

**THE LUTHERAN CHURCHES' RESPONSE TO THE
FORCED REMOVALS IN THE WESTERN TRANSVAAL
AND BOPHUTHATSWANA (1968 – 1984)**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Problem	2
1.2 Motivation	3
1.3 Methodology	6
2. THE LUTHERAN BACKGROUND	9
2.1 The Lutheran Tradition of Silence	9
2.1.1 The Two Kingdoms	11
2.1.2 Slavery in the USA	12
2.1.3 The Lutherans and Nazism	15
2.2 A Divided Church	18
2.3 The Lutheran Church in the Western Transvaal	28
2.3.1 The Berlin Mission Society	29
2.3.2 The Hermannsburg Mission Society and the ELCSA-WD	29
2.3.3 The Hannoverian Mission Society and the LCSA	32
3. THE HOMELAND POLICY AND ITS IMPACT ON THE CHURCHES	36
3.1 The Homeland Policy and the Forced Removals	36
3.1.1 What the Land Means to Tswanas	38

3.2 Legislations on Land Expropriation and the Making of a Homeland	39
3.3 The Impact of the Legislations on Churches in South Africa	42
4. THE FORCED REMOVALS IN THE WESTERN TRANSVAAL: Four Case Studies	48
4.1 Forced Removals in the Western Transvaal	48
4.2 Four Case Studies	51
4.2.1 Matlwang: 1968 and 1971	53
4.2.2 Ga-Maloka: 1976	61
4.2.3 Botshabelo: 1977-1978	71
4.2.4 Mogopa: 1983-1984	79
5. OPINIONS OF LUTHERAN THEOLOGIANs AND CHURCH LEADERS ON FORCED REMOVALS	86
5.1 ELCSA	87
5.2 LCSA	90
6. EPILOGUE	98
BIBLIOGRAPHY	106
APPENDICES	113

DEDICATION

This one is dedicated to Kholisile Florence Ntsimane (nee' Mtshali), whose constant support saw this work to its completion.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is about the Lutheran Churches' response to the forced removals which took place between 1968 and 1984 in Western Transvaal. Bills aimed at expropriating land from African people were passed through parliament from 1913 to 1984. These apartheid laws culminated in the formation of Bantustans where people of different nationalities among blacks were moved to. Among the Tswanas four villages in the Western Transvaal viz. Matlwang, Ga-Maloka, Botshabelo and Mogopa were moved between 1968 and 1984.

The Lutheran Churches which were working in the four villages did not do much to help their members in time great need and distress. The villagers interviewed unanimously agreed that the the Lutheran churches were silent during the time of the forced removals. The Lutheran churches in the world have a history of silence with regard to governments' unjust policies towards the people. Theologians and church leaders of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (ELCSA) and its supporting mission society, the Hermannsburg Mission Society (HMS), the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (LCSA) and its supporting mission society, the Lutheran Church Mission, agree that the doctrine of the Two Kingdoms was not responsible for the silence of the Lutheran Churches in South Africa.

The Lutheran Churches have an opportunity to make up for their past mistakes by initiating and joining existing projects aimed at helping the marginalised communities of South Africa. Among other pressing needs in South Africa besides the preaching of the gospel one can count landlessness, unemployment, homelessness, poverty, hunger, diseases like HIV/AIDS, and counselling of the abused individuals in both in the urban and the rural areas to which those who were forcefully removed are returning.

This work is presented to churches in general and to the Lutheran Churches in particular so that they can preach the gospel of Jesus Christ in a wholistic rather than a narrow way. Jesus was concerned about the poor, the captives, the blind, the sinners, the rulers and the oppressed.

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1. Introduction

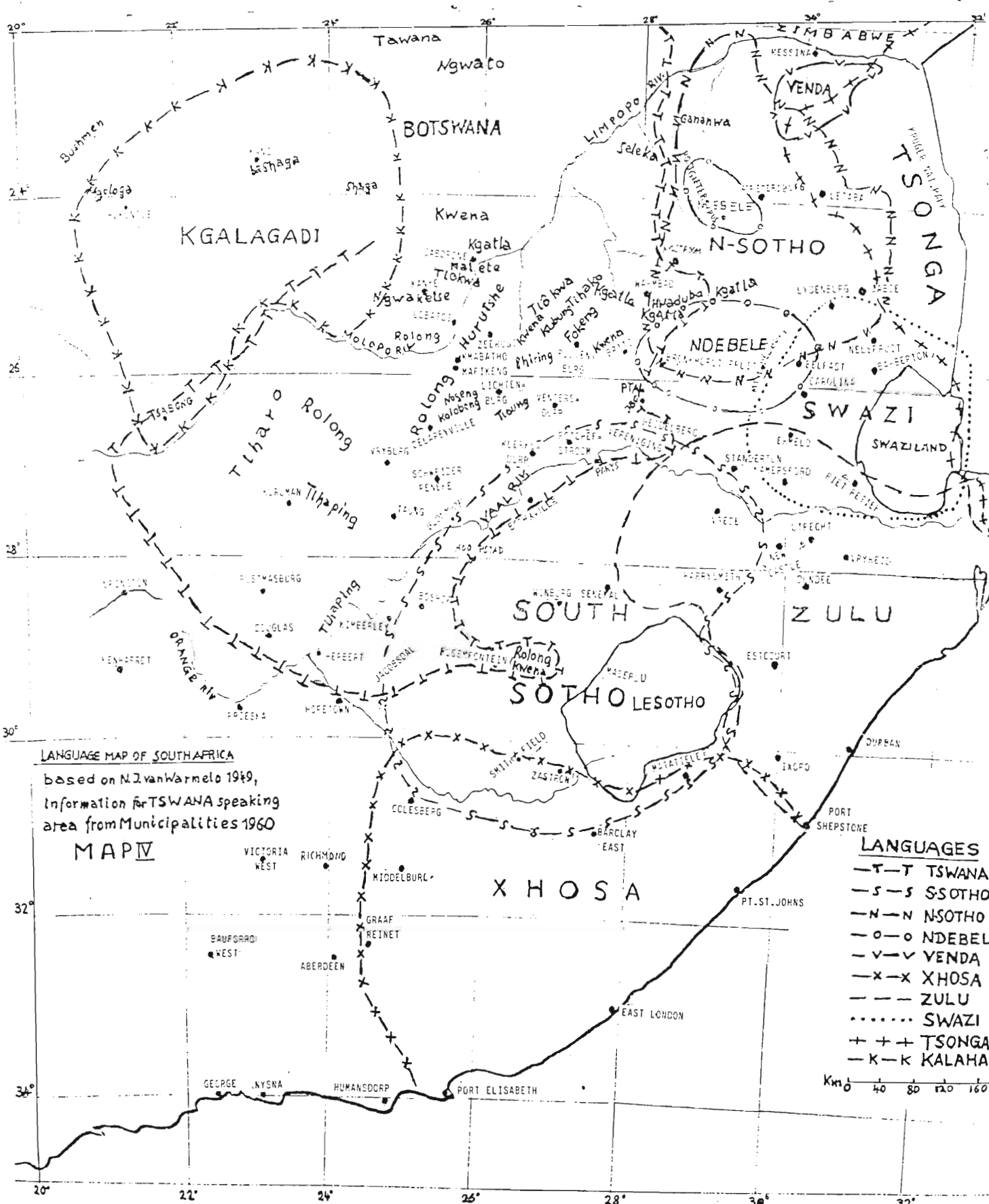
The Tswana people in the former Western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana, though divided into diverse ethnic groups, are part of a big Batswana nation found mainly in the present Northern Cape Province, the North West Province, Gauteng Province, and the Republic of Botswana. P.L Breutz in his extensively researched work *History of the Batswana* appended a detailed map showing areas occupied by Tswanas in the 1960s¹ (see map.1) These tribes share the myth that they once occupied a beautiful place under the surface of the ground in Mochudi near Gaborone in Botswana, until their leader Lowe, also called Bila, led them out through a hole to inhabit the surface of the earth.² White people under the governments of the Union of South Africa (1910-1961) and the Republic of South Africa (1961-1980s) expropriated land from blacks and other people in South Africa by means of a series of legislations. This thesis will focus on the responses of the Lutheran churches when Tswanas were dispossessed of their land in the then Western Transvaal. Like many nations the Tswanas had laws regarding land acquisition and expropriation. While this aspect of land acquisition and expropriation will be dealt with later, the arrival of white settlers and missionaries to southern Africa affected those laws. For Tswanas land was owned communally by the tribe and the *kgosi* (chief) and his *lekgotla* (tribal council), were custodians of it on behalf of the tribe.³

The Lutheran missionaries came from Europe, especially from Germany, to convert the Tswana and they converted them not only into accepting Christianity but also into accepting the European culture and legal system. The European culture regarding land ownership clashed with that of the African from the time whites came to colonize Southern Africa. While in the beginning blacks gave land to whites for occupation, the whites later made laws which

¹P.L. Breutz, *History of the Batswana* (Margate, 1989), between p. 20 & p. 21.

²P.L. Breutz, *History of the Batswana* (Margate, 1989), p.1.

³I. Schapera, *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* (London, 1937), pp.196-197.



Map 1. (Taken from P.L. Breutz's *History of the Batswana*). Land occupied by Tswanas in

made them owners of the land. They even dispossessed blacks of their remaining land until they forced them into “corners” of South Africa called Homelands.⁴

The Homelands were the final attempt of the government to declare blacks non-citizens of South Africa. The churches which were planted by the missionaries reacted by means of statements and protests against removals of villages to the so-called Homelands. The Lutheran churches’ response was not evident especially in the former Bophuthatswana homeland and the former Western Transvaal Bantu Administration area.

The poor response and in many cases lack of response from the Lutherans who worked among the Tswanas during the forced removals are the main points in this thesis. I am trying to find out why there was lack of opposition from the following Lutheran bodies: The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (ELCSA), the Hermannsburg Mission, the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (LCSA), the Lutheran Church Mission, formerly the Mission of the Evangelical Lutheran Free Churches (MELFC), and the Free Evangelical Lutheran Synod in South Africa (FELSISA). The four villages on which the thesis shall concentrate are Matlwang (Machaviestad), Ga-Maloka (Rooijantjiesfontein), Botshabelo (Putfontein) and Mogopa (Zwartrand).

1.1 Problem

The problem in this thesis is to establish why the Lutheran churches in South Africa did not respond to the forced removals in Western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana between 1968 and 1984. It is acknowledged though that there was some response but when one considers the degree of damage caused to the livelihood of the villagers, one will not consider that response as substantial. While this thesis is focused on major Lutheran church formations, it is not in any

⁴Motsoko Pheko, *Apartheid: The Story of a Dispossessed People*, (London, 1984), pp.148-149.

way intending to create an impression that other individual church denominations in South Africa acted any better than Lutherans in the matter of forced resettlements.

Lutherans, despite what *The Augsburg Confession* Article XXVIII on “The Power of Bishops” par. 10-18⁵ and what Martin Luther on “Temporal Authority: To What Extent It Should Be Obeyed”⁶ teaches, did not make a clear distinction on how to conduct themselves *vis-a-vis* their faith towards unjust government policies.

1.2 Motivation

I was born in a village called Matlwang (Machaviestad) situated between the mining town of Stilfontein and Potchefstroom in the Western Transvaal. Our people, the Barolong, were forcefully removed from Matlwang in 1969 when I was only five years of age but I still remember the hardships we went through as a result of the removal. In 1976 while I was living among the Bakolobeng of Ga-Maloka (Rooijantjiesfontein) near Lichtenberg the government forcefully removed us to Gannalaagte near Delareyville. While the Barolong people never got a place they could call their own after the removals, the Bakolobeng despite long suffering did get land to live on.

I am aware that churches in South Africa at that time did not do much to oppose the removals, but evidence exists that some churches (especially those affiliated to the South African Council of Churches [SACC]), did issue statements and staged protests yet the Lutheran churches did not respond decisively to the mass forced removals. I intend to find out why they remained quiet when it was obvious that injustices were being committed against their people, that the government had neither moral nor legal justification in its action against their members, and that theologically speaking their silence could not be defended.

⁵G.Tappert, *The Book of Concord* (Philadelphia, 1959), pp.82-83.

⁶Walther I.Brandt (ed.), *Luther's Works* Vol.45 (Philadelphia, 1962) pp.81-129.

The Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (LCSA) for the blacks, of which I am a member will be given greater attention in this thesis. The other Lutheran churches viz. the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (ELCSA) which is the biggest of them all and the two churches for people of German origin, the Free Evangelical Lutheran Synod in South Africa (FELSISA) and the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa, will also be researched. While the Lutheran churches catering for whites were not directly disturbed by the forced removals because they were mainly serving the urban areas, LCSA and ELCSA suffered serious damage in the rural areas of Western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana.

Having observed my church's silence in connection with socio-political issues, I wish to make the following hypotheses:

- i. Martin Luther's doctrine of the Two Kingdoms is interpreted by South African Lutherans as an excuse in order to justify their silence towards the government's policy of forced removals,
- ii. The missionaries and national church leaders feared the possibility of deportation of missionaries who may undermine or may be seen to undermine the South African government, and
- iii. The fact that whites who were mainly supporting the Lutheran mission work were enjoying economic benefits from the forced removals encouraged them not to take a meaningful stand against them.

Tracing the Lutheran tradition of silence I shall refer to the involvement of Lutherans in the slave trade in the United States of America in the 19th century, showing how they, directly by refusing to release their slaves and indirectly by not vigorously encouraging emancipation of slaves, sided with the temporal government against the marginalised. It is important to see that a pattern of silence was developing. For example, the German Lutherans embraced Adolf Hitler's Nazism which had targetted the Jewish people for persecution and extermination from 1933-1945. Even when they realized that it was turning into a holocaust they remained quiet. Their silence was a direct antithesis of what the Confessing Church led by Dietrich Bonhöffer, Martin Niemöller *et al* advocated in their support to oppose anti-Semitic attitudes.

The thrust of this research aims at showing how Lutherans confused their Christian responsibilities by concentrating on spiritual matters and neglecting socio-economic matters as we shall see in Weber and Dierks's responses in Chapter Five, "Opinions of Lutheran Theologians and Church Leaders on the Forced Removals", below. For both of them and other respondents, though not all, as long as the government was not hindering the proclamation of the gospel, there was no reason to stand up against it. The gospel that the church catholic is called to preach addresses all aspects of human life.

The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He has anointed Me to preach the Gospel to the poor; He has sent me to heal the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed; To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord (Luke 4:18-19).

Therefore the Lutherans in South Africa, from both black and white churches, had neither theological nor moral grounds to remain silent when their parishioners and other people in the Western Transvaal were forcefully removed from the land they had inhabited for generations.

Some theological justification for the Lutherans' silence exists.

Let every soul be subject to the governing authorities. For there is no authority except from God, and the authorities that exist are appointed by God. Therefore whoever resists the authority resists the ordinance of God, and those who resist will bring judgement upon themselves. (Romans 13:1-2).

However, the perception that the displaced people had about the church and its God needs to be considered. The church was previously seen by the people of Matlwang, Ga-Maloka, Botshabelo and Mogopa as a source of great help and as a place of refuge thanks to the influence⁷ it wielded in government circles. Later the church was perceived as an accomplice of the government in advancing apartheid policies when it opted for silence when it was looked

⁷Missionary Bernhard van Scharrel in his response to the questionnaire, dated 14 September 1998, wrote the following which shows that Lutheran missionaries, like many whites, did not have to struggle hard to get things done by the bureaucracy. When the officials refused to grant a certain Reverend Ramokoka permission to live with his family in Khuma Location near Stilfontein, van Scharrel intervened. "That was unacceptable for me and I drove to the relevant commissioner at Pilanesberg. He gave his permission without hesitation."

upon for help. In the Epilogue we shall see how the new political dispensation avails to the Lutheran churches and missions, opportunities to correct the errors committed during the apartheid era.

The democracy which South Africa attained in 1994 means that people matter because they are people and not because they happen to be born into a particular race. The new constitution⁸ of South Africa guarantees freedom and equality for all citizens in its Bill of Rights. Those churches who were actively involved in the process of dismantling apartheid and whose leaders were called “the voices of the voiceless” have now either lowered their voices or are keeping silent against the new government. The silence comes as a result of the present government's co-option of those outspoken church leaders into its machinery. I therefore regard this as a new *kairos* for the Lutherans who can be the conscience of the South African society to shout prophetically like the prophets of Israel, “So says the Lord”, in the event that the present and future governments treat their people unjustly.

1.3 Methodology

Although Lutherans do not write as much as other denominations in South Africa, I shall still use literary sources in Chapter Two and Chapter Three. Missionaries did write to their sending mission societies and in their bulletins and newsletters about matters pertaining to forced removals and land expropriation. Archival material in the form of bulletins, newsletters, minutes of church councils, synodical and diocesan council meetings of the four Lutheran church bodies in question will be used. A strong challenge in this thesis is that many old records are written in German. Those records in German dealing with matters of removals and the churches and mission societies' responses towards the victims, will be used with the help of translators.

⁸The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. Chapter 2, Bill of Rights pp.6-24.

The LCSA's bulletin *Umlayezi\Molaetsa* is accessible both in the storeroom and the archives at Enhlanhleni in KwaZulu Natal. Though not bound in book form the individual copies selected were printed on strong paper. They are still readable and the photographs are clear. The Bulletin was published in both Zulu and Tswana, languages in which I am fluent. I have also managed with permission to photocopy the LCSA's Church Council meetings minutes of 16-17\02\1977, 7-8\09\1977, 29-30\11\1988, 12-13\09\1979, 29-30\11\1988. These minutes, kept at the LCSA's headquarters in Kempton Park, are filed in lever-arch files and are in a good physical condition.

The ELCSA records dealing with the Western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana are kept in Rustenburg in the offices of the Western Diocese. Permission to go through the archives of the diocese and photocopy the relevant pages in the files of the Ramodiana Parish of Ga-Maloka was granted. Further search in the parish corresponds with what the diocesan archival material revealed as we shall see in Chapter Four, "The Forced Removals in the Western Transvaal: Four Case Studies", below.

Chapter Four's focus will mainly be based on interviews conducted in the present North West Province, areas previously regarded as Western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana. The questionnaire to clergy and laity was designed to find out how the church reacted when the moves were announced, and how the people perceived the church's reactions. Allegations in pre-interviews showed that some churches and dioceses were concerned about the sale of their property and their business in the re-location areas. This and other points will be verified through interviews and written sources.

Finally Chapter Six, "Epilogue", will deal with opportunities available to the Lutheran communities in South Africa to take their rightful position in the ecumenical sphere, and the new challenges facing them in the new socio-political dispensation. With their feet firmly on the ground, understanding and executing both their ecclesiastical and social responsibilities especially on land re-acquisition and its stewardship, Lutherans can make up for their general neglect of social responsibilities in the past. To date two of the displaced villages viz. Matlwang and Mogopa have already successfully claimed their land back and Lutherans can

increase their efforts to help them in reconstruction and development of both their spiritual and social lives. Since resources are generally limited, unnecessary duplications can be avoided by combining efforts in a united front to deal not only with issues of land but also diverse issues pertaining to socio-economics such as poverty, unemployment, homelessness, care and education for HIV/AIDS sufferers. The Gospel according to St. Matthew, ch 25 vv31-46, discourages Christians from choosing silence and indifference when people are in need. Let us now look at the Lutheran backgrounds regarding tradition of silence, divided Lutherans and at the history of the Lutheran Church in the Western Transvaal.

2. The Lutheran Background

Chapter Two as alluded to above deals with the historical backgrounds, one in the international arena and the other in South Africa. The historical background in the international arena is of the Lutheran tradition of silence. We shall also look at the disunity and failed attempts to restore unity among Lutherans. I believe it is through a united front that Lutherans can manage successfully to work through their mission of propagating their churches by spreading the Gospel and carrying out social responsibilities. Finally we shall narrow the focus of this chapter to a brief history of the Lutheran Church in the Western Transvaal which is where many Lutherans were dispossessed of their land.

2.1 The Lutheran Tradition of Silence

The Lutherans' silence evidenced during the dispossession of land and displacement of people in South Africa has a long tradition. One cannot in sincerity deal with the Lutherans' tradition of silence without reference to Martin Luther's personal relationship with temporal rulers and what he taught about church and state relationship in the doctrine of the Two Kingdoms. Following the analysis we shall see how Lutherans both in North America and in Europe failed in their attempts to keep their relationship with the state and with the marginalised people harmoniously. In North America the issue of slavery in the USA will be the focus while in Europe the Lutherans and Nazism will serve as an example.

Dr. Martin Luther after whom the Lutheran Church is named laid a foundation of silence by siding with the Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise, in the controversy against the sale of Indulgences. His doctrine of the Two Kingdoms has also been misinterpreted as justification for the silence and non-intervention of the church in the business of the state.

In 1511 Luther assumed a post of professor in Wittenberg University, when the Elector of Saxony endeavoured to secure better teachers by inviting Augustinian and Franciscan religious orders to supply three new professors⁹ to his new university. Settled in this position Luther became friends with the Elector especially when he opposed John Tetzel's sale of indulgences near Saxony. Bishop Albert of Brandenburg aspired to the archbishop's seat of Mainz, a position he could only hold by paying a lot of money (twelve thousand ducats) to Pope Leo X who needed it to finish the building of the basilica in Rome¹⁰. Luther's friend the Elector was not in favour of the idea that indulgences be sold to his citizens because it meant that the money was going out of German lands. Luther protested, "Why doesn't the pope build the basilica of St. Peter out of his own money? He is richer than Croesus."¹¹ The friendship was further strengthened by the fact that when Luther was condemned as a heretic in Worms in 1521 the Elector "kidnapped" him and kept him safe from the papalists at the Wartburg castle. He did not banish Luther from his land even after being condemned by the emperor.

During the Peasant Revolt in Germany in 1525 Luther tried to calm the peasants and even identify with some of their demands against the princes and the nobility. He nevertheless resented all rebellion against civil government. When he realized that the rebellion led to bloodshed and looting Luther wrote a tract *Against the Murderous and Thieving Hordes of Peasants*, where he encouraged the nobility and the princes to quell the rebellion even by murdering. Bainton quotes him writing that, "Therefore let everyone who can, smite, slay, and stab, secretly or openly, remembering that nothing can be more poisonous, hurtful, or devilish than a rebel. It is just as one must kill a mad dog; if you don't strike him, he will strike you, and the whole land with you."¹² Luther at this time was already at an advanced stage of developing his political theory which later came to be known as the doctrine of the Two Kingdoms.

