2005, in November December. Actually I was already at home in 2005 and then in 2006 I started to be with my members of the community. I remember on the 8<sup>th</sup> of June last year 2007, were we organising a meeting ... the mine they were drilling outside their farms and we went there as a community to stop them. So I was leading the community and then we stopped the mine and said there is no any other resolution between us and the mine. We told them that they don't have the rights to jump on our land without consulting the community, so we need to benefit from the mine as a community, we have experienced cracked houses, so is better for them to stop and then we were aware of the issue of the convention order. So before they can change to the convention of the new order they must come to our chief they must consult the leaders, those that the community has elected to be their representative. And we agreed with the mine that they will call the police and by that time the police were called and we had the meeting with the police and the mine. It's where the police said we will have the meeting next to Modikwe. Tomorrow when we come there, is where the Station Commander of Police Station of Moroke who takes a list from his pocket and started to read the names and he started with my name and Lazarus and other people. We went there because we agreed that we should have the meeting and then it's where they announce that they arrest us to the community and the community said if you arrest these, our leaders, is better you take all of us. The police refused to arrest all of the community. It's where they started to shoot and beat our people and to shoot by the rubber bullets and also they were using live bullets to shoot the community. I'm still remembering they shoot Mme Mmayane on the arm by the last bullet, she was lucky because that bullet goes out but she was injured and she was bleeding at that time so and we were arrested and that's where I had to explain this issue of torturing, then abusing people is what we feel that they were torturing us because they were threatening that they will kill us and do whatever they want with us so we feel that our government is not listening to the people so we need the government to cooperate with the people of this country.

**AV:** And what did they charge you with?

**EM:** I was charged by intimidation and public violence and trespassing. How can I trespass in my mother or father's land ... in our land? How can we make public violence in our land because we believe that the land that Modikwe is using belongs to us? So

there is no need for them to say they own the land, when the police are beating us, harassing us saying we were trespassing. We can't trespass in my yard, we can't trespass in our parent's land, the land that they are using belongs to the people of Maandagshoek. Is just because they think they are rich, they are clever; they are having money in their pocket so they think they can treat everybody the way they like. So we are saying that is totally wrong and that is not acceptable ... the government does not do anything.

**AV:** And then what happened after that, after they arrested you ...?

**EM:** Yes they arrested us and I spent 3 days in the custody without a reason because the case was dismissed without the reason, you see. So that is why I'm saying we are tortured and oppressed without the reason so the police they were not supposed to arrest us because they was no a reason. The police is not the backing of the mine, the police are the people that has to bring peace in this country and to make sure that all parties they are equal.

**AV:** Ok I remember reading that there was mining equipment burnt and so forth ... is this the same incident?

**EM:** No is not this, is the other side but is the same in our farm Maandagshoek. And I'm always saying to everybody...

**AV:** Can you tell us what happened there?

**EM:** Yes for sure I'm willing to tell you about what happened there. After we had the meetings with Sharif Pandor - the guy who is leading the team, which is mining, at Baratau farm in Maandagshoek - and we told him that we need proper agreement with him and we need them to sit down with the community and reach agreement, they have refused to sit down and reach the agreement with the community. So after, the community decided to protect the land because they were just bringing the machines without any agreement. When we asked them why they are bringing the machines they said Kgosi awarded them the land. We are saying that Kgosi even if he is a traditional leader or a paramount chief he doesn't have the right to take the decisions for our fathers, you see now this family of Makgoga no one can come and take decisions for this family. Now what kgosi can do, kgosi is a messenger, he is working for the community meaning that if the mine want to use the land they must go to Ahmed and say Ahmed we want to do something in Makgoga's yard can you call Makgoga for us. Then it's where we are going to negotiate, is through the constitution of this country and he got the right to say no I don't want to talk with you about that so let me call my lawyer to assist me because I don't know anything about the mining issues, then is where law is needed to try an agreement that what is going to happen. You see in Limpopo people are suffering because of the mines and what the government is doing is silent because they are interested in the mine. We have sent the letters to the premiers what did they do nothing they are enjoying the luxury. People from the ground are singing for better life what is the ANC they are doing, what is the ministers are doing they are quiet because we believe they are getting something from the mines. So we need them to be straight, so we need them to be behind their words ... what they have said to the communities.

**DM:** I want to ask you ... you've described a lot of activities that you have done and engaged in and the stories. Tell us a bit about how you think your activities and your fighting/struggles have affected or impacted on changing things positively or not. In other words is there any movement that has happened after all of these things that you told us?