⁹Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (Nashville, 1978), p.39.

¹⁰Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand*, p.57.

¹¹Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand*, p.61.

¹²Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand*, p.217.

2.1.1 The Two Kingdoms

Though this term was never used by Luther in his teachings, it was popularized according to Johannes Richter¹³ by theologians between 1932 and 1938 during *Der Deutsche Kirchenkampf* (German church struggle). In his work of 1523, *Temporal Authority: To what Extent It Should Be Obeyed*, Luther distinguishes between the secular regiment and the spiritual regiment. He maintains that the church is the spiritual regiment and has its duty in the world, which is not to rule over the world and that the temporal government, the secular regiment is not called to rule the church.

Therefore the misinterpretation came from the idea that churches had to deal exclusively with spiritual matters and civil rulers with temporal matters, and should not interfere in secular matters and spiritual matters respectively. Luther meant that the church leaders should not usurp temporal authority by means of Scripture because it belongs to temporal leaders. Stressing that neither the pope nor the bishops should have temporal authority he wrote, "It has gone so far that they have granted the imperfect estate of the sword and temporal authority not only to the perfect estate of the bishops, but even to the pope, that most perfect estate of all; in fact, they have ascribed it to no one on earth so completely as to him,"¹⁴

About the temporal rulers interfering in matters of faith Luther wrote,

If your prince or temporal ruler commands you to side with the pope, to believe thus and so, or to get rid of certain books you should say, 'It is not fitting that Lucifer should sit at the right side of God. Gracious sir, I owe you obedience in body and property; command me within the limits of your authority on earth, and I will obey. But if you command me to believe or to get rid of certain books, I will not obey; for then you are a tyrant and overreach yourself, commanding where you have neither the right nor the authority'.

¹³Unpublished Bachelor of Theology (Honours) Degree titled *The Influence of the Two Kingdoms Doctrine in South Africa* (University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1997).

¹⁴Walther I. Brandt (ed.), *Luther's Works*, vol. 45 (Philadelphia, 1962), p.82.

It means that temporal rulers have got their domain of governing their lands justly which is outward and are answerable to God who instituted it. Likewise the church leaders have their responsibility of preaching the Gospel and taking responsibility for the spiritual realm which is inward. Of course it does not mean that there will not be an overlap in this clear distinction of the two forms of rule. Both belong to God and he therefore expects Christians to be active serving as officials for the sake of peace and goodwill. Princes and nobility are therefore not necessarily supposed to be unbelievers just because their responsibility is with political matters. The Word speaks to them about their responsibilities, a matter seldom mentioned when subjects are encouraged to obey their authorities.

What Lutherans have neglected in the passages cited by Luther in his writings on this matter, viz. Romans 13:1-7 and 1 Peter 2: 13-14, is the fact that the temporal government is not only responsible to punish the wicked and demand obedience in temporal affairs, but it is also responsible to protect and praise those who do well. To take one of the two examples above, verses 3 & 4 of Romans 13 clearly state, "Then do what is right and he will commend you. For he is God's servant to do you good. But if you do wrong, be afraid, for he does not bear the sword for nothing,"¹⁵ to show that when temporal government moves away from what it was meant for i.e. to do good for the citizens, then it should be challenged. Acts 5:29 Peter and the other apostles replied: "We must obey God rather than men!", teaches that in the event of the temporal government causing one to sin then one is free to disobey it in order to obey God. Let us investigate in the following subsections how Lutherans attempted to obey God rather than people in the United States of America over the issue of slavery.

2.1.2 Slavery in the USA

While a lot has been written about slavery in the USA, I shall for the purpose of this thesis investigate how Lutheran synods and church leaders in the South dealt with the emancipation of slaves within their membership. It is imperative to note that at that time it was already an

¹⁵*Concordia Self-Study Bible, New International Version* (Saint Louis, 1986).

established myth that Indians and Africans were inferior races to whites. Nevertheless it will be a misrepresentation of early American Lutherans to suggest that the fact that they took so long to release their slaves was informed from their understanding of the doctrine of The Two Kingdoms. The point I want to make, though, is the parallel in the South African context where whites in power treated blacks as sub-humans. We shall see that it seemed morally and legally correct to continue keeping slaves and refusing to emancipate them even under government pressure, but whites in South Africa did with blacks whatever their wishes dictated to them under apartheid. What the Bible teaches in respect of love for one's neighbour was to them in both contexts immaterial. The " Epilogue" will deal more with the question of love for one's neighbour as taught in Matthew 25. The report on *Racism and the Church*¹⁶ affirms that slavery stemmed from racist thinking, which "seeks to justify self-aggrandizement, cruelty, and paternalism in favour of the 'superior' group and to inflict low self-image, subservience, deprivation, loss of equal privilege, and even slavery upon the 'inferior' group. "

It was this race-superiority complex which in the eighteenth century drove Lutherans to acquire slaves of African origin for labour. There was moral inconsistency in this issue of slavery because even when 'Negroes' were converting to Christianity, a Hudson valley Lutheran pastor, Wilhelm Berkenmey's synod's constitution in 1735 specified, "a pastor shall previously ascertain that the (Negro slaves) do not intend to abuse their Christianity to break the laws of the land, or to dissolve the tie of obedience (slavery); yea, he must have a positive promise that Christianity will not only be entered upon, but that the same shall be practiced in life." This pastor Berkenmey replied, "that is nobody else's business inasmuch as he had purchased the slaves with his own money."¹⁷

It should be mentioned that though many Lutheran synods and pastors accepted slavery and did not see it as a contradiction to their faith, there were nevertheless synods like the

¹⁶*Racism and the Church: Overcoming the Idolatry*, A Report of the Commission on Theology and Church Relations of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (February 1994), p.10. This USA church is in partnership with the LCSA.

¹⁷*Racism and the Church: Overcoming the Idolatry* (February 1994), p.20.

Franckean Synod which in 1837, “refused to have fellowship with anyone engaged in that kind of immorality.”¹⁸

When requested to emancipate their slaves the South Carolina Synod issued a statement in favour of slavery and against abolitionists in the North and took a resolution that “Resolved, unanimously, that this Synod express their strongest disapprobation of the conduct of Northern Abolitionists - and that we look upon them as enemies of our beloved country, whose mistaken zeal is calculated to injure the cause of morals and religion.”¹⁹

This resolution, taken by a Lutheran synod, evidently stemmed from failure to see how the general Lutheran community treated the issue of slavery. Instead of emancipating their slaves, the member of that synod held on to their slaves. It is Two Kingdoms understood on the other side because in this case the church and the government was not expected to tell its people how to deal with matters that had nothing to do with it. Slavery was a matter of economic nature and not of spiritual nature therefore the church was not obeyed in it.

As a matter of economic viability I acknowledge that it was not only Lutherans who were slaveholders, other denominations, *inter alia* Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Baptists and Methodists²⁰, also kept slaves and experienced divisions when the Abolitionists in the USA²¹ intensified their protest against slavery in the late eighteenth century. I am not intending to justify Lutherans by mentioning other denominations’ members who refused to emancipate their slaves. I am merely emphasising the fact that Lutherans were also involved in what the international community referred to as a crime and an inhuman act against humanity.

¹⁸*Racism and the Church: Overcoming Idolatry* (February 1994), pp.22-23.

¹⁹*Ibid.* p.22.

²⁰Paul Finkelman, *Articles on American Slavery Vol.16 Religion and Slavery* (New York, 1989) pp.190-114.

²¹ Jacob P. Brits, “Party founded in the northern states of the USA”, *Concise Dictionary of Historical and Political Terms* (London,1995), p.1.

To treat a person as if he or she was not a full human being was not limited to white- Negro relationships in America. The coming to power of the National Socialist Party (Nazi) of Adolf Hitler saw the persecution of minority groups in Germany especially Jews to the point of death. Let us now see how Lutherans in Germany responded to this unchristian act.

2.1.3 The Lutherans and Nazism

In Germany some Lutherans are alleged to have embraced Nazism as the solution to the problems of the Germans brought about by the debt imposed upon Germany by the League of Nations after World War I. Of course it was not only Lutherans who joined the *National-Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei* led by Adolf Hitler, members of other denominations also did. Some of the Lutherans joined what came to be known as the *Deutsche Christen* (German Christians) in justifying the anti-Semitic sentiments popularized by Adolf Hitler the ruler of Germany during World War II.

Some Lutheran congregations in Germany not only prayed for the Führer but mentioned Adolf Hitler by name in their liturgy (general prayer for the church). In The Hannoverian State Church's General prayer of the church (*V. Das allgemeine Kirchengebet*) the church prays for the *Führer* saying, "Govern, Lord, with the spirit of truth and righteousness *unsern* (our) *Führer* and all government, so that we may live under its regiment a peaceful and quiet life in all godliness and respectability." ²²

The Roman Catholic Church also went the same way and even made a pact called the Nazi-Vatican Concordat²³ which aimed at ensuring that protection for Catholics was guaranteed under the state according to Jerald C. Brauer. Brauer continues to say that the pact was also intended to guarantee that the Vatican maintained freedom of communication with catholic

²²*Evangelische-Lutherisches Gesangbuch der Hannoverschen Landeskirche*, (Hannover, 1965), p.48.

²³Jerald C. Brauer (ed.), *The Westminster Dictionary of Church History* (Philadelphia, 1971).

clergy in Germany. Hitler outfoxed Pope Pius XI (1922-1939), Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli *et al* by insisting that “an article was finally included to ensure exclusion of the clergy from politics. Later Catholics were systematically persecuted in Germany”²⁴ along with other minorities. Due to Germany’s violation of the concordat Pope Pius took decisive action. “The break came in 1937 when he ordered the encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* (14 Mar.), denouncing repeated violations of the concordat and branding Nazism as fundamentally anti-Christian, to be read from all pulpits.”²⁵ One can conclude that the fact that Catholics agreed to recognise Hitler as their temporal ruler in the first place, indicates they were indirectly selling their responsibility as christians of ever challenging Hitler and his party’s injustices against the marginalised of the world. All the German people I asked about what they understand about the term *Führer* are in agreement that the term denotes a leader but it came to be generally accepted that ‘the Leader’ is Adolf Hitler and nobody else. For the church to pray for the goodwill of a tyrant and a sower of hatred like Adolf Hitler, shows how low the church and theologians can stoop when they stop being prophetic.

Famous Lutheran church theologians had to choose sides when the popularity of Nazism rose. Hitler rose to power by subtly manipulating the deteriorating socio-economic fibre of the German nation. He promised the Germans to bring their lost glory as a great nation back. To some theologians Hitler’s Nazism despite its racist agenda was worth support, while to others the Gospel was a yardstick dictating how humans were to relate to each other. Dietrich Bonhöffer (1906-45) is widely known for his participation in the plot to kill Hitler and his subsequent martyrdom in 1945. He was a theologian, but his participation in the church struggle during Nazi years led him into the political conflict.²⁶

Erickson clearly separates these theologians of note in his rightfully titled book *Theologians Under Hitler*. Kittel Althaus and Hirsh, were theologians who took the opposite political

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵*The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (New York, 1986), p.317.

²⁶ Robert.P. Erickson, *Theologians Under Hitler* (London, 1985), p.24.

stance and worked in support of Hitler. Hitler was exterminating Jews and other minorities believing that they were to blame for Germany's socio-economic problems.

Though I am tempted to develop this point on the anti-Semitic attitude of the Nazi and the German Christians a bit further, I shall refrain from doing so due to the limitations of this thesis. Nevertheless I shall add that Gerhard Kittell, Paul Althaus and Emanuel Hirsch among others, supported the government of their day to consolidate their comfort, i.e. German nationalism and their independence. Their stance of course was directly against the Lutherans' doctrine of the Two Kingdoms, which as we have seen above, expects government to do good for all its citizens as ordered by God. Hitler was evil, and those who opposed Hitler because he was evil, according to Ericksen "were driven by the quest to be true to the Gospel."²⁷ One of Hitler's vocal opponents, Martin Niemöller, wrote against the evil of silence,

First they came for the socialists, and I did not speak out -
because I was not a socialist.

Then they came for trade unionists, and I did not speak out -
because I was not a trade unionist.

Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak out -
because I was not a Jew.

Then they came for me -
and there was no one left to speak for me.²⁸

Martin Niemöller in opposition to the *Deutsche Christen*²⁹ formed the Pastor's Emergency League to consolidate the Confessing Church³⁰ (*Bekennende Kirche*) could base its opposition to the *Deutsche Christen* heresy.³¹

²⁷ Robert P. Ericksen, *Theologians Under Hitler* (New Haven, 1985), p.27.

²⁸ H.G. Locke (ed.), *Exile in the Fatherland* (Grand Rapids, 1986), p.viii.

²⁹ German Christians denying Jewish influence of Christianity and advocating the removal of the Old Testament from the Bible.

³⁰ This church was started by among others Karl Barth, Martin Niemöller, and Dietrich Bonhoeffer to oppose the *Deutsche Christen*'s anti-Semitism.

³¹ Robert P. Ericksen, *Theologians Under Hitler* (London, 1985), p.48.

As it is often the case (ours in South Africa is no exception), not all Germans supported Hitler but when respected theologians in three major German universities (Kittel in Tübingen; Althaus in Erlangen; Hirsch in Göttingen) supported him, those who opposed him did not at the time cause a heavy blow to the movement. Later Kittel on behalf of the *Deutsche Christen* theologians, regrettably wrote a letter to Karl Barth in 1934 and declared their misguided judgement, “for some of us National Socialist theologians in Württemberg (who) believed that agreement with state Führer was obedience towards the law of God.”³² The temptation of worshipping one’s nationalism and emperor leads to idolatry, i.e when God is made to favour one side against the other person’s side as the German Christians led themselves to believe. While all these events were taking place far from the borders of South Africa, Lutheran missionaries especially from Germany were engaged in the business of converting Tswana tribes in the Western Transvaal. Our next section looks at the historical background of their mission activities in that geographical area.

2.2 A Divided Church

The saying that there is strength in numbers seems to be relevant to the situation of Lutherans in South Africa. Though Lutherans are not a major denomination in South Africa, their voice could have been louder if they were united into a one strong church body. Their isolated responses when they were made had no impact to the apartheid government and subsequently silence was resorted to. As we shall see later each Lutheran church advanced its own agenda. Further evidence in this division will be illuminated by their different responses or lack of them to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Let us see how this division came about and how their quest for unity was dealt with.

Lutherans have a long history of division in Germany where the church started and in other European countries. The fact that there are so many Lutheran church formation in South Africa

³² Robert P. Ericksen, *Theologians Under Hitler* (London, 1985), p.48.

is not exceptional to this country, the phenomenon is world wide. The reason for the original division may have come from the fact that at one stage it was agreed that each state in the Roman Empire could practise its own religion as decided by its prince. As we shall see later in this chapter, those states developed and those which chose Lutheranism as their religion formed mission societies and sent out missionaries under those individual state-church mission societies, eg Norwegian and Hannoverian Mission Societies. In South Africa the different mission societies even named the churches they planted after their mission societies and maintained distinct liturgical traditions. An example of this is that the Hermannsburg Lutherans among the Tswanas confirm their youths in black clothes while the Berlin Lutherans do so in white clothes (the colours refer only to girls attire).

During the early period of forced removals Lutherans were more divided than when their respective mission societies came to South Africa. There have been splits to form Lutheran churches outside the missionary's influence thereby increasing the number of Lutheran formations in South Africa. A brief history of previous attempts to bring together members of the Lutheran family in southern Africa will serve as a prologue. The diverse historical backgrounds of the Lutherans in South Africa need also to be appreciated for any attempt to suggest closer co-operation.

The differences in the different Lutheran traditions are in the areas of liturgy, polity, finances *et cetera*. For an example even in one church body like ELCSA not all dioceses nor all parishes, for instance in the South-East Diocese, practise the altar servers' tradition with processions. One may wonder why black people perpetuate foreign traditions after taking control of the established churches. Three reasons can be deduced from this type of prevalent mentality. Firstly the national leadership may have favoured the name and the traditions of their former mission societies. Secondly the national leaders were not so sophisticated to conclude that theology rather than names and traditions make a church Lutheran. Finally, churches established by mission societies normally continued to receive both financial and personnel assistance from their missions and therefore anything capable of discontinuing such flow of assistance was undesirable.

Clinging to such differences of course made closer co-operation with other Lutherans difficult. Their loyalty to former mission societies which maintained differences based on their different towns, provinces and countries could not be easily compromised.

The other reason for maintenance of separate Lutheran churches stems from racial discrimination. White South African Lutherans kept to their churches which were exclusively for whites because the government of South Africa was against any mixing of races. Ironically white Lutherans could and did go to churches for blacks as guests. ELCSA caters mainly for blacks and ELCSA (N-T) mainly for whites. Both these Lutheran churches are members of LWF, LUCSA, and just recently for ELCSA (N-T) of SACC.³³ FELSiSA caters mainly for whites and LCSA for blacks. These last two churches are members of the International Lutheran Council (ILC) but not of the SACC.

Other churches that warrant mentioning are the United National Church-Lutheran (UNC-L) and the Moravian Church of Southern Africa. According to Dr. Mkhize who is an elder in the Edendale congregation of UNC-L, the church was established after Reverend Lamula led a split from the Norwegian Mission Church in Zululand in 1959. This church is mainly based in the KwaZulu-Natal Province but has one congregation in Mdantsane in the Eastern Cape Province and a few others in the Gauteng Province.³⁴

The Moravian Church which has united in 1992 its two regions to form one church under a president is not a Lutheran church in every sense of the word. The Moravians originate from John Hus, the Bohemian reformer, who was Martin Luther's forerunner in 1457. The Moravian Church of Southern Africa is a member of the LWF, WCC, SACC and LUCSA. Since they do not see themselves as very much different from the Lutherans, any discussions

³³ELCSA (N-T) was accepted as a member at the last National Conference held in Christ the King Cathedral in Johannesburg. Reported in *Communicatio*, ELCSA(N-T) newsletter of September 1998.

³⁴The interview with Dr. Mkhize meant for the Oral History Project of the University of Natal took place in Dr. Mkhize's surgery on 12th September 1998 in Imbali.

of unity among Lutherans in South Africa cannot be complete without them. They constitute over 100 000 baptised members.³⁵

There are also two more churches viz. Bapedi Lutheran Church and the Reformed Lutheran Church. Hans Florin writes that Rev. J.A. Winter together with Pastor Sebushane formed the Lutheran Bapedi Church in 1890 in protest at the slow pace of ecclesiological development within the Berlin Mission³⁶. Florin adds (about thirty years ago) that “this church still exists today under African leadership and represents the most prominent among a number of smaller, mostly insignificant Lutheran sectarian separations in Transvaal and Natal.”³⁷ Statistics and recent information about this church cannot be easily found since the church may have since receded to the Northern Province where the Bapedi people are concentrated, as the name suggests.

The Reformed Lutheran Church is mainly found in and around the Gauteng Province. Though not much-known, it attracted renegade LCSA members in Mohlakeng near Randfontein. This church is said to be under Bishop Mothupi who was in the ELCSA Tswana Region before the creation of the Central Diocese of ELCSA.

Attempts were made in the past to foster unity among Lutherans in South Africa. For instance in Natal five mission societies started to co-operate in the 1800s³⁸. In 1881 the Natal Missionary Conference representing missionary societies in Natal and Zululand was formed. Strangely enough³⁹, already at that time agreement was reached to accept in their worship and at the table of the Lord brothers and sisters who belong to other churches that accept the same confessions. The purpose of their unity was to further Christian fellowship amongst missionaries engaged in the ministry of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in Natal and other parts that

³⁵Information gathered from a LUCSA information book on member churches issued to all member church leaders.

³⁶H.F. Florin, *Lutherans in South Africa*, (Durban, 1967) p.52.

³⁷H.F. Florin, 1967 pp.52-53.

³⁸H.F. Florin, 1967 p.94.

³⁹Free Church Lutherans both in Germany and South Africa were lobbying for separateness at the same time.

the Gospel has empowered them to live as people of God.⁴⁰ Natal was miles ahead in their Lutheran Co-operation. The Free Evangelical Lutheran Conference for South East Africa was already constituted for missionaries of the Lutheran societies in Natal. Its name was changed to General Lutheran Conference in Natal and existed till 1964.⁴¹

The Lutheran mission societies of Norway, Sweden and Berlin formed the co-operating Lutheran Missions (CLM) in Natal which started operating in 1912. Their aims were to start a teachers' training college in Umphumulo, a pastors training seminary in Oscarsberg, evangelist training in Emmaus, a Lutheran Publishing House and a magazine *Isitunywa* and a co-ordinated effort to counter 'active propaganda' of other denominations.⁴² The CLM was then joined by the American Lutheran Mission and Hermannsburg Mission Society in 1928 and 1937 respectively. The Hanoverian Free Church became an observer member in 1952.⁴³

The purposes for their co-operation are commendable considering the fact that it was during the era of divisions when Africans felt the pricking of apartheid so much that they were opting for starting their own churches or joining those already initiated by Africans, for example the United National Church-Lutheran (UNC-L). Their agenda for co-operation was confined mainly to the consolidation and intensification of Lutheran existence as a mission church. Though it seems ridiculous today, probably it was of paramount importance then for Lutherans to co-operate in combatting 'active propaganda of other denominations'.

One would think that the pressing issues when the Hanoverian Free Church joined as observers in a body of CLM's magnitude were the intensification of apartheid after the Second World War and the National Party takeover of the government. Though 'active propaganda of other denominations' is a topic for separate research, it is possible that as suggested above there was a movement of African members away from the Lutheran mission churches. It is also possible

⁴⁰G.Scriba, *The Growth of Lutheran Churches in South Africa*, 1997 p.20.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid.

as Nürnberger suggested, that the missionaries who came mainly from Germany to South Africa before the Second World War, indirectly supported discriminatory policies of the apartheid government because they came from a culture that was promoting self-determination of nations.⁴⁴ Their non-intervention attitude may have caused criticisms from other denominations, which then invoked the ‘strength in numbers’ defence among the Lutherans, leading to the formation of CLM. In their aims no mention or allusion to combat apartheid was made.

Missions participating in CLM together with the Moravian, Rhenish and Finnish Missionary Societies formed the Council of Churches on Lutheran Foundation in South Africa (CCLF) in 1953.⁴⁵ In 1958 the three German Synods, DELK of South West Africa, the Cape and Transvaal became members, whilst Hermannsburg and Free Church synods became observer members.⁴⁶ This unity about which Winkler writes that it “united all Lutheran churches in Southern Africa”⁴⁷ became the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa (FELCSA) in 1966. Doctrinal unity was based on affirmation of Holy Scripture, the three ecumenical creeds (Apostles Creed, Nicene Creed and Athanasian Creed) and confessional writings of the Lutheran Reformation. Contrary to expectations given the political scenario in South Africa at that time, FELCSA could not and did not force member churches to adopt ‘political positions’.⁴⁸ Indeed FELCSA decisions were not binding on member churches because it was a federation, but also because FELCSA’s agenda was strictly spiritual rather than holistic, i.e. not having socio-political awareness as part of their agenda.

Because of this “apolitical” policy of FELCSA, blacks who were at the receiving end of apartheid became disillusioned and left FELCSA in 1984. Blacks had already formed the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (ELCSA) in 1975, while in FELCSA. ELCSA was formed by the four synods or regional churches i.e. South Eastern, Tswana, Cape

⁴⁴Interview between Prof.K.Nürnberger and R.Ntsimane at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg, 13th October 1998.

⁴⁵G.Scriba 1997 p.21.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷H. Winkler, *The Divided Roots of Lutheranism in South Africa*, 1989 p.50.

⁴⁸Ibid.

Orange and Transvaal. ELCSA had two seminaries, in Marang near Rustenburg and in Umphumulo near Stanger, where they could jointly train their clergy. FELCSA could not but disintegrate.

Like blacks with their ELCSA, whites had already formed the United Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa (UELCSA) in 1964. While in FELCSA they continued with their activities of UELCSA which was a unity of mainly German speaking-churches in southern Africa⁴⁹. One is bound to conclude that the intentions of unity and closer co-operation were not deemed to be of equal importance by the two racial groups. To continue in separate racial bodies also indicates that there was lack of trust between the two parties. They kept to their own groups while trying to build a new united one.

UELCSA membership was suspended from the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) in 1984 at the Seventh Assembly in Budapest. The reason for suspension was that the two German churches (ELCSA Cape Church) and DELKSWA “have in practice withdrawn from confessional fellowship” by refusing to side with the blacks against the wrongs caused by the apartheid system.⁵⁰ In 1992 the suspension was lifted because of the promise of striving for unity between the black and white member churches of LWF in Southern Africa. On the same occasion ELCSA (N-T) was accepted as a new member in LWF.

In 1985 a Unity Committee was formed with members of ELCSA, ELCSA (Cape Church) and ELCSA (N-T) to discuss unity. This came as a result of the German churches’ suspension from LWF. One can conclude that this committee was formed as a reaction under duress in order for the suspended members to regain their membership in LWF. How they were going to form a merged church was not an easy question to answer satisfactorily. The Unity Committee tried to answer the following questions: Constitutional questions on the delimitation of dioceses according to geographic or also according to historical factors. Structural questions

⁴⁹H. Winkler, 1989 p.54. FELSiSA was not part of the unity. ELCSA (Cape Church), ELCSA (Natal Transvaal) and DELKSWA (Deutsche Evangelische Lutherische Kirche in Südwest Afrika) were members in the unity.

⁵⁰G. Scriba, 1997 p.29.

whether the power concentrated at the leadership of the church, be more hierarchical or at the base, i.e. more congregational, including the right of congregations to elect their pastor, own property etc. The role of the bishop: for life time or for a term, is he (sic.) installed or consecrated? The financial questions of equalising congregational contributions and pastors salaries.⁵¹

Given the deep in-roads apartheid had made on the lives of the people and in the church as an institution, efforts made by ELCSA family of churches are commendable. Divisions due to racial hatred were too wide in practice and too narrow in theory to be easily done away with. Finances and leadership questions are often reasons for splits in the churches, organizations and institutions. People have for many years successfully lived with their traditions, and for someone to come and wipe them away for purposes of 'political correctness' would be too taxing an exercise. The UELCSA wants to retain the right of their congregations to own private property and to call a pastor of their choice as they always have done. The ELCSA cannot imagine a bishop who serves for a term and then loses the position. Financial imbalances because of apartheid scare the UELCSA churches which may have to carry the salary responsibility of ELCSA pastors as well.

Although ELCSA and UELCSA jointly run the theological training institute called The Lutheran House of Studies in Pietermaritzburg and the Lutheran Conference Centre in Bonaero Park near Kempton Park, the unity talks have stalled. Scriba's reason for the stalling holds some truth. He argues: The dismantling of apartheid, the general election in April 1994 and the election of Nelson Mandela as the first black president of South Africa has eased the conflicts between the white and black churches. The unity talks have lost their immediate pressure and yearning as opposition to apartheid.⁵²

True, the conflicts between white and black churches have been eased but I maintain that the underlying reasons for the stalling of the unity talks are the ones mentioned above, stemming

⁵¹G. Scriba 1997 p.30.

⁵²G. Scriba, 1997 p.30.

from tradition of leadership and finances . The new political dispensation has made it possible for black christians to be tolerant of white christians' reluctance to be in one Lutheran church with them. Despite the fact that the obstacles to unity remain firmly in place, the Lutheran churches have a chance to unite more than ever. This is the *kairos*. No duress from LWF nor other church body forces them to come together except the Gospel and their common confessional creeds. A question to ask themselves is not "why should we merge?" but instead "why should we not merge?" considering all the favourable conditions coming with the 'season'.

Going back a bit to what Scriba pointed to as the reason for stalling the unity talks, I would like to look briefly at a few churches in South Africa which recently seized the opportunity of the *kairos* and united. The separate churches of the same name and historical background have been like the Lutheran family in South Africa divided mainly on racial lines. The new political dispensation ushered in the opportunity of reconciliation and a merger of those churches which have been kept apart by apartheid policies. Opening an article in *Challenge* the author, contrary to Scriba's assumption that the urgency of unity talks has been minimised, writes thus,

After the inauguration of a democratically-elected government in 1994, discussions for the union of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa (PCSA) and the Reformed Presbyterian Church of South Africa (RPCSA) were reopened at the initiative of the latter.⁵³

The article also mentions regret for failure to unite earlier and the acknowledgement that it will not be easy to unite. The envisaged outcome of the union coming from the General Secretary of RPCSA is that, "Union between the two churches will strengthen the witness of Presbyterians in the country by contributing towards national reconciliation and uniting people of different races"⁵⁴ The target date for the union according to the same issue of *Challenge* is 1999.

⁵³*Challenge* No.47 April/May 1998 p.8.

⁵⁴Ibid.

The Baptist family has also been divided on racial lines. The two churches, the Baptist Convention and the Baptist Union with one hundred and eighty delegates met from May 14th to 15th in Colesberg to begin according to *Challenge*, “a process of healing, restitution and reconciliation between the two bodies who have had major differences-- some of which are theological-- since 1987.”⁵⁵

One can clearly see that these church groups have realised that it is important to deal decisively with their differences so that the unity of the body of Christ may be realised above those differences. The unity of Christians transcends human differences, which are necessary given the diversity of cultures of people. Other churches in South Africa not mentioned here have either already merged or are in the process of doing just that.

Within the Lutheran family as already mentioned earlier, ELCSA and UELCSA are members of LUCSA while the LCSA has applied for observer member status and the FELSiSA has yet to apply. Included in this regional body are the following Lutheran Church formations:

- Evangelical Lutheran Church in Malawi (ELCM)
- Evangelical Lutheran Church in Zimbabwe (ELCZ)
- Evangelical Lutheran Church in Botswana (ELCB)
- Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN)
- Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Republic of Namibia (ELCRN)
- Evangelical Lutheran Church (ELCIN-DELK) German ELC in Namibia
- Moravian Church in Southern Africa
- Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (ELCSA)
- Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (ELCSA Natal-Transvaal)
- Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (ELCSA Cape Church)
- Igreja Evangelica Luterana de Angola (IELA)
- Igreja Evangelica Luterana em Mocambique (IELM)

⁵⁵*Challenge* No.49. July/August 1998 p.7.

These church bodies have a total membership of over one and a half million combined. Looking at LUCSA's constitution one realizes that it can be taken as the bases of unity of all Lutheran churches especially as pertaining to socio-political awareness and stewardship of God-given resources. The following two clauses under Article 2- Objectives can be developed to emphasise to the members the part of the Gospel which calls for Christians from all walks of life to love and care for their neighbours. They are:

2.3 To foster reconciliation, promote social and economic justice and human rights and responsibility for creation.

2.4 To promote stewardship and self reliance, encourage the sharing of resources and skills within and among member churches.⁵⁶

It should be appreciated from the onset by the Lutheran church bodies, those already within and those still without the LUCSA membership, that differences will continue. Common features to all of them remain their Lutheran heritage of Scripture alone and the Lutheran Reformation confessions as the LUCSA Constitution clearly states in its preamble. These are undeniably the most important factors which will unite Lutherans everywhere in the world. Matters of race and culture, leadership structures and finances are selfish human designs which can be changed by human will in the quest for unity. Compromise on the side of both blacks and whites side is inevitable for any lasting unity to be realised

2.3 The Lutheran Church in the Western Transvaal

Let us briefly look at how Lutherans came to the Western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana and how Lutheranism grew in those parts of South Africa. The geographical and political focus of the thesis is in these two areas. The Western Transvaal was actually an administrative area for black people, under the Bantu Administrative Board in the 1970s. It was formed by the area from the mining town of Carltonville west of Johannesburg and ended with Makwassie in the

⁵⁶LUCSA Constitution accepted by founding members on 17 May 1991 p.1.

west near the Northern Cape Province. It included places like Zeerust near the border of Botswana.

Bophuthatswana was a 'state' within a state of South Africa created by the apartheid government to 'gather' - as the name in the verb '*phutha*' in Bophuthatswana suggests - all Tswanas within South Africa into "their land" to govern themselves. This bantustan was created and declared a homeland in 1977, out of a number of pockets of towns, townships and villages occupied by Tswanas in the Western Transvaal, the Free State and the northern parts of the then Cape Province.

2.3.1 The Berlin Missionary Society

The Berlin Mission Society (BMS) established in 1824 in Germany did work in the Transvaal among the Pedis but also among the Tswanas and went as far west as Potchefstroom. This mission society is unknown to the west of Potchefstroom and in the broader Western Transvaal. Those congregations which were started by this mission society in the Western Transvaal were taken over by the urban diocese created by ELCSA during the merger of the different regional churches in 1975.⁵⁷

2.3.2 The Hermannsburg Mission Society and the ELCSA-WD

The Hermannsburg Mission Society (HMS) which was founded in 1849 by Pastor Ludwig Harms (1808-1865) in the small town of Hermannsburg,⁵⁸ entered the Transvaal (Tvl) from Natal and its first missionaries arrived in 1857 in the Zeerust area of the Western Transvaal

⁵⁷Magdeline Nzama, A Critical Analysis of the Foundation of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in South Africa (ELCSA) and its Impact on the Unity Talks Within the Lutheran Church in South Africa (Unpublished Bachelor of Theology thesis in University of Natal, 1994), p.17.

⁵⁸G.Scriba, The Growth of Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa (Unpublished, 1997), p.7.

where they began to work among the Batswana people.⁵⁹ Ludwig Harms was succeeded by his brother Theodor who later founded the Hannoverian Free Church Mission about which we shall deal below.

The HMS missionaries came to the newly-established Transvaal Republic of the Boers of the Great Trek, through President Pretorius' invitation. Chief Sechele of the Bakwena of Dithejwane⁶⁰ in Botswana had asked President Pretorius to make such an invitation. The Great Trek happened as a result of the influence the English had in the Cape Colony and the fact that the Boers wanted to govern themselves away from English people. According to the *Concise Dictionary of Historical and Political Terms*, the Afrikaners particularly complained about poor compensation after the abolition of slavery and about the influence of missionaries on British policy.⁶¹ The London Missionary Society (LMS) missionaries "were suspected by the Boers of practices in race relations incompatible with their own." Since the cause of the Great Trek (1836) from the Cape Colony was the discord between English and the Boer, the LMS was ejected in 1852 from the Transvaal.⁶² Twenty-eight years later the hostilities broke out into the First Anglo-Boer War (1880-81), about which T.H.R. Davenport writes nothing in his 3rd. Edition of *South Africa: A Modern History*. However Scriba does mention it.⁶³

The HMS took over the LMS work and "registered great success and rapid expansion,"⁶⁴ especially around Zeerust (Dinokana), Lichtenberg (Ga-Maloka), Rustenberg (Tlhabane, where the ELCSA-Western Diocese (WD) has its offices) and South-East Botswana (Ramotswa

⁵⁹H.Florin, *Lutherans in South Africa* (Durban, 1967), p.96.

⁶⁰ *Mosupa-Tsela* (Jan-Feb. 1998) ELCSA-WD Newsletter.

⁶¹Jacob Brits, *Concise Dictionary of Historical and Political Terms* (London, 1995) p.101.

⁶²H.Florin, *Lutherans in South Africa* (Durban,1967), p.96.

⁶³G.Scriba, *The Growth of Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa* (Unpublished 1997), p.15.

⁶⁴H. Florin, *Lutherans in South Africa* (Durban,1967), p.96.

and Kweneng). The expansion is also recorded by *Kgosi* L.K.Molete of the Bakolobeng in the short history of the Ramodiana Lutheran Church, “Congregations used to come by ox-wagon from as far afield as Klerksdorp, Wolmaranstad, Schweizer-Reneke and other areas for Holy Communion, Christmas and Easter festivals.”⁶⁵ This shows that the Lutheran congregation in Rooijantjiesfontein (Ramodiana Parish) started by Rev.H.W.Schulenburg who came from Ramotswa in 1871⁶⁶ had branches in and around Klerksdorp. Machaviestad of the Barolong ba Modiboa⁶⁷ used to be served by missionaries or pastors from Klerksdorp (one of whom was missionary Bernhard van Scharrel; we shall see his response to the Questionnaire in chapter 5).

Scriba omits to mention two German-speaking Lutheran congregations well-known in the Western Transvaal viz. Gerdau near Lichtenburg and Kroondal near Rustenburg. The German settler-congregations in South Africa, “were more independent, self-reliant, and had more congregational right to structure, e.g they had constitutional right to elect their own pastor.”⁶⁸ This independence and self-reliance are some of the issues which keep the white and black Lutherans apart up to the present day. Because the black Lutherans are not self-reliant as individual congregations but as a church body, individual rich white congregations are not in favour of a merger with poor black church bodies.

⁶⁵This document was written by Chief K.L.Molete of Bakolobeng tribe, and is in the file of the Ramodiana Parish kept in the ELCSA-WD office in Rustenburg.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷There are a number of Barolong. Those of Matlwang are of the Modiboa branch.

⁶⁸G.Sriba, *The Growth of Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa* (Unpublished,1997), p.8.

2.3.3 The Hannoverian Mission Society and the LCSA

Theodor Harms the brother of the founder of the Hermannsburg Mission Society succeeded his brother in 1878. When he disobeyed the “new church laws of the Hanoverian national church, which were influenced by the Prussian union church”⁶⁹ he was deposed as minister. In defiance rarely found among Lutherans in 1890, Theodor Harms “established the Free Church of Hanover with four other deposed pastors.”⁷⁰

Obviously the discord influenced the mission field of the HMS. The Free Church Mission later called Bleckmar Mission was established when “four pastors of German-speaking congregations and two missionaries left the Hermannsburg Mission”. Prominent among those who left the Hermannsburg Mission in 1894 was Heinrich Cassier (1863-1898). The Hanoverian Evangelical Lutheran Free Church Mission sent Wilhelm Wroggeman in 1896 to assist Cassier among the Tswanas in the Venterdorp and surrounding areas. Rev. Johannes Schnell (1872-1959) who became famous for assisting the Batlout to buy land came in 1897 and worked around Lichtenberg while stationed in Botshabelo.

According to a recent FELSiSA pamphlet, “the FELSiSA was founded in 1892. The descendents of German missionaries that were designated to spread the Gospel.”⁷¹ The German congregations aligned with the Free Church Mission subsequently called the Bleckmar Mission formed a synod called the Free Evangelical Lutheran Synod in South Africa (FELSiSA) which “constitutes some eleven congregations in the region Natal and Transvaal”⁷² but none in the Western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana.

⁶⁹ *ibid.* The Prussian Kaiser in pursuit of peace in his land ordered the Reformed and the Lutherans to be one Union Church, an order which was not accepted by the confessional Lutherans.

⁷⁰ Scriba 1997, p.8.

⁷¹ A ten-page pamphlet issued by the synodical council of the FELSiSA.1995.

⁷² G.Scriba, *The Growth of Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa*, (Unpublished,1997), p.9.

The Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (LCSA), which Scriba briefly refers to as the “Hanoverian Free-Church Mission,”⁷³ and which was originally called Free Church Mission, is the second largest black Lutheran church in South Africa after ELCSA with over 22 000 baptised members. The LCSA was constituted in 1967 subsequent to the mission work done first by the HMS and later after the split referred to above, the Hannoverian Free Church Mission (subsequently called Mission of Evangelical Lutheran Free Churches (MELFC)). While the ELCSA and the ELCSA (N-T) (mainly for Germans) belong to the ecumenical Lutheran World Federation (LWF), FELSiSA (mainly for Germans) and LCSA belong to a confessional International Lutheran Council (ILC).

The Bleckmar Mission, presently called Lutherische Kirche Mission (LKM) or Mission of Lutheran Churches (MLC) worked in Botshabelo (Putfontein) near Lichtenberg and Roodepoort near Ventersdorp in the Western Transvaal. The missionary Ernst Wilhelm Henning affectionately called Sekhutshwane expanded the mission work from Roodepoort to Potchefstroom, Stilfontein and the Klerksdorp townships. Missionary Schnell who succeeded Wroggemann in Botshabelo extended the work to the Reef, where Dr. Friederick Dierks later founded a church in Sophiatown. The first proper church building was dedicated in Roodepoort in 1908 by Missionary Schnell.⁷⁴

It should be noted that the missionaries worked with Tswana *bagogi* (elders/preachers) and elementary school teachers called *boMeester* to spread the Gospel and plant churches among the Tswanas in the Western Transvaal. Among the Africans who were co-workers (but not necessarily “*meesters*”) with missionaries M. Nitzke mentions: Thomas Modise, Michael Ramotsodi, Johannes Nape, Petrus Ramusa, Joel Ramasike, Abel Phiri, Gideoan Motlhabane, Abisai Kgokong, Samuel Kgokong, Samuel Sephai, Jairus Kgokong, Franz Makokoe, Franz

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ M. Nitzke, *Phuthego ya Roodepoort 1908-1983* (Unpublished booklet written in Setswana kept in Enhlanhlani Lutheran Seminary Archives, 1983) pages are not numbered.

Tsose, Andreas Ramusa, Fanuel Ramusa, Simon Ramusa, Andreas Ramasike, Paulus Pilane. Natan Mogale and Thomas Modise are the most-remembered of the “meesters”⁷⁵

The role played by unordained Africans in spreading the Gospel and church planting was not unique to Lutherans as mentioned in Philippe Denis’ *The Making of an Indigenous Clergy in Southern Africa*.

When the LCSA was constituted in 1967 in Roodepoort it elected a missionary of the LKM, Dr. Georg Schulz, to become its first bishop. When the forced removals in Western Transvaal commenced, the LCSA was already an established institution in Botshabelo and Mogopa. In Botshabelo a clinic, parsonage, evangelist house and church building were there while in Mogopa only a weak structure⁷⁶ existed. Reverend Titus Matlotleng Phogojane presently in Ikopeleng was pastoring Botshabelo during the resettlement of that village. The Roodepoort missionary Manfred Nietzsche and Rev. Hendrik Molefe of Goedgevonden (before it was removed) were pastoring in Mogopa.

The missionaries of the Gospel had a support group of farmers and artisans who came along with them to South Africa. Scriba and the FELSiSA pamphlet respectively confirms this point, “with arrival of the Hermannsburg mission and missionary settlers, German speaking congregations came into existence.”⁷⁷ Since farmers and craftsmen were sent out from Germany together with missionaries the German community grew and became well established. It is obvious from the names of farms, towns and cities that Germans, like many European nations wherever they went all over the world either as colonisers or as missionaries, had a nostalgic tendency of “Europeanising” places. Places like Wittenberg, Bochum, Stutterheim and Amsterdam are examples of familiar place names. The German missionaries and the settlers who accompanied them held tight to their culture. “As they

⁷⁵M. Nietzsche, 1983. *ibid*.

⁷⁶Interview Number DII in Appendix.

⁷⁷Scriba, 1997, p.8.

became independent of the mission, they founded their own German-speaking congregations,”⁷⁸ in order not to feel alienated from their Germanness.⁷⁹

The established settlers needed and found land and labourers for farming. In the rural South Africa of the nineteenth century land and cheap labour was in “good” supply. More about land acquisition and expropriation will be dealt with later in this thesis, but it can be mentioned that the German settlers quickly “learnt” from the Afrikaner Boers that blacks could be taken advantage of. Both the HMS and the LKM started in rural areas as Scriba and Florin agree respectively, “Harms emphasised its Lutheran and German heritage and rural background, later even accepting the ironical name given by some opponents, ‘Bauernmission=Farmers Mission’”⁸⁰ and “Compared to the Lutherans - who have been in the rural hinterland of Transvaal longer than any other missionary group - the Methodist and the Anglicans have earlier recognized the importance of the developing urban African townships.”⁸¹

Having seen that some Lutherans do choose silence when minorities are faced with hardships from the governments and having placed the Lutherans in an historical context in the Western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana, let us now see how the forced removals impacted on them and on other churches in South Africa.

⁷⁸ FELSiSA pamphlet, 1995.

⁷⁹Herald E. Winkler, *The Divided Roots of Lutheranism in South Africa* (Unpublished Master of Arts thesis in the Department of Religious Studies, University of Cape Town, 1989), pp.40-41.

⁸⁰1997, p.7.

⁸¹ Florin, 1967, p.71.