**EM:** There is a task team from the Premier's office after we engaged with Premier's office, after we have met with the Premier himself to explain about the problems we are experiencing at the ground level at the community where the mining they are taking place. There was a task team to investigate what is happening. What we are saying is true, what has been on the media is true and that task team at this moment Dale there is nothing that is happening from that task team because I believe that that task team is so weak and they are so corrupt and then it is so biased because still people they are still loosing the land instead of protecting the land meaning that task team is not doing well to protect the land of the community. So that task team they are not making sure that people they are in a same camp for everybody, they are still using the land; still there is conflict between the mines and the community. So that task team is not helping us by anything, it is there but is not doing anything. Is because, like I said, that everybody when the mines talk they are listening and want to be involved because they are having their own interest. So there are no changes, we don't see what is going on the programme so that is why we are saying the Premier, the President we wrote the letter to him and then when we wrote the letter to the President he directed the letter to Polokwane to the people who are giving those people permission. If we write the letter to the President they will refer the letter to the Land Affairs and Land Affairs they are the people who are giving the mine the permission. So, instead of them to come, so we need the President himself to come, to judge if possible.

**DM:** And since we last talked to you there has also been some movement of the new mining coming to operate up the hills. Please tell a little bit more about that one because it is a bit different one from Modikwe?

**EM:** Yes Dale I believe that it's different because as community as I told you ... we have just jumped to the train, I mean that the train was already started to move, I mean that they were already started to prospect/to drill. We have tried to call them down with our Attorney Richard Spoor to try to sign an agreement with them but at this time we are still waiting for the lawyer from the mines to reach an agreement. But what is happening is like they have already started with the mining, meaning that they had the license of mining and as the community we are asking ourselves who granted them the license, the permit to mine because at this side the lawyers are still drafting the agreement about that. And because we saw the proposal of the mine and we saw the proposal from our side, legally we believe that the shares of the community will be for the good of the community if we sign that agreement.

**DM:** And you also mentioned that this mine here is an Australian mining company - it is going to do open cast mining, is that correct?

**EM:** Yes.

**DM:** What is your concern ... because the Modikwe mine is going down, it is a shaft mine. This is an open cast mine and it's quite different. Are there any concerns for you in the community about environmental issues in particular?

**EM:** Yes they are going to open the open cast here for a year. They are only going to mine there 6 to 7 years. The first year they are going to do the open cast and then the second year they are going to dig going down. They are going to cut off that hills so really it will be the changes of that hills and I hope some other people next to the hills they will be affected by the mine meaning the issue of their education it will be touched sometimes. So even if the agreement is not signed yet I believe that the people who would be affected would have been covered in that agreement and that is proper. I'm just assuming that because they have already started with the preparation before we could sign our agreement. But really we will look into that with our attorney and as a community to see if how can we do things as quick as we can to make sure we sign the agreement before they could pull the plug or other things.

**DM:** Just one specific question. To your knowledge as a community has there been an environmental impact assessment done, this is usually the law when things like this happen - they need to check and see what the effects will be on the water supply, erosion/ could take some of the hills and those kinds of things. Do you know?

**EM:** Yes, yes the experience...

**DM:** Do you know. Have you guys seen the environmental assessment of the potential plan of the operation?

**EM:** No because government they know the Land Affairs and DME, they must send those people.

**DM:** And that has not happened?

**EM:** That has not happened, but we don't know why because they are already doing something because they must come to check if there is a cracked house before they could do anything. There is enough water in Maandagshoek ... before they can blast there are animals there, there is people going around there, where does those people fetch water, how do those people they are living, the car road, before they can even bring their trucks they must come and see how the people of Maandagshoek they are living. But there is no one from the government coming maybe it is because they had been paid that they mustn't come.

**DM:** Given all these things that you have said, all the struggles and the problems and everything ... when you sit here now in February 2008 and things are moving quite rapidly how would you ... what kinds of challenges do you see ahead for the community now? The main challenges and also for yourself as a community leader in terms of the things that if you had a plan over the next year what would you say are the main things that are the challenges for the community and yourself in relation to the conditions of living here and the quality of life for the things that you are struggling for?

**EM:** The first challenge Dale I think as a community because we are aware of how people they are working instead of helping the communities they are doing things for themselves. So I believe that we must just stand up and to say we need the President to come down because even if we can decide to take the decision as a community our

decision is going to be wrong or right. We are not going to get support from our leaders. So we believe that the President of this country, the President of the ANC they could do something.

**AV:** I want to make a follow up question about the stuff that we saw last time. When we spoke to the councillor it was clear ... we saw a lot of people gathering water from the streams and the hills and at the same time the councillor was saying there was about 200 meters and that some of the pipes are broken. Has there been any improvement in Maandagshoek in terms of the water system since the last time we were here?