3. The Homeland Policy and its Impact on Churches

This chapter sets out to deal with the question of how land was expropriated through legislation from the rural blacks in the Western Transvaal with the aim of resettling them in the homeland of Bophuthatswana. It will also cover how the policy of forced removals impacted on the churches in South Africa.

3.1 The Homeland Policy and the Forced Removals

The starting point in this chapter is the arrival of the white people at the Cape from Holland in 1652 whose original aim was to establish a refreshment station for the passing ships on their way to and from the East. Later they decided to occupy the land for commercial purposes and permanently inhabiting it. I take it to be the starting point because previously the Portuguese and the Dutch used to sail by and occasionally anchor and traded with the San and Khoi people along the Cape coast but not to dispossess the locals of their land. The aim of the 1652 arrivals of settling was obviously to dispossess the rightful owners of their land. The indigenous people of the Cape who were not enslaved⁸² by the newcomers were forced to move in order that the new landowners could settle.

The discord between the English and the Boers (Dutch) at the Cape Colony due to Anglicisation in schools, churches, trade and anti-slavery laws culminated in the majority of the Boers undertaking what came to be called the Great Trek in 1836-1854.⁸³ Piet Retief, one of the leaders of the Great Trek wrote to the *Grahamstown Journal* to explain their decision to move from the Cape Colony. He wrote that they hoped that the British government would allow them to govern themselves without any interference. He further wrote in the same letter indirectly justifying the continuation of slavery:

⁸²T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History* (London, 1991), pp.22-24.

⁸³L. Thompson, *A History of South Africa* (London, 1990), p.89.

We are resolved, wherever we go, that we will uphold the just principle of liberty; but whilst we will take care that no one shall be held in a state of slavery, it is our determination to maintain such regulations as may suppress crime, and preserve proper relations between master and servant.”⁸⁴

The Boers on their arrival into the Transvaal and the Free State saw large tracts of unoccupied land thanks to the Mfecane wars (1817-1829), which had displaced indigenous people, “spread out on the grasslands on either side of the Vaal River, unaware of the power of Mzilikazi’s Ndebele kingdom and its aggressive strategy from its headquarters 120 miles west of modern Pretoria.”⁸⁵ Battles of land dispossession and resistance ensued between whites and blacks for many years thereafter.

Against much opposition, “by 1910, whites had conquered the indigenous inhabitants of Southern Africa”⁸⁶ and declared the united British colonies (Cape Natal) and Boer Republic (Orange Free State and Transvaal) a union of South Africa, starting what Thompson calls “The Segregation Era.”⁸⁷ Before looking at how this segregation was used to steal away land from blacks (in sub-section 3.2), let us take a short detour to see what land meant to the blacks, especially the Tswanas, before whites came to southern Africa.

⁸⁴Thompson 1990, p.88.

⁸⁵Ibid. p.88.

⁸⁶Ibid. p.163.

⁸⁷Ibid. p.154.

3.1.1 What the Land Means to Tswanas

For this section one cannot ignore Schapera's description of the meaning of land to Tswanas in his classic *The Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom*.

They erect their settlements on it, cultivate it, graze their livestock upon it, and hunt over its surface. They use its water for domestic purposes and for their herds and other flocks; they eat the wild fruits and other foods it produces, and make medicines from its vegetation; they convert its wood into fences, sleds, poles, rafters and various utensils, and its reeds and grass into thatch and basketwork; and they extract from it ornamental washes, the clay for their pots, and the earth for the walls and floors of their homesteads.⁸⁸

Without doubt this description depicts a total dependence of a people on land in a rural setting. Indeed villages under scrutiny in this paper though not one hundred percent similar to the Bechuanaland Protectorate villages of the 1920s when Schapera did his compilation, were still rural. However, it is amazing that Schapera omitted the fact that land to Tswanas holds great significance for their dead, just as it is in the case of other Bantu tribes.

The land was the livelihood and the “deadlihood” of black people. Graham Philpott and Phumani Zondi quote a man (a certain Mr. Zondi) who commented on the indispensability of land. “What does land mean to a black person? It is not just a commercial property. It is a place where my forefathers were buried and where I will be buried. Touch it and you touch me and my children and their children.”⁸⁹ Mr. Zondi is correct by denying the land to be a “commercial property” because pre-Colonial Africans were roaming the continent in search of good grazing for their livestock and moving away from unfavourable conditions for survival. No person owned land to sell because nobody could buy it. In the period of forced removals and

⁸⁸I. Schapera, *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* (London, 1937) p.196.

⁸⁹G. Philpott and P. Zondi, *Church Land: A Strategic Resource in the War Against Poverty*, (1998), p.2.

dispossession 1960-1983⁹⁰ black villages like Mogopa and Ga-Maloka had already discovered diamonds and commercial agriculture.⁹¹ Relocating them from their sources of livelihood was tantamount to low-intensity genocide.

As already alluded to above, the apartheid government systematically designed laws to legalise their agenda of relocating blacks from their land to places none of them wanted. A brief look at the legislations which justified the government's right to evict people from their land will help us see this systematic dispossession. Unfortunately what is legal is not necessarily right and moral. The whites won the day in their parliament - albeit temporarily because blacks are moving back to their lands - since they managed to put their grand plan of blacks living in the white areas only for purposes of rendering service to whites. Threats like "touch it and you touch me and my children and their children", did not materialise. The heavily armed police and army coupled with other inhuman tactics like demolition of schools, stoppage of bus services, sinking of wells and driving of the cattle of Matlwang village into restricted area to impose fines, made sure that villages moved.⁹²

An important fact about Mr. Zondi's statement above, is that as a Zulu person the newborn baby's *inkaba* (umbilical cord) and *umzanyane* (the afterbirth) are buried in the courtyard for a home birth. Zulu people as I know them when referring to their place of birth will say, "*Lapho inkaba yami yasala khona*" (where my umbilical cord was buried). Therefore land to African people is the alpha and omega, the beginning and the end, birth and burial. Without land, as described by Schapera above, there is no life. Land was always allocated to families and clans according to their need. It belonged to the tribe with the chief and his *lekgotla* (council) as custodians. For white people with unlimited power at their disposal land meant a commercial

⁹⁰ F. Wilson and M. Ramphele, *Uprooting Poverty: The South African Challenge* (Cape Town, 1989) p.216.

⁹¹ See *Kgosi* J.More of Pachsdraai and *Kgosi* K.L.Molete of Gannalaagte in Interview Number DI and BV in Appendices.

⁹²See interviews.

commodity that could be sold and bought and sold. The following sub-section deals with the manner in which the South African apartheid regime “lawfully” expropriated land from blacks.

3.2 Legislations on Land Expropriation and the Making of a Homeland

The Union of South Africa passed the 1913 Native Land Act in order to gather blacks in special areas set apart where they could. “govern themselves and nobody other than natives could acquire or hire land in those native areas (Reserves).

- 2.(1) As soon as may be after the commencement of this Act the Governor-General shall appoint a Commission whose functions shall be to enquire and report
- (a) What areas should be set apart as areas within which shall not be permitted to acquire or hire land or interest in land;
 - (b) What areas should be set apart as areas within which persons other than natives shall not be permitted to acquire or hire land or interests in land.⁹³

This law removed blacks (sharecroppers) from white-owned farms where they tilled the land and shared its produce with the owner. This system was, according to Pampallis, so profitable for blacks that whites who competed with them pressurised the Union of South Africa government to introduce the 1913 Natives Land Act.

Thousands of African tenants and sharecroppers were forced to become wage labourers for white farmers. Thousands more had to move to reserves where they could not get sufficient good land to survive from farming alone and so became migrant workers in the mines or elsewhere.⁹⁴

Africans addressed this sudden loss of tribal and individual land and livelihood, “by employing means which capitalised on this Law’s loopholes.” The most common method was to use a willing missionary as a dummy purchaser (i.e his name would be used on official documents)⁹⁵. Examples of this is found in the Ga-Maloka and Botshabelo cases with Schulenburg and Schnell

⁹³*Statutes of the Union of South Africa* (Cape Town, 1913) p.438.

⁹⁴J. Pampallis, *Foundations of the new South Africa* (Cape Town, 1991) p.25.

⁹⁵*Ibid.* p.71.

helping the Bakolobeng and the Batlounge tribes respectively. Africans' access to land shrunk and whites' gained greater access. "This Act set aside 7.5 per cent of South Africa's land as reserves, or 'scheduled areas', in which Africans (over 70 per cent of the population) could buy land."⁹⁶

The 1936 Native Trust and Land Act while consolidating segregation in the Cape Province by removing Africans (who by virtue of owning property could vote) from the voters' roll, added some land to the Africans' disposal⁹⁷. Now this additional "land - bringing the African share of the total land area up to 13 per cent - was to be bought by a government fund known only as the South African Native Trust and then incorporated into the reserves. Farms owned by Africans (who had purchased them before 1913) outside the reserves and surrounded by white-owned land were labelled 'black spots', 'the people who lived there could be forced to move to land adjacent to reserves, almost always of lower quality than their former land.'⁹⁸

It is exactly this scenario referred to by Pampallis which deals with the fact that indeed people in the Western Transvaal were forced to move in order to "erase" the black spots. Villages were mainly targeted through this law while later in 1950 the Group Areas Act relocated people in the urban areas to form separate places of abode for whites, for blacks, for coloureds and for Indians.⁹⁹

The 1959 Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act created homelands for different tribes of South African blacks. "In time, every African in South Africa was to become a citizen of one

⁹⁶Ibid. p.73.

⁹⁷Ibid. p.143.

⁹⁸Ibid.

⁹⁹Ibid. p.183.

of these 'homelands', and would thus be deprived of his or her South African citizenship; 'White South Africa' would then be left with no African citizens."¹⁰⁰

When Bophuthatswana opted for independence from South Africa in 1977, Tswana people from towns like Potchefstroom, Klerksdorp and Orkney, could no longer receive the South African identity books (Pass Books) on application. Instead they received the Bophuthatswana document called *Lokwalo Lwa Mosepele* (Travel Document). That is also how I became a Bophuthatswana citizen overnight when I went to apply for my Pass Book and received the Bophuthatswana document. Like many Tswanas who applied in Potchefstroom I was not asked whether I was making an application to be a citizen of Bophuthatswana or not. The implications of carrying such a document were also not explained to me. The whole process took place as if it was normal for one to be handed over to another "country" without one's volition.

The clearing of black spots (1936) and the creation of bantustans (1959) were the legal muscles behind the forced removals of Matlwang, Ga-Maloka, Botshabelo, Mogopa and other villages in the Western Transvaal. The churches which were already established in the form of congregations and church buildings, and socio-economic projects like clinics, schools and farming, definitely suffered set-backs due to these laws. The effects of these laws on churches will be looked into next.

3.3 The Impact of the Legislations on Churches in South Africa

The intention of this thesis is not to rewrite the history of the churches in South Africa, since a plethora of literature has already been produced to that effect, nor is it to paint a picture of the churches in South Africa as a homogenous entity. Besides the African Independent Churches, there are also mission churches, sometimes called mainline churches. James Cochrane writes about "The Role of English-speaking Churches" in *Servants of Power* while John W. de Gruchy

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p.186.

in his *The Church Struggle in South Africa* divides the churches in South Africa into Afrikaner Church/ English Church, Black Church/ White Church, Dutch Reformed Church and English-speaking Churches.

It is actually the English-speaking Churches and the Afrikaans-speaking Churches that captivate our interest in this thesis. I would include the Roman Catholic Church and the Lutheran Churches in the English-speaking Churches although de Gruchy gives them a separate sub-heading, because neither of them have been in the forefront of the struggle against racism in South Africa.¹⁰¹ Although Lutherans have not been as visible as other English Churches in the struggle against racism I include them in this category because they should have been on the side of the English-speaking churches considering their strong missionary endeavours among the African people. Though de Gruchy paints the involvement of the English-speaking churches as glorious, they had their limitations in advancing the struggle against racism until the South African Council of Churches and the international church body formations, e.g the World Council of Churches, intervened.

The conference convened by the Christian Council of South Africa (CCSA) at the University of Fort Hare in 1942 while the Second World War was raging on, showed that the mission-churches in South Africa were preparing for the future. They discussed ‘the task of the “Christian Reconstruction” after the war’. No action has been recorded of the collective planning of the churches prior to this conference. The Union of South Africa’s government had already made laws of discrimination since its inception in 1910. In 1949, four years after the World War II and a year after the National Party came to power, “the Christian Council convened another conference, this time at Rosettenville near Johannesburg. The theme on this occasion was, ‘The Christian Citizen in a Multi-Racial Society’”

¹⁰¹John W. de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa* 2nd.edition (London,1986), p.97.

It is clear from the two conferences of the CCSA mentioned above that the churches were ecumenically co-operating on denominational level to address the aftermath of World War II in the first conference. In the second one they dealt with the fact that the Nationalist Party was intensifying its discriminatory policies. Both conferences did not make any resolution on the land issue which was the major issue if one was to deal effectively with apartheid. Although the CCSA failed to deal with the issue of land in its conferences, the killing of sixty-nine people and the wounding of three hundred and sixty five others in 1960 in Sharpeville could not go unchallenged by the World Council of Churches (WCC). The Sharpeville Massacre as it came to be known, was too gruesome when compared to the stopping of anti-pass marches in other parts of the country on that day, 21 March 1960. The Conference near Johannesburg at Cottesloe on 7-14 December 1960 came together as a result of that peaceful march of unarmed Africans in protest against Pass Laws. This meeting convened by the World Council of Churches saw the Afrikaans-speaking member churches viz. The Cape and Transvaal Synods of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) withdrawing their membership, after Prime Minister Hendrick Verwoerd “expressed his personal grave displeasure with the actions of the DRC delegation.”¹⁰²

The hardships brought about by these legislations on the people directly affected all churches because church buildings had to be relocated in new settlements, and compensation was often inadequate when it was given. Congregation members were far removed from their workplace. The economic stability enjoyed in previous places could not be re-attained to support the churches' agenda. Of course church administration had to be restructured to fit in the dioceses and parishes into new geographical and political orders. The LCSA which used to have a diocese called the Western Transvaal, changed it to the Western Transvaal Bophuthatswana Diocese. Where a pastor was an itinerant, i.e serving several congregations but living only at one, the relocated congregations suffered the loss of pastoral services.

¹⁰²John W. de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa* 2nd. edition (London,1986), p.67.

In Bophuthatswana, a government-sponsored council of ministers of religion called Bophuthatswana Ministers Fraternal (Bomifra) was formed to debar the SACC from operating within the homeland. It was a propaganda mouthpiece of the Bophuthatswana government led by a cabinet minister, Rev. Simon Seodi, which encouraged support of the government by church members. The ruling party in Bophuthatswana was called the United Christian Democratic Party, a name aimed at giving a religious image to the Bantustan. The LCSA, in the minutes of its Church Council sitting on 29-30 November 1988 recorded on item 20.2: *Ikerike lakithi lirejistiwe eBophuthatswana*¹⁰³ (Our church is registered in Bophuthatswana). The people of Bophuthatswana came to see themselves as separate from South Africans even in the church. An example of this is an event I witnessed during a youth retreat held in Potchefstroom in 1990 for the Tswana-speaking dioceses of the LCSA. A debate about the legitimacy of the Bophuthatswana state cropped up unannounced. The youth from Bophuthatswana felt so much wronged that their “country” and president were openly criticised that they demanded a written apology for them to attend the LCSA’s youth retreats again.

The Methodist Church of Southern Africa (MCSA) suffered secession in the Transkei Homeland in 1978. The MCSA conference decided that the church was no longer going to send greetings to heads of states. The Prime Minister of the Transkei, Mr George Matanzima “saw this as an attempt to avoid giving recognition to his ‘republic’” and declared “the Methodist Church an ‘undesirable organisation’.”¹⁰⁴ A new Methodist Church was constituted under the chairmanship of Reverend Ferrier Fikeni who felt that the formation of a breakaway church was better than having no Church at all.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³LCSA minutes of 29-30 November 1988 p.3.

¹⁰⁴Balia, D. *Black Methodists and White Supremacy in South Africa* (Durban, 1991), p.93.

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

The churches became further and further divided because of the segregation legislations. The ones who suffered the most under the laws of dispossession were the AICs who often did not meet the stipulations for recognition by the state in order to have sites for building their churches. In the suburbs of Johannesburg many of the small Zionist-type AICs met under the trees in open velds because the legislations did not permit them to operate churches in the cities. The fact that within the AICs not many Africans were schooled, confusion about the implications of the laws was detrimental. The mentality of mainly the Zionist-type AICs, of not contaminating themselves with local socio-politics, further alienated them from the mainstream of ministers' fraternals¹⁰⁶ (which used English medium for business) where issues of apartheid laws and how to circumvent them for survival may have been discussed.

Still to be treated in this sub-section is how the legislations impacted on the churches as far as land dispossession was concerned. It is of paramount importance to see how the churches acquired their land before we try to establish how it was expropriated.

Land was acquired by churches for mission stations, church schools, hospitals, monasteries, convents etc. for the propagation of christianity and civilization. In other instances such land was donated or left in wills to churches. Philpott and Zondi in their widely-researched report mentioned four ways in which the church acquired its land, viz.

- i) Acquired by permission from the chief or king,
- ii) As a grant from the colonial government,
- iii) Through purchasing, and
- iv) Through donation.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶Makhubu, P. *Who are the Independent Churches?* (Braamfontein, 1988), p.98.

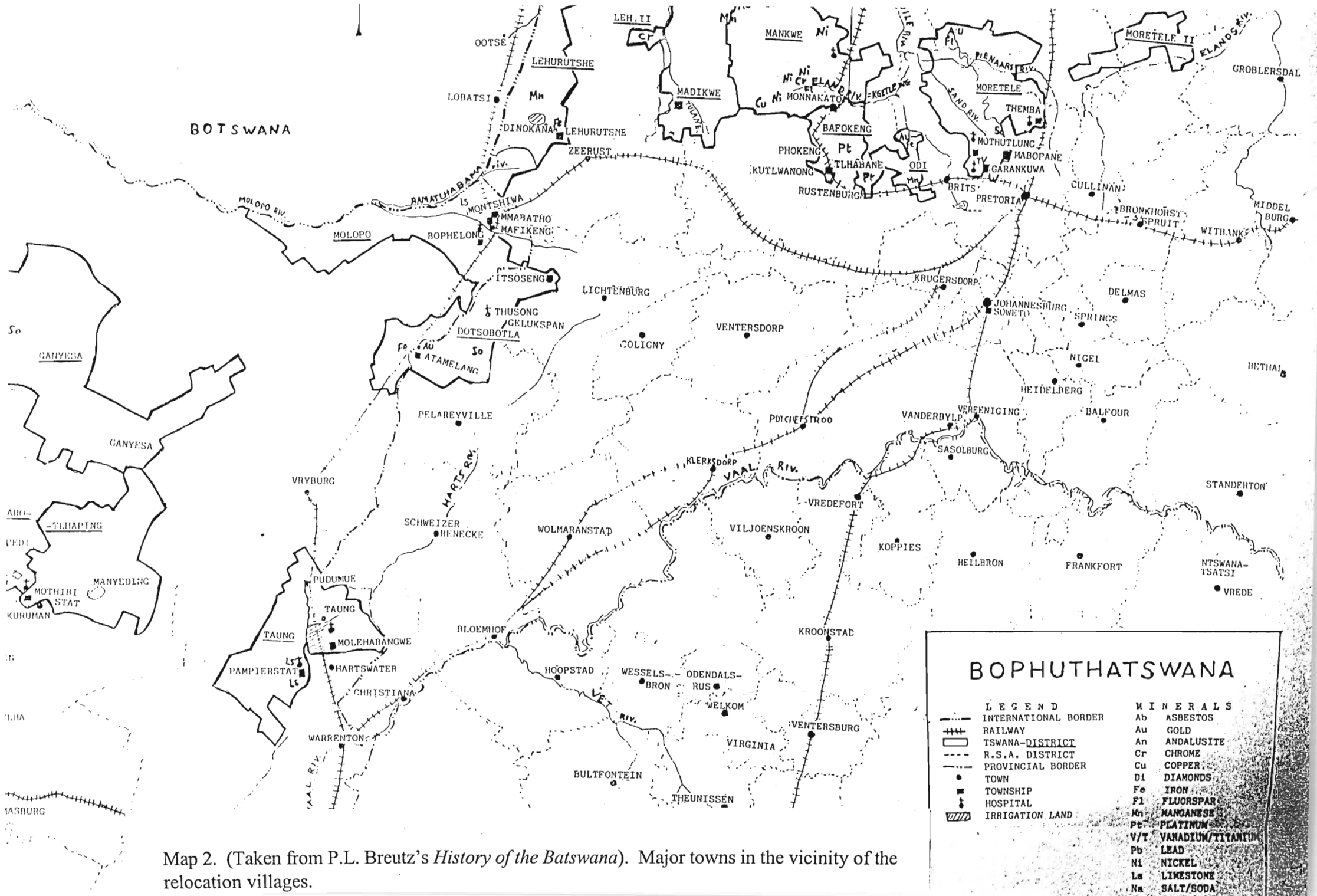
¹⁰⁷ Philpott and Zondi, 1998, p.12.

Though not providing broader cases Philpott and Zondi mention the fact that the legislations (in this case the Native Trust and Land Act No.18 of 1936) did have a negative impact on churches. They observed,

Some church land residents lost their right of occupation when the government implemented the Native Trust and Land Act No.18 of 1936. People who were now identified as squatters because they were not farm workers, were forcefully evicted from the land. Not all churches succumbed to the government pressure. There were those who resisted the implementation of the Act and they defended communities. However there were those who saw no alternative and complied with the state's instructions, with the result that people lost their right to occupation.¹⁰⁸

The following chapter will show us how the churches responded both in a positive and in a negative way during the Western Transvaal removals.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., p.12.



Map 2. (Taken from P.L. Breutz's *History of the Batswana*). Major towns in the vicinity of the relocation villages.

4. The Forced Removals in the Western Transvaal: four case studies

Let us now look at how the forced removals were conducted, their ruthlessness and their supposed goodness to those who were resettled. The next chapter will make reference to the responses made by Lutheran theologians and church leaders to the questionnaire and to the interviews in the case studies conducted with members of the resettled communities of Matlwang, Ga-Maloka, Botshabelo and Mogopa . The four case studies will illuminate what transpired behind the “smokescreens” put up by the government and its “agents”¹⁰⁹ in their justification of the removals in the Western Transvaal and other places in South Africa.

4.1 Forced Removals in the Western Transvaal

Unlike whites who may have been thoroughly consulted and properly compensated for their land when resettled, blacks never wanted to move away from their land as all the interviewees responded. To implement the laws already mentioned earlier, the government had to be deployed with the help of the army and the police force in resisting areas. Because of the unwillingness from the blacks, the removals cannot but be declared “forced”. One respondent to the questionnaire, Rev. Dr. Wilhelm Weber, reacted this way to the use of the word “forced”,

According to what I remember regarding Botshabelo there were those who after short negotiations with the government accepted to be moved to Ikopeleng. I have no information, at least I do not remember that force was used to move those who according to the practice of that time had received numbers¹¹⁰ for their homes when the removal was proclaimed. There were even those who came from neighbouring farms to get a number and to be removed together with those who had lived at Botshabelo for decades.

Homelands were attractive to those people who were going to be bureaucrats, business people, police people and army personnel. Those people from the white peoples' farms who were

¹⁰⁹One of them is Jörg Wilhelmy in his *Claiming My Beloved Country*, (Johannesburg, 1984).

¹¹⁰Numbers were painted on one door of each homestead for administrative convenience of those resettling the villages.

looking for a way out of their miserable lives on a farm could also be interested in moving. The same cannot be said about the legitimate owners of the land. The issue of voluntary removals is denied by the Transvaal Rural Action Committee in their publication *The Myth of Voluntary Removals* and needs further research. Some quarters, though, have made efforts to show how legitimate and philanthropic some resettlements were and insist that it is a misnomer to put a blanket name 'forced removals' on all of them.

Supporting this statement with some case studies Jörg Wilhelmy, a journalist from Germany, found the following as reasons for resettlement. He did not differentiate between the oppressors and the oppressed. For him all nations have at some stage gone through some resettlement. He gives the following points as good reasons for the resettlement:

- Decentralization of industry from big towns to homelands to have people work there.
- It would be easy to administer people of one language living in the same areas.
- People were removed to better places with sanitation.
- People from towns can live better in the midst of their tribes.
- To settle black people along South African borders threatened by terrorists.
- To make way for game reserves and dams.¹¹¹

The results of this grand plan, which sounds as if it were implemented to do blacks great justice when looked at at face value, brought only misery and endless hardships for Africans who relocated, as we shall see in the case studies in this chapter. "The resettlement schemes which we are dealing with here" writes Cosmas Desmond "have their origin in two of the requirements of the policy of separate development, namely, the clearance of 'Black spots' and the reduction of the urban African population."¹¹²

One can speak of the reduction of African population from urban areas but not of total eradication because blacks were contributing to the economy of the country centralised in the

¹¹¹Wilhelmy, J. *Claiming my Beloved Country* (Kenmare, 1984), pp. 2-3.

¹¹²Desmond, C. *The Discarded People* (Braamfontein, no date), pp.41-42.

urban areas. Africans were indispensable because they provided labour without which the industries could come to a halt. Therefore a separate development policy which led to the homeland policy was adopted. These policies aimed to keep in urban areas only those Africans who could provide labour. The plan of separate development came after the white government realized that they could not survive economically without their cheap labour. The divide and conquer strategy presented as separate development came into practice. The white supremacy mentality which cramped Africans into homelands, and urban “non-whites” into group areas, fell short of the Nazi’s three steps which led to the holocaust, viz.

- (i) You cannot live among us because you are a Jew,
- (ii) You cannot live among us,
- (iii) You cannot live.¹¹³

Reading and hearing about the atrocities meted out to blacks one shudders to consider how close to the third step (above) whites in South Africa were, through their legal but yet immoral means. Actually many people, mainly blacks, but also whites, Indians and coloureds suffered the third step; they were not to live. The whites who were exterminated by the agents of the apartheid regime suffered this fate because they refused to toe the line of the fanatical supporters of apartheid.

Let us look at the Western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana to see an antithesis to Wilhelmy’s thesis. First let me explain that in the title of this thesis and the sub-title Bophuthatswana only signifies the place to which the Western Transvaal people were being resettled. No Tswana was moved from Bophuthatswana, it would have defeated the agenda of the whole plan of consolidating homelands and of giving them self-government and “free” political activity there as entrusted in the Promotion of Self-Government Act of 1959 and The Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970.

¹¹³H. Bresheeth, S. Hood, L. Janz, *The Holocaust for Beginners*, (Cambridge, 1994) p.24.

The following cases will illuminate the methods used by the government to relocate people in the Western Transvaal, how they were betrayed both by their leaders and by the lawyers, what hardships they went through, and the role played by the Lutheran church formations in the process.

4.2 Four Case Studies

We shall look at four specific cases of forced removals in the Western Transvaal. The methodology to be employed does not deal with statistics but instead endeavours to find from the informants what they saw at that time of the removal as the activity of the church towards their plight. These case studies use the oral history methodology of conducting interviews, transcribing them and where necessary translating them into English. The oral responses will be used with the written sources to compare and contrast the information for verification.

The interviews are a small way of helping victims of the forced removals to tell their stories. Although the time I spent in Pachsdraai during my field work was very limited for me to make a strong argument about the therapeutic importance of sharing one's bad experiences, one of the interviewees, Mr Labuis Mompei, sought me in the village the day after I interviewed him. Mr Mompei just wanted to talk some more, even about his life on the farms. It was as if the time he had long waited for to talk had finally come. The case of Jacob More, chief of Pachsdraai, is slightly different. So many bad things have been written about him that he appreciated to be interviewed by someone who would listen and not necessarily make blanket statements without giving him a chance to tell his story, as many researchers on the Bakwena ba Mogopa case have done. He was so much cautious about what he tells that a historian of note will not do justice to the necessary reconciliation in the village by printing everything. I say the interviews are a small way because this thesis is not about forced removals *per se*, but instead is about establishing the Lutheran churches' response or lack of it, during and after the removals. The interviews will be appended at the end of the thesis not only for reference during the reading of this work but because they are part and parcel of the whole thesis and should therefore accompany it.

All informants interviewed went through forced removals and were all Lutherans during the removals except for the chief of Mogopa, *Kgosi* Jacob More (Interview Number DII). An exception was made in his case because unlike the other three villages, Mogopa had no Lutheran who was either a chief or an induna to complete the pattern of the informants. I have selected in each village three men of whom one is either a chief or an induna, and two women. Though one pastor Rev. Matlotleng Titus Phogojane and some church elders were interviewed, for the purpose of this study we shall not regard them as theologians and church leaders. Theologians and church leaders selected did not directly suffer the removals and their part in this study is to respond to the questionnaire which seeks to establish the reasons for the Lutheran churches' silence or collaboration with the government at the time of the removals. The responses from both theologians and informants will be synthesised. Cases will be looked into individually in chronological order of their removal i.e. Matlwang, Ga-Maloka, Botshabelo and finally Mogopa. The selection of these villages is based on the fact that two different Lutheran churches (ELCSA and LCSA), and two different Lutheran mission societies (HMS and LCM) worked in them. The ELCSA and the HMS worked in the first two villages of Matlwang and Ga-Maloka. The LCSA and the LCM worked in Botshabelo and Mogopa. Of course there were many other villages in the Western Transvaal which were moved to Bophuthatswana *inter alia* Magokgwane, Luka, Ledig, Mabaalstad where Lutheran churches were working. The fact that this thesis is reduced to be only in partial fulfilment of the degree forces me to limit the villages to four. I mentioned in the motivation that I was born in Matlwang and moved along with part of the tribe that went to Ikageng Location near Potchefstroom in 1968. In 1976 when the Bakolobeng ba Ga-Maloka were resettled from Rooijantjiesfontein to Gannalaagte I was living among them with my grandparents. I thus have a personal relationship with the removal of the first two villages.

I selected Botshabelo because it was the only village where land was purchased with the help of a missionary of the now LCM, Missionary Johannes Schnell. It was also the only village where the LCM operated a hospital and built schools in the Western Transvaal. Mogopa, the last village to be removed (1984) in the Western Transvaal, is interesting to study because a lot has been written about it. Both local and international media reported about the events surrounding the removals and condemned the South African government for forcing the Bakwena ba Mogopa to move. The churches at that time had already shed their timidity to challenge the state on its

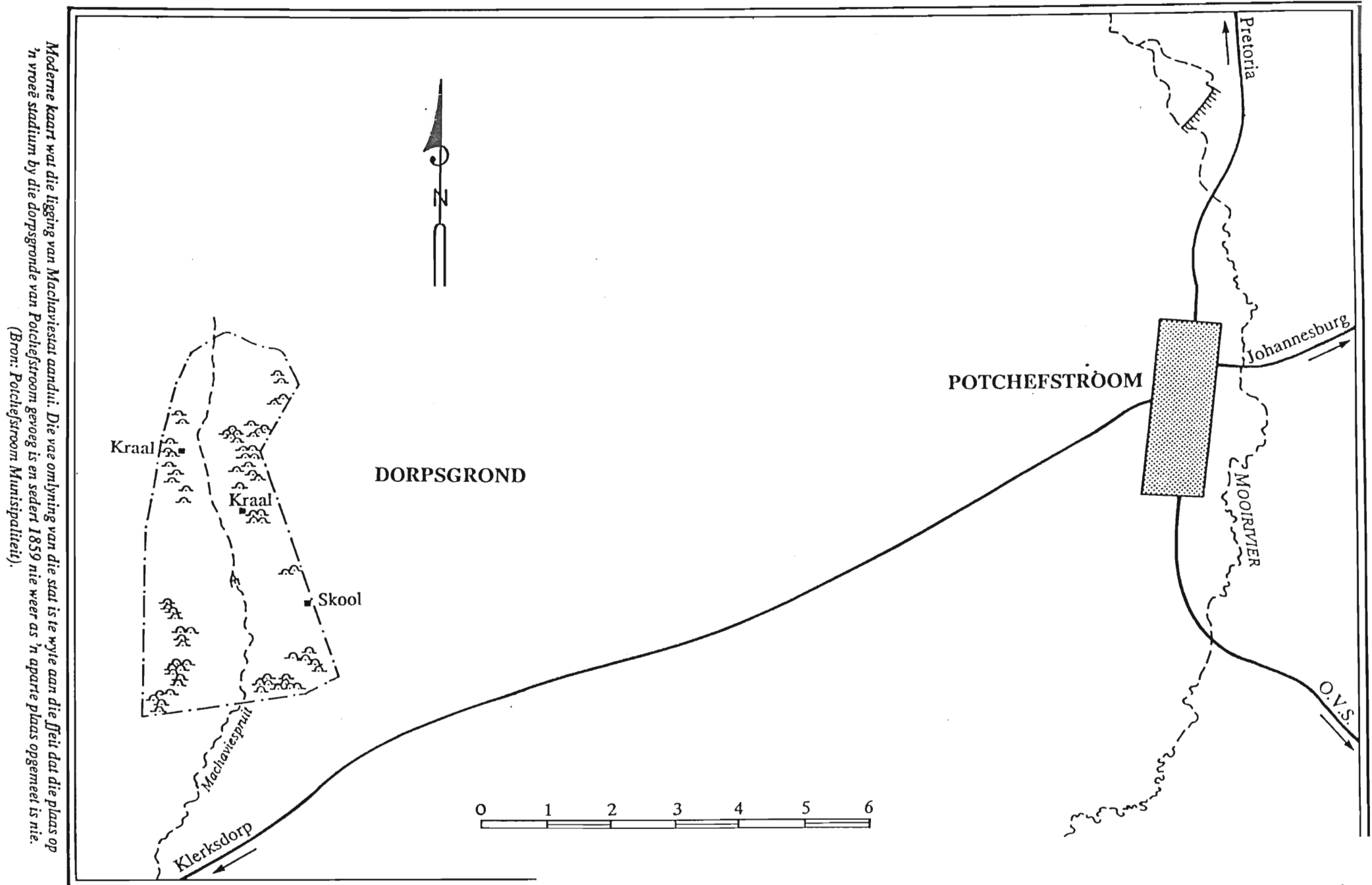
injustices. Mogopa was resettled when the SACC was a strong force to reckon with, and a militant political party, the newly formed (1983) United Democratic Front (UDF), had rekindled the spirit of defiance among the blacks against the government.

4.2.1 Matlwang: 1968 and 1971

The people of Matlwang had successfully, through courts of law, stopped the government from removing them from their land which they already owned in the nineteenth century. Missionary Bernhard van Scharrel who responded to the questionnaire as a church leader gives details which A. Fröchtling in her book *If the Colours of the Rainbow could Talk* and M. Gorekwang's interview in *Snuffelgids*, a weekly bilingual supplement to *Noordwes Gazette, Potchefstroom Herald, Carltonville Herald, and Noord Vrystaatse Gazette* (20-21 November 1997) and in Interview Number AIV (see Appendices) did not mention. He knew Matlwang to have been owned by the Boers who received assistance from the Barolong of Kgosi Matlabe in their fight against the invading Matabele. General Potgieter, one of the leaders of the Great Trek (after whom Potchefstroom was named), and the government bought the Polfontein and Driefontein farms from the Boers to give to Matlabe's tribe on 30 September 1874. Missionary van Scharrel in his response to the questionnaire mentions P.L. Breutz's series of ethnological works of 1957 which confirms, "*Die hele stam het saam met die sendeling Hansen vsnuit Matlabastad (Matlwang) op 30 September 1874 op Polfontein (Botswana) aangekom.*"¹¹⁴ The land was officially recognised as owned by Barolong ba Matlwang in 1885 through a so-called Pacht Contract between Andries Alson and Chief Quaga.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴P.L Breutz, *Die Stamme van Distrikte Lichtenburg en Delareyville*, Ethnologiese Reeks, nr.37 (Pretoria, 1957).

¹¹⁵Andrea Fröchtling, *If the Colours of the Rainbow could Talk...* 1998 p.216 and *Snuffelgids a supplement to Noordwes Gazette, Potchefstroom Herald, Carltonville Herald, Noord Vrystaatse Gazette* of 20-21 November 1997 p.12.



Moderne kaart wat die ligging van Machaviesat aandui. Die vae omlyning van die stat is te wyle aan die Jstii dat die plaas op 'n vroeë stadium by die dorpsgronde van Potchefstroom gevoeg is en sedert 1859 nie weer as 'n aparte plaas opgemeet is nie. (Bron: Potchefstroom Munisipaliteit).

Map 3. (Taken from G. Van den Bergh's article "Potchefstroom se eerste swaarwoonbuur: Machaviesat 1839-1888" in *Contree: Journal for South African urban and regional history* N 34 November 1993). Distance between Potchefstroom and Machaviesat.

Missionary van Scharrel¹¹⁶ in his response gives the exact location of Matlwang as “a scattered settlement on rental basis as I knew it; left side of the road from Klerksdorp to Potchefstroom (not Machaviestad).”¹¹⁷

The people of Matlwang were agrarian, basing their livelihood on animal husbandry and crop farming. Mr Morris Gorekwang, who led the resistance against the removal of Matlwang, still found his cattle-enclosure when the tribe returned to its land in 1995. It is through their cattle that the Potchefstroom authorities managed to weaken the people of Matlwang. Almost all informants of Matlwang in series A of the interviews spoke about cattle. One of them, Mr Buni Tsimane, said in Interview AI, “We had sticks but our efforts were concentrated on our cattle. While they were driving them towards town we were driving them towards the village.”

Responding to the question of hardships Mr Morris Gorekwang said, “They told us that we were not supposed to plough, they took our cattle.”¹¹⁸ Reiterating what Mr B. Tsimane said, he added, “The police drove our cattle into the ‘skiet’.”¹¹⁹ This reflects on the subsistence life of the Barolong, some of whom had of course taken employment in the neighbouring towns of Stilfontein, Klerksdorp and Potchefstroom.

¹¹⁶Reverend Bernhard van Scharrel started working in Matlwang on the 8th March 1964 based in Klerksdorp; information supplied by B.van Scharrel in his response to questionnaire.

¹¹⁷Machaviestad became an official name for Matlwang, some people have informally claimed that Machaviestad is a corruption of Matlabe, an ancestor chief of the Barolong ba Matlwang. G. van den Bergh in endnote 4 of his article “Potchefstroom se eerste swaartwoonbuurt: Machaviestat 1839-1888 (Potchefstroom’s first black settlement: Machaviestat 1839-1888), writes that he uses the name Machavie as the name given to Chief Matlaba by whites because it sounds related to the village’s name. *Contree: Journal for South African urban and regional history*. No.34 November 1993.

¹¹⁸Mr M.Gorekwang in Interview Number AIII.

¹¹⁹In Interview Number AIII, ‘skiet’ is an area where cattle will be pounded if they stray into.

It is not clear from the evidence available to us when exactly the problems of the Barolong and their land began. The author of the *Snuffelgids* article on Matlwang mentioned above writes,

It was a battle that started as early as 1905 when a residing magistrate ruled that the 'Pacht Contract' between Andries Alson and Chief Quaga of January 1, 1885 was said to be only of 'historical value' and claimed that the document has expired as the original dwellers at one time left Machaviestad and the ground became 'crownland'. A fact strongly, but futilely, denied by the Barolong and from 1905 they were living 'at the convenience of the Town Council'.¹²⁰

Still on the beginning of the Barolong's problems, Mr Dudu Modise who was a teacher in Rooigrond narrated to Andrea Fröchtling thus, "Our problems began in 1937. We were told that we must leave our land."¹²¹ On the other hand Mr Morris Gorekwang said the reason for the 1935 threat of removal was because the "Department of Defence wanted the land for training,"¹²² though the tribe was not moved at that time. In 1959 people were again informed that they were going to be moved. The village people delegated Mr Morris Gorekwang who at that time had only passed Standard Three, to take their case through the lawyers up to the Supreme Court in Bloemfontein, where the case was decided in their favour on May 22, 1961 by Judge JNC de Villiers, assisted by Judges Hoexter and Beyers.¹²³

Despite winning the battle the Barolong suffered so much that they eventually had to leave their land. Mr Dudu Modise adds this regarding the hardships, "People were arrested for ploughing 'against the law' and cows were taken away and locked up. People with jobs were fired and those without jobs were arrested. Then the schools and churches were closed. All these things happened from 1961 to 1971."¹²⁴

The scenario above should be seen within the context of a police State where repression was an uncamouflaged agenda of the government. When exactly did the hardships of the Barolong ba

¹²⁰*Snuffelgids a bilingual supplement to Noordwes Gazette, Potchefstroom Herald, Carltonville Herald, Noord Vrystaatse Gazette* of 20-21 November 1997 p.12.

¹²¹Andrea Fröchtling, *If the Colours of the Rainbow could Talk...*, 1998 p.215.

¹²²*Snuffelgids*, 20-21 November 1997 p.12.

¹²³*Snuffelgids* 20-21 November 1997 p.12.

¹²⁴A. Fröchtling 1998 p.215.

Modiboa begin? Some people like Dudu Modise told Andrea Fröchtling¹²⁵ that they began in 1937 when the the Barolong lost their contract and remained only with a word of mouth that the Boers had signed the contract with the Barolong ancestors giving Matlwang to them. Those who were moved in 1959 take that year as the starting point of their hardships. Those who remained point to 1968 to 1971 as the time when they had to endure the brutality of the police because the South African government was focused on uprooting them from Matlwang. Different people saw their hardships differently at different times. What remains though, which is of significance to this paper, is that the Barolong people, some of whom were Lutherans did experience hardships before, during and after their series of removals. The problems mentioned by the Barolong people, especially by Dudu Modise, could have been experienced by blacks anywhere in South Africa between 1961 and 1971. The Natives Consolidation Act of 1945, the Group Areas Act of 1950, the Bantu Education Act of 1953, and the Pass Laws Act were firmly in place and the police and the army as the apartheid government machinery had unlimited power to harass and arrest the Barolong. Since it was the Potchefstroom Town Council which was interested in the land of Matlwang, it made resources available to its municipality police to wreak havoc in Matlwang.

The first group which moved from Matlwang was settled in Matlwang ward in Ikageng. Ikageng was a new township near Potchefstroom created for the Africans who used to live with whites, Indians and coloureds as neighbours in Makweteng and Klopperville in Potchefstroom. Through the Group Areas Act of 1950 Indians were moved to Mohadin, coloureds to Promosa and Africans to Ikageng. The reason for those who moved from Matlwang to Ikageng was that, “They were afraid of the army, they also lost hope and moved into the location in 1960.”¹²⁶

Rev. Bernhard van Scharrel¹²⁷ only came to Matlwang and conducted his first service there on 8 March 1964, about three years after the first group had left for Ikageng. When the matter of the removal was intensified in 1968 he did the following, “I enquired at the authorities in

¹²⁵Ibid.

¹²⁶Interview Number AIII in Appendix.

¹²⁷B.van Scharrel was a missionary of the Hermannsburg Mission Society in the Transvaal.

Potchefstroom why the people were not given notice to end their rent¹²⁸ and move. The answer was as follows: The army needed a larger area for practising with its heavy artillery.”¹²⁹

Let us look at what the informants said in relation to Missionary van Scharrel’s responses. All of them unanimously responded that the church did nothing to help. There were Anglicans, Methodists and, of importance to this thesis, Lutherans. I am not aware if other churches did anything more than Lutherans in opposing the removal. It is commendable to see that Missionary van Scharrel went to the authorities to enquire and plead on behalf of the tribe. It is a foregone conclusion that his pleading did not render the desired results. The tribe ended up moving from Matlwang.

People who did not want to move into Ikageng moved to a semi-urban area called Itsoseng near Lichtenburg, which later became part of Bophuthatswana when it opted for independence in 1976. A large number of the tribe moved into Ikageng and those who remained went to ask asylum from the Barolong bo Ratshidi¹³⁰ in Mafikeng who settled them in Rooigrond south of Mafikeng. Strange as it is, none of those who went to Rooigrond was a Lutheran. It is possible that the HMS may have advised Lutherans to go to Ikageng Location where a church led by their pastor Missionary van Scharrel already existed. Most of those who went to Rooigrond were Methodist. The Methodists supported the school in Rooigrond by subsidising the teachers along with other partners.¹³¹

According to the informants, at the time of the removal there was ignorance that churches could help in an event when the tribe was facing hardships. Yet Mr Morris Gorekwang mentions that the Roman Catholic Church helped by providing school teachers and books even when the

¹²⁸Van Scharrel was either under a false impression or misinformed that people of Matlwang were renting the land they were living on.