**EM:** No no, if you saw, when you were outside if you saw those comrades that were going with the pipes they are getting the water from the hills to their yards. So it is difficult - the mine is not providing water for the community. On the issue ... the government somewhere is trying to provide water for the communities but the members of the community I don't know but the thieves who are stealing the machines and also is true what the councilor is saying, the people they are broking the pipes and stealing the pipes and doing bad things. But that is not meaning that the councilor or the government must stop to serve the community by the water. If the machine is stolen the government is there and it is the duty of the government is to make sure that people are getting enough water ... even if the pipes are broken it is the duty of the government to make sure that all broken they are repaired to make sure that communities they are getting enough water.

**AV:** And just in terms of the Modikwe pumps, you know Modikwe putting up that big sign saying 'Modikwe Cares' ... but it was not working, the Modikwe taps etc. Has Modikwe fixed them?

**EM:** No, there is no water here from Modikwe side. I think Modikwe is very excited about putting up the boards and saying we are caring about the people of Maandagshoek about the water and the other things. So what they are doing is totally wrong because there is no water, there is nothing meaning they are lying. Maybe the people who are driving through here they are feeling that Modikwe is doing the right thing for the people of Maandagshoek but there is no water there. So they have just put their own boards, they just doing anything that they want to do but they are not helping the community by anything ... there is no water.

**DM:** Has the recent power crisis in the country, the Eskom issue, have you felt it here in any way or how has that affected your life? Because it has been a big thing around the country, Eskom power cutting all the stuff?

**EM:** Yes there is a problem of electricity from Eskom in the country including Maandagshoek because we are using the electricity of Eskom. The impact is that there was no formal message to the community of the problem of the electricity which that must be done by the municipality, must inform the community what is going to happen about electricity. S we are just hearing from the radio and the TV when the mines they are complaining about the service of electricity and the CEO of Eskom talking. So we were just started to know that there is a problem with electricity and if we... sometimes you just see electricity going off, sometimes we were watching TV, then you were lighting your fridge and then the computer get burnt because you were using your computer, you were using your radio, you were using your TV because there is no

information from the municipality. So we are just seeing things on the TV, yes we agree that there is a problem.

**DM:** So to use a pun, you are literally 'in the dark' You know when they say someone is in the dark it means they don't know what's going on?

**EM:** Yes we are in the dark because they are just talking that there is a problem and the mines complaining, and then ANC talking about they must increase electricity by 6% and the workers must be retrenched because of the electricity. And those workers they are our brothers and sisters. So we started to focus and to say what is happening about this electricity ... it is somebody's fault about electricity, and then we are just listening to the Secretary of the ANC complaining, ESKOM complaining ...yes we are in dark because we don't know what is happening.

**DM:** My very last question to you Emmanuel. Not as a community activist, not as a leader in this community but as Emmanuel personally. What are your dreams, what do you see for yourself outside of all of your other responsibilities, besides your role as a leader here but for yourself as an individual, as a man? What are your dreams from here, for your own life and your family?

**EM:** My dream is I want to see myself-having a better life like everybody in the country. I dreamed to be a different leadership in the country as I declare to you that there is a problem of leadership. I sometimes even dream of joining politics and to come to make sure that the communities, the people, are getting services. I am having the forms of the ANC, I want to join the ANC and I want to start to contest for the position of the councilor, because I believe that the councilor they must play a role on...I don't know how can I put it ... but the councillors are the people who must take care of the communities, the councilors are the people who must deliver the needs of the community to the right position to the right place. So when you are the councilor is not meaning that you are against the community, you are the messenger of the community, you deliver the needs of the community and also you are working for the government, you are telling the municipality to do the right thing. In my life there is a... I saw one comrade he was a councilor, his name was Khondo, he is a Xhosa guy, he was a councilor at the place where most of the dominating people are Xhosa and Zulu and there was an hostel there and they started to built RDPs. Khondo one day organised a march against the municipality because they have announced publically that there is the money of the houses and Khondo asked the money of the houses and they did not give him the money of the houses. And he went back to the community and said there is the money but the government is refusing to give me the money, it is better we are in the march to the municipality and say we demand money for building the houses of this people they don't have the place where to stay. And I want also ... I'm thinking and also dreaming that I want to be a councilor in order to help our people or communities and I was also thinking to join the ANC or other parties. I have been recruited by different political parties Communist Party, ANC, UIF and PAC. So at this time I'm also thinking that it will be wrong for me to join the politics because immediately when you join the politics when you stand and say we are fighting the rights of the people against the mines other people who are from other parties they are not going to support you cause they will say is because you are an ANC, they would say is because you are Communist Party or from



the UIF, so I'm thinking sometimes that I rather lead the community independent, the way we are as community because now I don't see any different news from the community because I'm the Communist, because I'm the ANC, because I'm this and this. We are just all of us the same and we are doing the same thing.

**Minutes 79:42**