¹²⁹Written by van Scharrel in response to questionnaire.

¹³⁰There are many groups of Batswana who fall under the ethnic category of Barolong. P.L Breutz in his recent book *History of the Batswana* (Ramsgate,1987) dedicated the whole of Chapter V to Barolong. Barolong bo Ratshidi of Mafikeng are treated in pp.112-125.

¹³¹ Andrea Fröchtling, *If the Colours of the Rainbow could Talk...* 1998 p.220.

government had stopped them from so doing.¹³² Though the school was later destroyed, the Roman Catholic Church had, in the midst of opposition from the government, rendered a very valuable service.

The Matlwang community's ignorance at that time was also prevalent in other villages. For them and others there was no structure that could oppose the white regime. They therefore could not go to the churches and attempt to mobilise help. One could only seek help where one thought it could be found. However, this does not in anyway exonerate the Lutheran Church from complaisance and lack of vigilance.

It should be emphasised that despite the fact that the Lutheran and other churches operating in Matlwang were caught unprepared by the forced removals, the vigilance of the SACC (and its initiative to form the Covenant and Land Programme in 1985) helped the communities dispossessed of their land. Through the work of Dr. Wolfram Kistner, a Lutheran who was the director of the Justice and Reconciliation Division of SACC, Christians in Europe and North America became partners with dispossessed communities in South Africa. The partnership tried to fight for peace and justice especially on the issue of land. The following is a part of a draft forming the basis of their covenant:

We want to assist all communities threatened by forced removals by prayer and action. We want to support the victims of the policy of forced removals as our sisters and brothers as far as we are able. We want to undertake activities which bring to an end the inhuman policy of forced removals as a first step towards the complete abolition of Apartheid in South Africa. In so doing we support powers resisting the present regime of Apartheid as well as resisting the economic, political and cultural forces in our own countries which support 'Separate Development'. We want to create a 'network', enabling people in South Africa and overseas to establish regular contacts by letter, pictures and visits. As individuals and as a group we want to be responsible for the fulfilment of this covenanting commitment to Jesus Christ, the living Lord of history and our churches. In fulfilling this COVENANT we trust the grace of God.¹³³

¹³²Interview Number AIII in Appendix.

¹³³Andrea Fröchtling, *If the Colours of the Rainbow could Talk...* 1998 pp.143-144.

This draft has been quoted in length so that its implications should be understood because it came at a time when the churches really needed catalysts to move them into action. The draft was an intervention from the churches who wanted to transcend the popular mentality which existed at that time in the international community, that sanctions and disinvestment needed to be discouraged for the good of the poor and oppressed in South Africa. The draft shows that Christians could and should help, irrespective of their distance from the people who need help. All help was welcome no matter how small or from what quarter it came. The church had to be mobilised to assist the dispossessed, the incarcerated and the poor and oppressed people especially those in rural areas. South Africa, at the time the draft was prepared, was in a state of unmatched repression because the state wanted to calm the strong and militant United Democratic Front (UDF) and its Mass Democratic movement which was militating for a change in the running of the country. The Covenant and Land Programme helped the villagers through the SACC's structures to survive and bring their cases to the authorities.

A certain number of churches overseas "adopted" dispossessed communities through the Covenant and Land Programme of the South African Council of Churches to support them as part of the draft clearly states above. The Barolong ba Modiboa were connected to a group of Christians in Lübeck, Germany. Mr Johannes Ntsimane when asked about the Lübeck connection said, "Lübeck is the organization which helped them with tents, soups and other things."¹³⁴ The Lübeck partners besides providing food, clothes, blankets and prayers, also mobilised people in Germany to oppose apartheid hegemony and wrote letters of protest to South African and Bophuthatswana authorities: on 2 April 1986 to Chief L.M. Mangope of Bophuthatswana; on 3 April 1986 to Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the minister of Co-operation and Development; on 18 April 1992 to the Potchefstroom Town Council to mention but a few quoted by Andrea Fröchtling in her "If the Colours of the Rainbow could Talk..."¹³⁵

One cannot claim to have done justice in this case without mentioning the contribution made by Dr. Wolfram Kistner and his staff at the SACC. He was instrumental in getting the Covenant and

¹³⁴Interview Number AIV in Appendix.

¹³⁵For a list of Covenant partners see A.Fröchtling's book of 1998 pp.303-306.

Land Programme off the ground. He tirelessly visited Rooigrond and Matlwang under very trying situations like when the Barolong were disturbed by a farmer while they were having a meeting in Matlwang under the guise that they were cleaning the graves. Rev. Dr. Kistner and the Lübeck partners' involvement in the Matlwang case refutes the idea that all Lutherans were silent during the removals. Of course Lutherans who were near to where it was happening did not act and speak out as a church against the removals. Instead of siding with the Matlwang plight some elders in the ELCSA congregation in Ikageng discouraged the announcements pertaining to Matlwang issues during the congregation's announcements slot. The Lutheran Church could have done more.

In 1995 the Barolong ba Modiboa legally re-occupied their land in Machaviestad. Victory, made possible by the intervention of the churches, happened. Fresh challenges of reconstruction of the village's infrastructure awaits the poor but determined Barolong. The Lutheran Church has a role to play. With renewed and absolved spirit it can take its rightful place as part of a church militant among the Barolong in Matlwang. The key issue is survival and the remedy is a theology of survival based on action.

4.2.2 Ga-Maloka: 1976

The Bakolobeng people, very successful in crop farming especially maize, and in animal husbandry especially cattle, were moved from their land. Their village comprised three farm divisions in a big patch of land administratively called Rooijantjiesfontein. Rooijantjiesfontein is situated near Coligny between Lichtenburg and Gerdau. In his brief history of the congregation of Ramodiana, Chief Kelly Modikwagae Molete wrote about how the tribe came to settle in Rooijantjiesfontein:

As the Trekkers began to assert their occupation of land they were later forced to move further west. When Ramadingwana died he was succeeded by Kgosi Kgosi who settled the tribe at Rooijantjiesfontein south of the present Lichtenburg, which they were then constrained to buy if they were to call it their own.¹³⁶

Christianity was brought to Ga-Maloka by a missionary named H.W. Schulenburg who was at that time from Ramotswa near Gaborone in the then Bechuanaland. He was originally from Germany. Though he arrived in 1871 the church which later became ‘an important centre of Christian revival in the far western Transvaal’ was only built in 1881, ten years after his arrival.¹³⁷

The situation in Ga-Maloka as I could see it during my two-year stay there was that every family had cattle. Even school-going boys from Standard Two had a cow or two of their own. Since the Bakolobeng tribe took education seriously, school-going boys alternated to look after the cattle on a daily basis. One out of three to five boys would take one day of the school week to look after the combined three or five herds while the other boys attended school. After a year each boy will have a calf of his own as an encouragement to continue looking after the cattle and later to becoming a cattle farmer.

¹³⁶Unpublished one-page typed history of Ramodiana Parish kept in Tlhabane near Rustenburg, in the ELCSA-Western Diocese Archives.

¹³⁷Ibid.

Coming to crop farming, every family had one field or more where it cultivated maize, or sunflower, sometime even beans. There was no field smaller than three soccer fields in size. Situated within the Maize Triangle, the Ga-Maloka people produced tons and tons of maize. Speaking about the prosperity of the village before it was forced to move, *Kgosi* Molete said that there were over one hundred tractors in the village. He said that their maize loads competed with those of white neighbouring farmers at the Gerdau granaries.¹³⁸ Those families which did not have their own tractors for ploughing paid those who ploughed for them in cash or in kind, mainly like sharing the harvest. Often those were the families whose breadwinners were employed in and around Johannesburg.

As already mentioned earlier, education was treasured by the Bakolobeng people, and they had three schools viz. Ramadingwana- a junior primary, Logaga- a senior primary and Bakolobeng- a junior secondary, before they were forcefully resettled to Gannalaagte. Children from neighbouring farms and villages came to school in Ga-Maloka. Before the junior secondary was established students from the village went to schools far away from the village. This information is meant to paint a picture of Ga-Maloka and its community as a determined and prosperous settlement before their removal to Gannalaagte.

The nearest town to Ga-Maloka which also served as the magisterial seat of Bakolobeng was Lichtenburg. Gerdau was a small German town where the villagers walked for basic necessities. There was also a large store in the village run by the only Indian family in the village, the Mustaphas.

The Lutheran church as mentioned above worked among the Bakolobeng from 1871 and remained the only church in Ga-Maloka for many decades. Later the Anglican Church became the second and last church to have a church building before the removal. The Zionist and the Apostolic churches operating in the village used private houses to conduct services until the village was forcefully removed by the government.

¹³⁸Chief K.M.Molete in an informal talk after Interview Number BV.

The first attempt by the government to expropriate the Rooijantjiesfontein tribal land under Chief Boas Molete was done in 1936 by means of the Native Land and Trust Act of the same year. The tribe was to be moved to Siberia near Mareetsane in today's Northwest Province.¹³⁹ That threat was not followed up immediately. *Kgosi* Molete responded that, "The tempo was increased from 1948. This was part of the apartheid policies to divide South Africa into black and white."¹⁴⁰ The threat of 1936 which was not followed up was revisited as the 'clearing of black spots' in the 1970s. Mr Elijah Molete, one of the five informants of Gannalaagte, said that in 1974 he read in the newspapers about the coming removal of Ga-Maloka and therefore thinks that the removal did not come unexpectedly.¹⁴¹ The question is how the Bakolobeng prepared themselves to stand against the pending resettlement.

Chief Molete attested that resistance was put up through legal means but it did not yield the desired results. Mr E. Molete thought that a Mr. Bosman, whose services were employed by the tribe, turned out to be one untrustworthy lawyer. Mr Molete says, "Now since Bosman was a white man he did not help us at all. Bosman did not help at all, I think he was given something from the other party."¹⁴²

The village was finally moved in September 1976 with no meaningful resistance from either the tribe or the church. Reverend Heinrich Voges¹⁴³ responded to the questionnaire that the Lutheran church operating in the village during that time was the Hermannsburg Mission Society Tswana Region (from 1957) and the ELCSA-Western Diocese (from 1975). Missionary Bernhard van Scharrel was spiritually responsible for the old Ramodiana Parish of the newly formed national body ELCSA in the Western Diocese (WD) formerly known as Hermannsburg Tswana Region. Both the former and the outgoing bishops of this region (ELCSA-WD) D. P. Rapoo and E. R. Tisane respectively, thought that van Scharrel was suited to answer my questions

¹³⁹Mrs E. Tube and Chief K.M. Molete in Interview Number BIV and Interview Number BV respectively.

¹⁴⁰Chief K.M. Molete in Interview Number BV in Appendix.

¹⁴¹Mr E. Molete Interview Number BIII in Appendix.

¹⁴²*Ibid.*

¹⁴³Heinrich Voges was a lecturer at Marang Lutheran Theological Seminary near Rustenburg. He replied to the questionnaire in a letter dated 16 September 1998.

satisfactorily since he worked both in Machaviestad and in Gerdau near Ga-Maloka. They were convinced he knew most of the details pertaining to Lutherans and their response or lack of it against forced removals. He responded to the questionnaire by recording the events on the eve of the removal in this manner,

In 1976 I participated in the meeting of the Lekgotla with a commission of the government because I was spiritually responsible for the congregation. It was hard bargaining. Only after many tough negotiations the Lekgotla and Kgosi were ready for the area which was selected for them and which was almost three times the size of their tribal area. Furthermore, the members of the tribe were compensated with money and with the right to have their possessions transported free of charge. This is how this location was made possible. It was thus not a forced removal, but an agreed settlement with full compensation of damages.¹⁴⁴

Obviously van Scharrel saw events from a perspective different from the rest of the Bakolobeng respondents. He seemed to have assumed that when matters were official, they were automatically correct and honest. He seems not to have been aware of the subtle manner of white government officials' foul play in matters regarding "ignorant" blacks. The fact that people are moved from their own land about which they never complained to anyone, to be given land three times their land's size would have been reason enough for him to suspect foul play. Bakolobeng respondents differ with van Scharrel as far as "voluntary" removal and full compensation is concerned. Chief K.L. Molete gave in to the resettlement because he feared that the tribe might be divided. He defended this position and said, "I myself was deadly against the removal. But I knew that as a chief when I try to stand against it, they would just remove me and put someone else and the tribe will go because it had already yielded to the spirit of removal. I did not have power to resist it."¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴B. van Scharrel's response to the questionnaire in a letter dated 14 September 1998.

¹⁴⁵Interview Number BV.

Mr M.Tlhale on the myth of “voluntary” removal responded by saying,

We did not choose to move. It happened around the days after they came to announce that we were moving. They fetched us and showed us this place this side. This was the place we were moving to. But we still did not agree. We said that this is a place full of water and not a place to live in, but they insisted that they are moving us.¹⁴⁶

On compensation, contrary to what van Scharrel said above, Mr. Elijah Molete said, “Compensation for houses? That money for the houses...they did not compensate us adequately, they were just paying out carelessly. For my house they paid R700,00.”¹⁴⁷

Though free transport was provided by the government to move the Bakolobeng tribe to Gannalaagte, they were under-compensated if Mr. Elijah Molete’s figure above is correct. Free transportation from the government was imperative, given the fact that the Bakolobeng people never wanted to move in the first place. Van Scharrel overlooked the fact that the “agreement”, if there was any, was between the oppressor and the oppressed in an unjust society. The government of the whites could do whatever it wished with blacks. About two months before they removed the Bakolobeng tribe from their land, its police force had started killing innocent and unarmed black students in Soweto in what came to be known as June 16. The killings came as result of students peacefully marching in protest to the use of the Afrikaans language as a medium of instruction and demanding instead to be instructed in English. Intimidation did not end with empty threats, it was extended to real killing in order for the apartheid government to have its way. Many white people along with Missionary van Scharrel had not yet seen this side of the government which wanted to stay in power against all odds.

Before we close the part on the response of the Lutherans in the Ga-Maloka’s removal we should see how the HMS dealt with matters of removals in Natal. It will make our perspective clearer and even help us to understand the premise from which van Scharrel was operating. The HMS had earlier been faced with a situation in Natal where they had to make a decision in matters of forced removals. As a response to the questionnaire Heinrich Voges sent me copies of three

¹⁴⁶Mr M. Tlhale a member of *Lekgotla* in Interview Number BI.

¹⁴⁷Interview Number BIII, Mr E. Molete expected R2.000,00 for his house.

letters written by Lutheran Church leaders about the removal of “squatters” from mission farms in Natal in 1962.

Reverend F. Scriba clarifying the position of the Hermannsburg Mission Society in the removal of the African squatters from mission farms wrote to Reverend Superintendent E. Fogelquist. His letter was a reaction to articles in two newspapers, the *Natal Mercury* and the *Sunday Times*. The *Natal Mercury* of October 1, 1962 had an article with the heading ‘Talks on Mission Africans’ Future’. After writing that he was not interested in politics in the opening paragraph, he went on to distance the HMS from any opposition to the removals by the Department of Bantu Affairs. Instead he promised to co-operate if Africans’ request of adequate alternative places were heeded. He wrote,

If the Bishop refuses co-operation with the Department he can do so only in the name of the Church of Sweden Mission or in the name of other Missions who joined in protest and refusal. Our Mission has declared its position in saying that we would co-operate, if requests of our people are considered and realised.¹⁴⁸

The second of the three letters in question was written on 11 October 1962 by the General Manager of HMS T.F.R. Otto to the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner based in Pietermaritzburg. The letter was distancing the HMS from the protest and memorandum from Natal Christian Council written against the forced removals. He wrote, “These reports are somewhat misleading and give the impression that the Hermannsburg Mission, too, has joined this protest.”¹⁴⁹ Referring to the memorandum he wrote, “Kindly also note that my Mission is not in agreement with the contents of the memorandum dated 24th August 1962, from the Natal Christians, a copy of which was also forwarded to your Minister.”¹⁵⁰

In a letter dealing with the same issue the Chairman of the Co-operating Lutheran Mission (CLM) who is from the HMS, wrote to Superintendent Hj. Astrup (sic.) the Chairman of the

¹⁴⁸Letter from Rev.Supt. F.Scriba to Rev.Supt. E.Fogelquist of Dundee, dated 5 October 1962. All the three letters in this chapter are kept in privat archives of Reverend Heinrich Voges.

¹⁴⁹Letter from T.F.R.Otto to the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner dated 11 October 1962.

¹⁵⁰Ibid.

CLM based in Durban. He also mentions the political nature of his Mission in his last paragraph and his sympathy for the squatters saying,

We came to the conclusion that we are in this situation not in a position to participate in any declaration regarding the removal of squatters. We would very much like to, but in a realistic way, help the members of our Mission's congregations on the Mission farms, but we do not want to be drawn into the public contest of the oppositional political parties against the Government. We are still of the opinion that Churches and Missions should not interfere in party-political disputes.¹⁵¹

All three letters indicate a fear of reprisals from the Government. The HMS Executive Committee felt responsible for the congregation members of their Mission on Mission farms, but their conviction was that "Churches and Missions should not interfere in party-political disputes." The HMS took this unfortunate position in Natal in 1962. In the Western Transvaal more than ten years later they were faced with a similar but not necessarily identical situation. Unlike in Natal, the HMS did not own the land of Matlwang and Ga-Maloka but did mission-work in those villages bought by the tribes.

Their non-interference in "party-political disputes" attitude may have influenced Missionary Bernhard van Scharrel and other missionaries and black national pastors after them, more than ten years later in the Western Transvaal. Missionary W. van Krause in the same letter to Astrup wrote, "We have now discussed the whole problem in the Executive Committee of the Hermannsburg Mission as the Hermannsburg Mission through the mention of its name (in the *Mercury*) has, as a whole, been involved in this matter and not only its Natal branch."¹⁵²

With this statement and others in the letters above, one can conclude that as a mission society the HMS was not going to interfere in the "smooth" running of the government in South Africa. I mentioned the fear in the tone of the letter to the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner but W. van Krause mentions the doctrinal issue as a reason for "neutrality" in matters of removals of African squatters. The Executive Committee of the HMS appealed (as van Krause mentioned) to the

¹⁵¹Letter from W. van Krause to Hj. Astrup dated 12 October 1962.

¹⁵²Ibid.

Augsburg Confession and its Apology articles XVI and XXVIII among the Lutheran confessional writings. It is only sentence 5 of Article XVI which remotely justifies the HMS Executive Committee from withdrawing its name from church structures that supports opposition to the removal of African squatters from mission farms. The sentence referred to reads thus, “The Gospel teaches an eternal righteousness of the heart, but it does not destroy the state or the family. On the contrary, it especially requires the preservation as ordinances of God and the exercise of love in these ordinances.”¹⁵³

Obviously the HMS Executive Committee which comprised at that time only white males, when faced with the repressive government, under whose mercy they remained in South Africa to do mission work, had lost compassion and had become legalistic instead. W.van Krause lamely made the following request on behalf of HMS, “We hope that you will understand our attitude which is based on the teaching of the Lutheran Doctrine especially the Conf. Aug. and Apol. XVI and XXVIII.” Due to this mentality of fear and “obedience” to the Gospel and Lutheran doctrines, the HMS missionaries, van Scharrel included, were trapped in a state of “semi-paralysis” as far as speaking up against the expropriation of the land where Ga-Maloka was concerned. The village moved in September 1976 and settled in Gannalaagte near Delareyville.

Let us now go back to the place where the Bakolobeng people were moved to, Gannalaagte. This place lacked means of communication and infrastructure conducive to an agrarian tribe like the Bakolobeng. Lichtenburg was far and tractors could not be fixed and serviced on time when needed. Lamentably Chief Molete said that his tractors were stripped of parts in a Coligny service station because the tractors were left at owner’s risk. Other people also lost their tractors since they had not yet established repertoire with the Delareyville mechanics. The tractors coming in big numbers from the Bakolobeng may have overwhelmed the Delareyville mechanics who were unfamiliar with such a number of tractors needing service.

Food and shelter in the beginning and even to this day became a serious problem in Gannalaagte. One of the informants, Mr M. Tlhale, lamented the scarcity of food and said, “Difficulties are

¹⁵³G.Tappert, *Book of Concord*. 1959 p.38.

there, *rra*.¹⁵⁴ In Ga-Maloka we used to live with our eyes closed. We had water, we had all kinds of food. When we came this side there was no water, even the fields were not proper fields.”¹⁵⁵ On this point of scarcity of water Ms. Mookodi Tlhale, another informant in Interview Number BII, concurred with Mr.M.Tlhale. Stores for groceries were far from the village since people had not yet started grocery shops then. The people lived in houses built out of corrugated iron and in canvas tents provided by General Government (G.G.)¹⁵⁶ who was resettling the tribe. G.G. provided other relief means in the form of food with which Ms. Mookodi Tlhale was totally unimpressed. She said, “No, we were not given anything except by those who removed us, who gave us milk and soups whose taste was outlandish.”¹⁵⁷ By outlandish she said that she meant that the soup when cooked was not going down with maize porridge as it should.

While the village was going through such hardships the Lutheran Church, ELCSA-Western Diocese only discussed business transactions on how their property was going to be sold. Their first resolution, Item 10.1 under Mission Properties, was about the Ramodiana parsonage (Rooijantjiesfontein). This paper acknowledges that there may have been more deliberations on this issue than reflected in the following minutes of the Diocesan Synod held in Tlhabane in 1976.

Reported that the resettlement of the tribe of Maloka will take place as from 15th September 1976. The Church is in tribal ground and compensation is envisaged. The parsonage is on Mission-owned ground and will not be compensated for. Resolution: Resolved to recommend to Hermannsburg Mission to sell the parsonage and plot as it will no longer be required for the work of the Church, and to request that the proceeds be used to erect a new parsonage of the congregation.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴*Rra* in Setswana means Father, Sir or Mister and used as a form of address to show respect.

¹⁵⁵Interview Number BI, see Appendix.

¹⁵⁶This abbreviation found on plate numbers of removal vehicles was even used to refer to the removal personnel (*Ma-G.G*), meaning those of G.G.

¹⁵⁷Interview Number BII, see Appendix.

¹⁵⁸ELCSA-Western Diocese’s Synod Minute Book of 1976 pp. 318-319. The Book is kept in Tlhabane Church Centre.

This shows clearly that the ELCSA leadership was quite aware of what was happening in Ga-Maloka but lacked the capacity to respond decisively at that time.

The government and the missionary mentality of non-interference had so much emasculated the church that it could only follow the dictates of the State. Later of course, Lutherans became aware of their social responsibility as a church and started doing something. Though this bit of information falls outside the scope of this thesis, it is important to mention the fact that the circuit of Mafikeng provided the Ramodiana Parish with basic necessities as it transpired in the interview with Ms. Mookodi Tlhale, “Yes sometime ago I remember we received blankets, that’s all I remember, but we were also given soup sachets and maize meal bags.”¹⁵⁹ The legacy of the removals continues to expose the tribe to suffering up to this day as they plan to go back to old Ga-Maloka in Rooijantjiesfontein.

The interviewees have not yet been exposed to contextual Bible Studies to enable them to reflect about God and the church in their context. When asked if they think the church should help people in times of desperation, they apologetically answered that the church itself needs help from them. They also as individuals do not see how they can help when they are poor. The informants were not enthusiastic about their responsibility to give to those around them who are needy.

The tribe was expecting to move back to their ancestral land in September 1998 after about twenty-two years in poverty-stricken Gannalaagte. As can be expected the young people who have no ties with Rooijantjiesfontein want to remain in Gannalaagte. Those who are enthusiastic about moving are driven by sentimental ties to Rooijantjiesfontein but are advanced in age. It will be very difficult to rebuild Ga-Maloka back to its “glory” without outside help. One can just hope that the church will see its role better and be prepared to assist wherever it is possible.

¹⁵⁹Interview Number BII, see Appendix.

4.2.3 Botshabelo: 1977-1978

Botshabelo, or Putfontein as it was officially known, is located in the district of Lichtenburg. In his response to the questionnaire Reverend B. van Scharrel gives the size of the farms Putfontein, Sterkfontein, Wildfontein and Omega (collectively known as Botshabelo) as a little less than five thousand morgens. According to the Surplus People Project¹⁶⁰ report, about two thousand people lived in Botshabelo at the time of its removal to Ramatlabama. These are the people who along with others from other villages were moved to two villages called Ramatlabama near the South African border with Botswana in 1977 and 1978. Their removal, as with many others, was characterised by treachery, bribery, laxity and hardships. We need to see a picture of Botshabelo and the people before we examine the Lutheran Church's response or lack of it in their community's removal. Let us look at the picture of this village at its inception, at its economic viability before removal, and at its churches and its schools before it was removed. We will furthermore look at the threats of removals and the removal proper. We will of course as we did with previous cases look at the hardships brought about by the resettlement, an event which called for Lutheran intervention.

Van Scharrel and Wilhelm Weber, a missionary of the Lutheran Church Mission (LCM) and a teacher at the Lutheran Seminary Enhlanhleni, who replied to the questionnaire did not give the historical background of the Batlounge tribe before it came to settle in Botshabelo. Fortunately one of the missionaries, Dr Friedrich Dierks, who was succeeded by Siegfried Damaske in Botshabelo wrote a comprehensive history of Botshabelo in an article in *Molaetsa*, a Setswana version of *Umlayezi*. Dierks writes that the Batlounge tribe used to live with the Baphiring tribe in Tlhakong (Tampotstad in Western Transvaal). They left Tlhakong in protest against the introduction of Christianity in that village. They settled in Monamaladi (Gruisfontein) before a 'Veldkornet' (elected local district official) dispersed them by means of a law called *Plakkerwet*. Dierks's article continues to say that members of the Batlounge tribe who remained at Tlhakong came to their scattered people and converted them. The mission (HMS)¹⁶¹ then sent

¹⁶⁰Surplus Peoples Project, *Forced Removals in South Africa*, Vol.5 1983 p.213.

¹⁶¹The Hannoverian Free Church Mission had not yet split from the then HMS.

Heinrich Cassier and based him in Bethel (Bodenstein) where he started a literacy and numeracy school. He also taught baptism and confirmation classes to the converts. Johannes Schnell who succeeded Cassier but rented a farm at Konopo advised the tribe to buy Putfontein (Botshabelo) in September 1903¹⁶². Van Scharrel suggests the year to be about 1870.

While the Surplus People Project (SPP) has done a tremendous work in researching and reporting in their five volume book on the removals in South Africa, it has unfortunately not done research on the validity of the claim to land ownership of the tribe and how and when those tribes originally settled on the land they were being moved from. I acknowledge the fact that the SPP did not set out to establish the validity of ownership of land by the people being removed, but had set out to report on the removals. Though not necessarily part of this topic the history of how the tribes acquired their land would have been helpful.

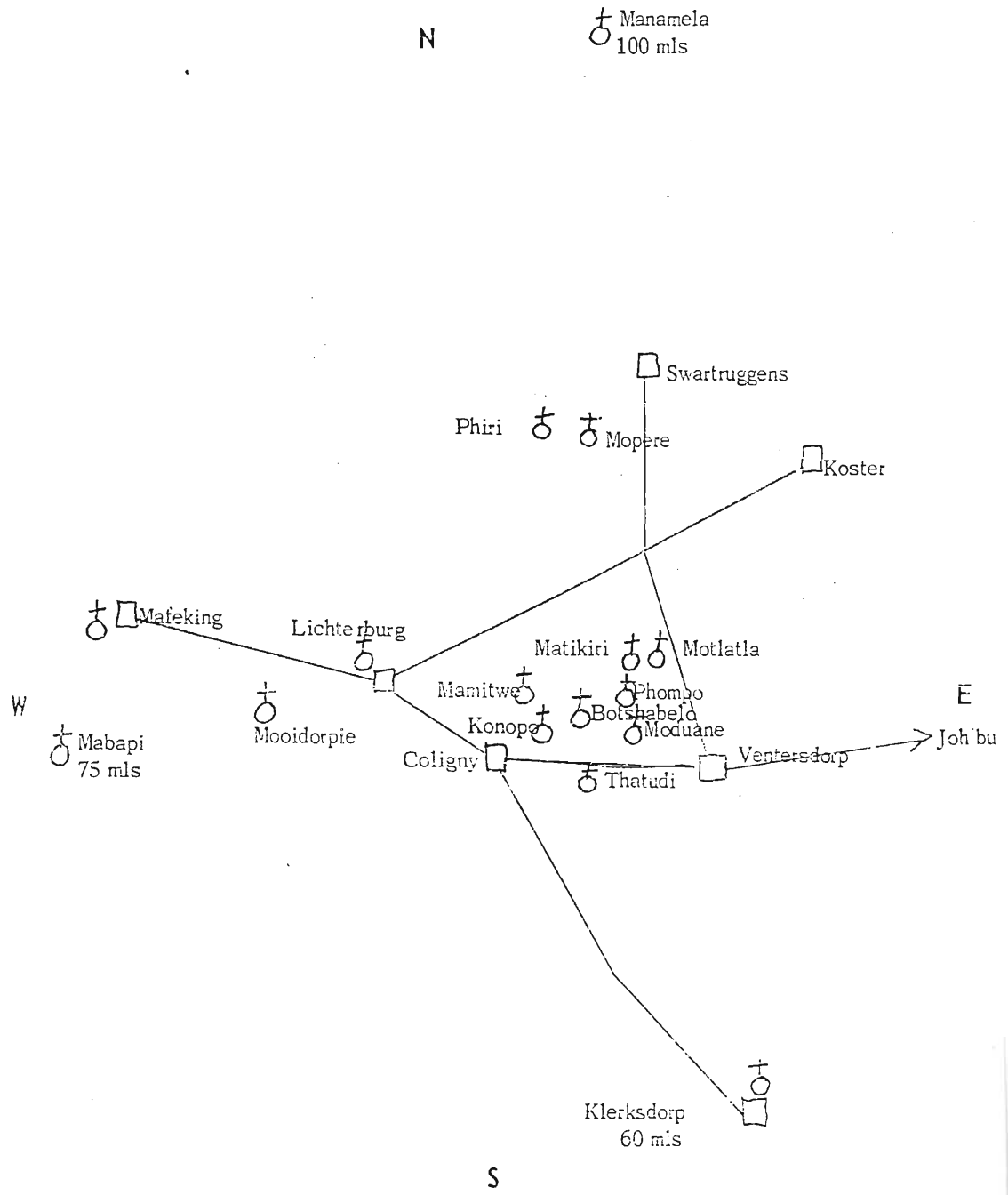
In an article written by Missionary Siegfried Damaske to the *Umlayezi* of August 1966, it is recorded that, “*Lendawo isepulazini lasePutfontein, yakhiwa ngosizo lukamfundisi uSchnell emva kwempi yamaBhunu namaNgisi.*” (This place is on a farm Putfontein, it was built with the help of Pastor Schnell after the Anglo-Boer War).¹⁶³ This confirms what Dierks wrote above except for the exact date, which Van Scharrel puts at thirteen years earlier.

Though not far from Lichtenburg and Ga-Maloka which both produce maize, Botshabelo was not as viable economically. SPP reports that in their investigation three farmers in the area had never employed any of the Batlounge because, “Most of the people had gone to Johannesburg for work.”¹⁶⁴ Two major incidents caused the Batlounge men to have to work in Johannesburg for survival. Since the tribe had bought their farm Putfontein and were paying it on instalments, according to Friedrich Dierks when the tribe’s funds became depleted men were deployed to

¹⁶²*Molaetsa* (Tswana version of *Umlayezi*) Number 3 Year 17, March 1978 p.8 (Information translated from Setswana), copy kept in LCSA Archives in Ehlanhleri Lutheran Seminary near Dundee.

¹⁶³*Umlayezi* a newsletter of Lutheran Congregations (LCSA) No.3 Year 5. August 1966 p.4. This and other newsletters kept in LCSA Archives in Ehlanhleri Lutheran Seminary near Dundee.

¹⁶⁴SPP, *Forced Removals in South Africa*, Vol.5, 1983 p.229.



Map 4. (Taken from S. Damaske's article "Ibandla LaseBotshabelo" in *Umlayezi* No.3 Year 5 August 1966). Congregations forming the Botshabelo Parish in 1966.

Johannesburg to earn the necessary money to pay off the farm. The second incident happened when after the foundation of the first solid church building was laid in 1907 and the congregation was expecting a good harvest, locusts came and ate up the crops.¹⁶⁵ They managed to finish the church building later and dedicated it in 1909 but the migrant labour system became part of the formerly agrarian community. The informants in Ramatlabama, Mr R. Mogoshane, Mr G. Nchoe, Ms M. Mokone and Rev. T. Phogojane, worked or lived in and around Johannesburg before the removals, confirming that a section of the tribe indeed worked in Johannesburg.

Another section of the tribe in Botshabelo had their land outside the tribal land which they had bought with their own money. This section, though part of Batlounge tribe, lived in a part of Botshabelo called Dimorogwana (i.e morgens). They carried this name along with them to Ramatlabama where they still have privately owned pieces of farms near the tribal land. Reverend T. Phogojane who responded that it was the fertility of their soil that attracted trouble for them and thus to their removal, is among those who owned private land in Botshabelo. In the already-mentioned article in *Umlayezi*, S. Damaske reports that Putfontein farm has maize fields, meadows and two rivers¹⁶⁶. The Batlounge farmers may not have been as good as those of Bakolobeng as far as maize farming went.

For many years the only church operating in the village was the Lutheran Church which had over two thousand members.¹⁶⁷ The late chief *Kgosi* Laban Shole was also a Lutheran according to S. Damaske in his *Umlayezi* article which has already been quoted above. The same article laments that the following denominations have now established themselves in Botshabelo: the Anglican Church, the Methodist Church, the Roman Catholic Church, the Reformed Church, the Hermannsburg Lutherans, the Orthodox Episcopal Church, the Lutheran Star Mission Church and the African Independent Churches (Apostolic and Zionist). Lutherans constituted the majority with about nine hundred members in Botshabelo only, i.e. not counting members in the sixteen branches (see map. 3) of this parish viz. Phompong, Thatudi, Konopo, Mmamitlwe, Matikiring, Phiri, Mopere, Motlatla, Moduane, Klerksdorp, Lichtenburg, Kolong, Mabapi,

¹⁶⁵*Molaetsa* No.3 Year 17, March 1978 p.5.

¹⁶⁶*Umlayezi* No.3 Year 5. August 1966 p.4.

¹⁶⁷*Ibid.*

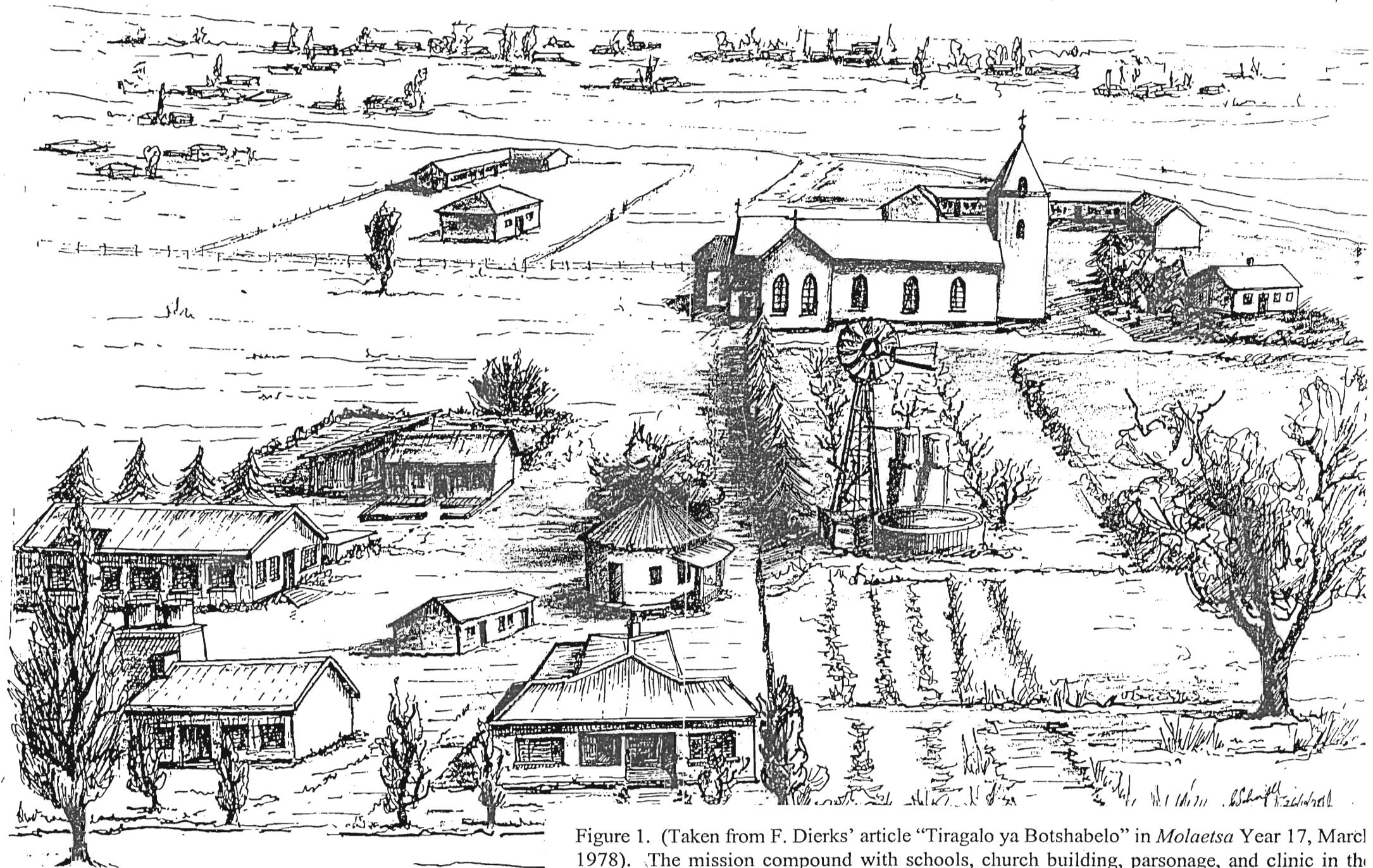


Figure 1. (Taken from F. Dierks' article "Tiragalo ya Botshabelo" in *Molaetsa* Year 17, March 1978). The mission compound with schools, church building, parsonage, and clinic in the foreground and the village in the background.

Mooidorpie, Mafikeng and Manamela.¹⁶⁸ This parish of Botshabelo was first led by Rev. Johannes Schnell, succeeded by Friedrich Dierks, Sigfried Damaske who worked with the following ministers Khashane, Fritz-Adolf Häfner and Titus Matlotleng Phogojane in that order. Phogojane who is one of my informants in this thesis is still a pastor of part of the parish of Botshabelo in Ikopeleng. As is the case in pioneer mission work missionaries, beside converting the tribes, also teach literacy and numeracy to the converts. Schnell did a lot for education in Botshabelo.

Of the informants in Botshabelo only Ms. Masaka Mokone, the youngest among them, did not go to school in Botshabelo. Already in the early 1940s the highest class of school was Standard Six. Schnell is credited for building three schools, the highest class offering a Junior Certificate (JC) already in 1966. In 1966 when Damaske wrote this article there were about one thousand four hundred pupils in the Botshabelo schools combined.¹⁶⁹

Johannes Schnell also started a clinic for health care in the village (see figure one). This clinic was mainly staffed by German missionaries but in his article about Botshabelo Dierks mentions Sister Majwe and Ouma Nora of the Botshabelo tribe among the remembered blacks who worked there, "*E ka bo e le tshwanelo go gopola ba ba diretseng balwetsi ba rona mo sepetleleng, ebong borrakgadi ba ba neng ba tswa kwa moseja, mmogo le Sister Majwe (ngwana wa ga Moruti Paul) le Ouma Nora le ba bangwe ba le bantsi.*"¹⁷⁰ (It would have been proper to remember those who nursed our patients in the clinic, viz. Our aunts from overseas, along with Sister Majwe the daughter of Pastor Paul, Ouma Nora and many others).

Dierks uses Hebrews 13:14¹⁷¹ to introduce a paragraph on forced removals writing that, "During the '60s rumours started that Botshabelo will move. Plans were underway to gather all Tswanas

¹⁶⁸*Umlayezi* a newsletter of Lutheran Congregations (LCSA) No.3 Year 5, August 1966, p.4.

¹⁶⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰*Molaetsa* a newsletter of the Lutheran Congregations (LCSA), Year 17, March 1978, p.8.

¹⁷¹"For here we do not have an enduring city, but we are looking for the city that is to come." (*Concordia Self-Study Bible*, NIV).

to their land Bophuthatswana.”¹⁷² Dierks was thinking like many people of his time, but to use this Biblical verse is like legitimising the forced removal as predestined by God. The informants shed some light on the earlier threats toward Botshabelo. Mr. R. Mogoshane said, “Yes, we were told long time before that we shall be resettled during the time of *Kgosi* William Shole”¹⁷³. Mr. G. Nchoe heard from his parents that during the time of *Kgosi* William Shole in the 1930s the tribe was to be moved to places around Pretoria.¹⁷⁴ Mr Mogoshane knows the designated place for their first move to have been around Taung. This contradiction for our purpose serves to confirm that indeed the village of Botshabelo was threatened with removal during the reign of *Kgosi* William Shole. The reason for its not moving may be that since the South African government was involved in the Second World War it had its hands full and could not deal with domestic matters of that magnitude.

The informants vividly remember the second announcement of the removal in 1977. Mr. Nchoe related the events of the announcement which came in February 1977 when Commissioner Keet informed the tribe that it was moving to Bophuthatswana. Being one of those who protested at that meeting, the commissioner warned the chief to be aware of “that black one who will spoil the tribe of Shole”¹⁷⁵. The reason for the removal according to Mogoshane, Nchoe and Mokone was the clearance of the black spot. Though that was the official reason Nchoe and Mosiane regard the presence of the diamond deposits in their village as the reason for the tribe’s removal to Ramatlabama.

The Batlounge refused to move but since their chief Laban Seitshiro Shole had agreed to move there was little they could do. Nevertheless a certain Mr. Mogorosi organised a resistance group which according to Ms. Masaka Mokone was scared of the Special Branch police unit. This opposition group took the case to court and lost. The tribe was polarised between those who were for the chief and therefore for the removal and those who were against. Mrs. Mosadiotsile Mosiane responded that Commissioner Keet wanted to establish first on whose side she was,

¹⁷²*Molaetsa*, No.3 Year 17, March 1978 p.8.

¹⁷³Interview Number CI, See Appendix.

¹⁷⁴Interview Number CII, See Appendix.

¹⁷⁵Interview Number CII, See Appendix.

before he guaranteed a plot with a tinhouse for her in Ramatlabama.¹⁷⁶ The farmers who requested to be moved first were settled in Ikopeleng sometimes called Two-Hundred. It is called such because there are two hundred plots in that place. Rev. Titus Matlotleng Phogojane insists that the people of Ikopeleng never requested to be moved, but since their chief was gone and they were farmers they wanted to be moved first to see any possibilities of farming. The group that staged resistance with the lawyers were Mr. Mogorosi and those of Dimorogwana who had individually bought their plots in Botshabelo. While the first group moved in September 1977, in the same month their ancestors moved into Botshabelo in 1903, the others followed until late in 1978.

Hardships were not dissimilar to those in the previous two cases above. In Botshabelo they drew water from the two rivers Monamaladi and Melorane but Ramatlabama had no single river running through it¹⁷⁷. The Batloug lost their belongings during the removal. M. Mokone had her family's furniture broken while R. Mogoshane was "running short of one load of bricks"¹⁷⁸ which he bought in Botshabelo. General Government (G.G.) workers worsened the situation of forced removal faced by the villagers by harassing the young men of Botshabelo so that only they could be friends with the Batloug young women.¹⁷⁹ When any village is saturated with unfamiliar people in big trucks, the locals tend to fear, as happened in Putfontein.

Where was the church when all these atrocities were meted out to the vulnerable Batloug at that time? The LCSA Church Council devoted some time in its sitting on 7-8 September 1977 on the Botshabelo removal. Item 31 mainly mentions how the the property of the mission hospital (just as it was of great concern to the Church Council sitting of 16-17 February 1977)¹⁸⁰ was going to be protected, but it also mentions that missionary Manfred Nietzke was going to be asked to help in case hardships happen in connection with the removal. "*Umkhandlu wacela umf.*

¹⁷⁶Interview Number CIII, See Appendix.

¹⁷⁷Interview Number CI, See Appendix.

¹⁷⁸Interview Number CI, See Appendix.

¹⁷⁹Interview Number CIII, See Appendix.

¹⁸⁰LCSA Church Council Minutes of 16-17 February 1977 item 29, *Umkhandlu wacela umf. UDierks ukuba azame ukuba izindlu lezi zithengiswe kwelinye ikerike* (The Council asked Reverend Dierks to try and sell the buildings to another denomination)

uNietzke ukuba alekelele uma kuvela izinkinga ekuthuthisweni kwabaseBotshabelo, futhi apha the umsebenzi wokwakha eBotshabelo elisha ngaseMafikeng."¹⁸¹ (The Council requested pastor Nietzke to help in case problems crop up in the Botshabelo removal. He was also asked to oversee the building projects in the new Botshabelo near Mafikeng). The following responses tell a different story. No mention of Nietzke's help is made, possibly because it was confined to constructing church buildings in order that the work of the church may not discontinue. The following are the statements of the five informants on the response of the church to the hardships brought about by removals as they appear in the appendices:

R. Mogoshane: There was no church that ever helped, not even a single little help.

G. Nchoe: *Rra*, the Lutheran Church did not play any part. Just as other churches did not help, the Lutheran church did not help as well.

M. Mosiane: Precisely for the fact that there were leaders, we had placed all these responsibilities on the pastors and our elders. There is a church council, isn't there? We thought we would get direction from them telling us how to deal with such things and why it ended like this.

M. Mokone: I have asked a lot of questions about our church, the Lutheran Free Church, for a very long time. And the usual answer is that even in the time of the first and second Matebele wars the church was quiet. And the argument was we are a free church committed to state opinion so and so. We are just quiet for a long time, and at the time when it was difficult, people are suffering.

T. Phogojane: I do not know why, but I saw nothing happening.

The current bishop of the LCSA, Reverend David Tswaedi in response to the questionnaire wrote that no help could have come from the Lutherans mainly the mission which owned

¹⁸¹LCSA Church Council Minutes of 7-8 September 1977 item 31.

property in Botshabelo because, “In Botshabelo the Bleckmar Mission was the first to sell its property before the village was removed.”

Reverend Wilhelm Weber shed light on what really paralysed the Lutheran Church into silence in Botshabelo’s removal. He insists the church and the mission were indecisive because, as already mentioned by the informants, the tribe was polarized. He asks, “Whose side should we take, the side of those who moved and called their new place ‘Ikopeleng’ or the side of the press and people opposing the removals and their chief Laban Shole with the tribal council who consented to the removals?”¹⁸² Though this side of the argument brought forward by Weber cannot be ignored, it is obvious from how another missionary of the MLC (Bleckmar) Reverend Gerhard Heidenreich responded to the questionnaire that there was no united response by the MLC as we saw in the HMS’s encounter in 1962 in Natal.

Heidenreich who was sent to Mafikeng from Botswana to care for newly resettled congregations like the ones in Ramatlabama in the Mafikeng area, wrote to show the disunity of the MLC, “I cannot say how other MLC missionaries felt about this aspect since I cannot remember that this was an issue debated among them, however, as far as I am concerned, possibility of being deported was a factor.”

Since the MLC missionaries held diverse opinions on the issue no single united response could have come from them. Some missionaries came to South Africa immediately after W.W.II., others a bit later. Their school of thought differed tremendously as far as race relations and state obedience were concerned. Those who came out just after 1945 had strong sympathies with the Nazi mentality of race separation and obedience to the state. One of the respondents K. Nürnberger makes this distinction which will be looked into more deeply in the analysis of the church leaders and theologians response in chapter 5. The bottom line is that aid for the Batlounge to resist the removal, and/or to survive after the removal did not come forth from the MLC, nor from the LCSA.

¹⁸²W. Weber said that he was responding to a question asked by one late Pastor Jafta Lenkwe who was blaming the church for not responding to the Botshabelo removal.

The Batlounge Christians could have also devised means and ways to help themselves within the tribe. Resource in the form of cattle, vehicles, natural intelligence were available in the tribe. What Masaka Mokone suggested as possible ways the Lutheran Church could have pursued to alleviate the burden of the tribe when it arrived in Ramatlabama, could as well have been pursued by the tribe. Suggesting provision of services she said, "Like when we arrived here there was no ambulance taking people to the nearest hospital which is about 36km from here. People got sick and the church could have organized some transport to take people there. No shop, no groceries, some sort of help."¹⁸³ In some cases like this one the church can only give advice and not material aid lest people become unnecessarily dependent.

4.2.4 Mogopa: 1983-1984

The village of Mogopa, situated 30km north of Ventersdorp is formed by two farms viz Swartkop or Zwaartrand and Hartebeeslaagte covering 7 700 hectares¹⁸⁴ in the Western Transvaal. It was one of the last villages to be resettled under the clearance of the black spot policy and the consolidation of the Bophuthatswana homeland policy. Of the four cases studied here Mogopa is the most-written about because it was only removed in 1983-1984. The second reason is that at that time the churches, especially those of SACC affiliation, had woken up under the secretary-generalship of Bishop Desmond Tutu¹⁸⁵ of the Anglican Church. Those churches' challenge to the status quo was not limited to speeches and statements but included active participation in mobilising the tribe and staying on night vigils with Bakwena ba Mogopa in defiance to the apartheid government. The SACC's Covenant and Land Programme was agreed upon around the time when Bakwena were in the process of being removed.

¹⁸³Interview Number CIV, See Appendix.

¹⁸⁴Jörg Wilhelmy, 1984, *Claiming my Beloved Country*, p.11.

¹⁸⁵He became General Secretary of the SACC in 1978 March, as recorded by Shirley du Boulay 1988, *TUTU, Archbishop Without Frontiers*, p.128.

Bakwena ba Mogopa are said to have lived as share croppers¹⁸⁶ in the Orange Free State before sharecropping was criminalised. They left in protest against wage labour and went to live in Bethanie near Brits under their Paramount Chief Mamogale.¹⁸⁷ In 1912 they bought a farm Zwartrand with the funds raised by auctioning cattle contributed by each family. They later added Hartebeeslaagte, another farm for grazing purposes.¹⁸⁸ None of the informants interviewed could furnish me with the information about the original place and the buying of the two farms since all of them except for Chief Jacob More were not born and bred in Mogopa.¹⁸⁹ But they lived and contributed to the vibrant socio-economic life of Mogopa.

In their description of Mogopa's social life Murray and O'Regan wrote that the people were able to organise their lives, "On this land they had built houses, schools and churches."¹⁹⁰ Such an environment is only made possible by healthy economic activity of the villagers. Murray and O'Regan continue the description of the village's agrarian activity, "Members of the tribe conducted farming operations and produced their own food. They also owned cattle and sheep as well as farming implements including tractors and ploughs. The land held by the tribe was rich in minerals, particularly diamonds."¹⁹¹ Fröchtling adds on the economic viability of the tribe by looking at the migrant labour it sold, "Furthermore, quite a substantial amount of money for developing the village was raised by those who went for migrant work especially to Johannesburg and its mines."¹⁹²

It is not clear why some Bakwena ba Mogopa went to work in Johannesburg mines and others developed their farming in Mogopa while they could have legally mined diamonds in their backyard. Mr. Labius Mompei responded during the interview that those who wanted to remain in Mogopa because there were diamonds were not mining them. One can speculate that even if

¹⁸⁶Andrea Fröchtling. 1998, *If the Colours of the Rainbow could Talk...* p.190.

¹⁸⁷Andrea Fröchtling. 1998, *If the Colours of the Rainbow could Talk...* p.190.

¹⁸⁸A.Fröchtling. 1998, p.190.

¹⁸⁹See the informants' brief life histories at the Appendix.

¹⁹⁰C.Murray and C.O'Regan. 1990, *No place to Rest: Forced Removals and the Law in South Africa*, p.20.

¹⁹¹Ibid.

¹⁹²A.Fröchtling. 1998, p.190.

the tribe had some access to the diamond mines, their expertise in mining and selling diamonds was limited or non-existent as Mrs.Emma Mosenogi confessed, “Yes we could not because we did not have the right tools. I once found a diamond but could not sell it.”¹⁹³ Should the tribe had sent people to Johannesburg to work in the mines and thereby learn skills and expertise in mining that would undoubtedly have been to the village’s advantage except for the fact that diamond mining may be different from gold mining.

There were two schools, one a primary the other a secondary. I personally know that students from as far as Soweto near Johannesburg came to Mogopa for an uninterrupted secondary education.

Churches operating in Mogopa were the Roman Catholic, the African Methodist Episcopal, the Presbyterian, the Methodist and the Lutheran Church.¹⁹⁴ With so many churches working among about 580¹⁹⁵ families in an area of about 7.700 hectares it is obvious that the Bakwena ba Mogopa were a religious tribe. All the churches mentioned above had church buildings in which they conducted their services. The list of churches provided obviously exclude the African Indigenous/Independent/Instituted Churches (AICs) like the St.John’s Apostolic Faith Mission Church of which *Kgosi* Jacob More was a minister before the Mogopa removal.

The threat to remove the Bakwena ba Mogopa from their land came earlier in 1956 with the government negotiating with the tribe. Though not chief at that time, *Kgosi* More remembers that the first meeting on Mogopa’s removal was held where Sun City, the mega entertainment centre stands today.¹⁹⁶ More adds that in 1982/83 Mr.De Villiers, an official of the Department of Development and Co-operation, created a division in the village when he re-opened the negotiations. The tribe was divided between the *Ba-Sethunya* for Jacob More (*sethunya* is a gun in Setswana and the tribe thought Jacob More had a gun because he served as a policeman in Carltonville near Johannesburg before coming back to Mogopa) and for the removal to

¹⁹³Interview Number DIII, See Appendix.

¹⁹⁴Agnes Dithlareng in Interview Number DIV, See Appendix.

¹⁹⁵J.Wilhelmy, 1984. *Claiming my Beloved Country*,p.11.

¹⁹⁶Interview Number DI, See Appendix.

Pachsdraai and the *Ba-Selepe* (those of an axe) for Shadrack More who did not favour the removal.

Fröchtling records an incident in a meeting of 20 September 1981 where De Villiers refused to endorse the decision of the tribe to depose Jacob More from being their headman.¹⁹⁷ It is obvious that divide and rule tactics¹⁹⁸ were prevalent in this case. After hearing that he would not be deposed but would rule until he died Jacob More consented to the removal of the tribe in June 1983.¹⁹⁹ The village was moved to Pachsdraai near Zeerust because it was a black spot, but a large part of the tribe remained in Mogopa.

A very strong resistance was put up with the help of the SACC and the Black Sash. The community employed the assistance of lawyers and ministers of religion. Archbishop Desmond Tutu who at that time was the general secretary of SACC spent many hours encouraging the remaining people of Mogopa to resist the forced removal. The government employed 'dirty' tricks to force the resisting Bakwena to move. Church buildings were demolished in order to disturb the smooth-running of the community and to force the tribe to succum. In her account of the misery the tribe had to endure for their resistance Fröchtling said, "The water pumps were taken at a later stage, bus services stopped and pensions were no longer paid out as well as licences of shopowners no longer renewed. Local officials also refuse to stamp the pass books of the people."²⁰⁰ It were these tricks that attracted local and foreign journalists and the ministers of religion to keep vigil at Mogopa to report about the inhuman and brutal tactics used by the South African government to force people to leave their land. Mr.Rammekwa specifically remembers Archbishop Desmond Tutu of the Church of the Province of South Africa (Anglican Church) who among other clerics kept vigil on the eve of the day the remaining part of the tribe

¹⁹⁷A.Fröchtling. 1998. p.191.

¹⁹⁸Kgosi K.M.Molete of Bakolobeng ba Ga-Maloka feared such tactics and moved to Gannalaagte to avoid the division of the tribe. Interview Number BV. Subsection 3.2 above.

¹⁹⁹A.Fröchtling, 1998. p.191. Quoting H.Barrel's "*World Watches as Mogopa stands firm,*" undated newspaper clip.

²⁰⁰A.Fröchtling, 1998, p.192 ; C.Murray & C. O'Regan concur in their *No Place to Rest...*1990, p.109.

expected to be removed to Pachsdraai by force. He added, “Others whose name I no longer remember were present. I recall him because he appeared in a newspaper I can show you now.”²⁰¹ Fröchtling provides a clearer picture of the scene in Mogopa on that night, “A night vigil was held on 28 to 29 November 1983, the deadline to ‘voluntary’ move, from midnight to 5am. The vigil was summoned by the then General Secretary of the SACC, Bishop Desmond Tutu, attended by a number of church leaders from major mainline denominations and observed by a couple of media representatives local and overseas.”²⁰² The trucks did not arrive and the people enjoyed relative calm.

On February 1984 the resistance of the remaining Mogopa tribe was thwarted when the police and their dogs accompanied removal trucks to remove Bakwena ba Mogopa to Pachsdraai where they did not stay long. There was no peace between the new arrivals and the already “established” people of Jacob More in Pachsdraai. Mrs. Agnes Dithlareng relates that trucks came and took them to Pachsdraai but their lawyers organised trucks²⁰³ to take them to Bethanie near Brits at the land of their paramount chief Lerothodi Mamogale. The relationship between this chief and the Bophuthatswana government was cordial and therefore Lerothodi Mamogale did not allow “political” meetings in his territory which was in Bophuthatswana. Mr. Labius Mompei who did not resist the removal gives an explanation for the short stay of the tribe in Bethanie, “What I heard was that they were not in good terms with the *kgosi* so the *kgosi* sent them back and they went to Phatsima. Some of them came back here but the majority went to Phatsima. From Phatsima they went to Mogopa to clean the graves but remained there.”²⁰⁴

Today there are members of the Bakwena ba Mogopa tribe in Pachsdraai, Phatsima and in Mogopa. While those who went to Phatsima are gradually going back to Mogopa, those in Pachsdraai are adamant to go back. According to Jacob More the government kept its promise of giving the tribe a bigger piece of land compared to the one it owned. The bigger farm was a

²⁰¹Interview Number DV, See Appendix.

²⁰²A. Fröchtling, 1998 p.193; Fröchtling provides the list of people representing churches and para-church organizations at the vigil, on p.203. ELCSA was also represented.

²⁰³Interview Number DIV, See Appendix.

²⁰⁴Interview Number DII, See Appendix.

compensation for the tribe's fertile and mineral-rich land. The farms Zwartrand and Hartebeeslaagte equalled 7.700 combined while Pachsdraai is 10.300 hectares as mentioned by Jörg Wilhelmy above at the introduction of this subsection. The other reason for them to stay on in Pachsdraai is that a better clinic and a high school were provided as promised.

What role then was the Lutheran Church playing in the whole fracas? The Lutheran Church in Southern Africa was a small denomination in Mogopa. The congregation formed one of the many branches of the Roodepoort/Ventersdorp parish in the Western Transvaal/Bophuthatswana diocese. There has never been a pastor based in Mogopa except for itinerant ones based either in Ventersdorp location Tshing or in Roodepoort, a mission farm near Ventersdorp. For the LCSA the Mogopa removal was like a normal event that did not need require any mentioning in its meetings. The church did not in any way feel that something wrong was being done to it and its people. Even the Church Council, its highest decision-making body, did not mention it, even in passing, in its meetings. No awareness is reflected in the minutes about the resistance of its people against the removal, despite the fact that it was a highly publicised and politicised removal. The opportunity which availed itself for the LCSA to contribute meaningfully to the aid the Mogopa community was already enjoying passed the church by when the Reverend Manfred Nietzsche refused to be drawn into politics. Mr.Rammekwa said about their encounter, "Moruti used to come to administer Holy Communion here in my house. My wife and I informed him. He told us that he is not involved in political matters."²⁰⁵ The following are the replies of the four LCSA members to what their church had done to help them in time of great need and distress:

L. Mompei: The church did not help except by conducting worship service, *dis al!* Other forms of help I have not heard about.

E. Mosenogi: Yes, I have not seen any church except that the church was asking for this or that.

²⁰⁵Interview Number DV, See Appendix.

A. Dithlareng: I have not received any help, I am afraid of telling lies, *moruti*.

M. Rammekwa: No, I never heard that any of the Lutheran Churches²⁰⁶ were present there.

The statements about the silence and the apathy of the church are actually referring to the LCSA because other mainline churches within the SACC did give moral support and spent solidarity vigils with that part of the tribe which refused to move. Their covenant partners in Baden (Germany) helped the Bakwena ba Mogopa since 1984 when they were removed until they returned to their one farm Zwartrand and received their final farm Hartebeeslaagte in 1994 October.²⁰⁷ Victory for Mogopa happened only because of the degree of solidarity given to the tribe by many people especially church people who were very vocal against the Apartheid regime at that time. Drs Allen Boesak, Wolfram Kistner, Beyers Naude and Bishop Desmond Tutu (who were all at the Mogopa vigil) were a “thorn in the flesh” of the South African government. They shouted “NO!” to the unjust expropriation of the Bakwena ba Mogopa’s land.

The church stood up with the Mogopa people to oppose the removal. It rose to the challenge because it could not wait, watch and hope that somehow their problems will solve themselves. The Black Sash’s vigilance in this case was unmatched because it organised lawyers to oppose the removal, it facilitated a counter-removal to Bethanie for those who did not want to go Pachsdraai. It also continues as Labius Mompei remembers, to comfort and console the tribe when it lost a member through death.²⁰⁸ The Lutheran Church in Southern Africa remained silent. Let us now look at the opinions of the Lutheran theologians and the church leaders in relation to the silence of the Lutheran churches and mission societies in South Africa.

²⁰⁶Mr.Rammekwa was not aware that Dr. Wolfram Kistner of the SACC who was present was a Lutheran.

²⁰⁷A.Fröchtling,1998. p.201.

²⁰⁸Interview Number DII, See Appendix.

5. Opinions of Lutheran theologians and church leaders on forced removals

Those who responded to the questionnaire are retired and current seminary teachers (Dierks, Nürnberger, Scriba, Voges, Weber and Wittenberg), retired missionaries (Van Scharrel, Heidenreich), mission superintendents (Stolle and Heidenreich) and two national church leaders (Tswaedi and Ahlers). From these theologians a theological analysis of the Lutheran silence on socio-political matters in general and forced removals in particular was sought.

Although the responses of the Lutheran theologians and the church leaders were used in the previous chapters, this chapter is going to be solely dedicated to their opinions to the silent response of the Lutheran churches and missions. A questionnaire was sent out to them but as it is often the case with this methodology, not all of them responded. Those who responded responded in various ways. Some like Voges and Ahlers sent me documentation dealing with my questions and others like Weber and Heidenreich wrote me long responses. Yet others like Nürnberger, Scriba and Wittenberg preferred interview to writing a response to the questionnaire. The questionnaire asked a response to the following question:

Would you attribute the silence of the Lutheran Churches to the forced removals of Matlwang (Machaviestad), Ga-Maloka (Rooijantjiesfontein), Botshabelo (Putfontein) and Mogopa (Zwartrand) in the Western Transvaal to the following factors.

- i) The misunderstanding of the doctrine of the Two kingdoms; and/or
- ii) Fear of deportation especially of missionaries and/or
- iii) The fact that whites were economically benefitting from the removal of blacks?

The theologians and church leaders connected to the ELCSA and the LCSA responded through faxes, regular letters, electronic mail, word of mouth and structured interviews. They have been divided into two for the convenience of understanding the background from which they were responding. The first division will be that of ELCSA which has a diversity of backgrounds from which a lot traditions from mission societies have been adopted. The LCSA has one mission society working with it but that society was formed by people from different European countries with contrasting opinions on apartheid and separate development. The ELCSA has to be seen

here as the liberal and therefore ecumenical church formation while the LCSA is confessional and conservative. The theologians who responded have relationship to the churches because they once worked in them. Or through formal relationship between their churches and the local churches.

5.1 ELCSA

There are prominent theologians in the ELCSA whose responses could have greatly enriched this thesis but they chose not to respond to the questionnaire. The ELCSA theologians did not respond in big numbers but those who responded gave their opinions very clearly. Of the four who responded only the Reverend Bernhard van Scharrel of Rustenburg wrote the response and mail it as a regular letter. The other three Professor Klaus Nürnberger, Dean Georg Scriba and Professor Emeritus Gunther Wittenberg, all of Pietermaritzburg, were instead interviewed, since interviews take shorter than written responses.

Dean Scriba²⁰⁹ of the ELCSA-NT is the director of studies at the Lutheran House of Studies which is a training institute for Lutheran pastors in Pietermaritzburg. He does not attribute the silence of his Lutheran church, previously called the Hermannsburg Church, to the doctrine of the Two Kingdoms. The Two Kingdoms doctrine was analysed at the Umphumulo Consultation in 1967 and it was discovered that Lutherans can not use it to support the separate development policy of the government of South Africa. He stated that the congregation he served in Kroondal (1984-1992) was not concerned with the issue of forced removals because it were blacks who were being removed and the congregation was German. He confessed that he and his congregation were not aware, and did not make themselves aware by finding out what was happening to their fellow christians. In retrospect Scriba said, “The Hermannsburg Church did not participate as they should have at that time.”

²⁰⁹The interview took place in Scriba’s office in Scottsville on 23 October 1998.

Professor Emeritus Gunther Wittenberg²¹⁰ attributes the silence of the Lutheran missionaries not to their understanding of the Two Kingdoms doctrine but to the emotional connection of the missionaries to the German settler communities who were in favour of the Apartheid policies of the Nationalist Party. He said that the older missionaries from Germany who were influenced by the National Socialism of Adolf Hitler favoured the Separate Development policy which “allowed” each people (*volk*) to live together and develop as a unit. The pre-World War II and the post-World War II missionaries who came to South Africa identified with this policy because they came out of a context which preached racial purity in Germany. In Germany the church had also not developed a culture of opposing the government at that time. The presence of Lutherans in the Department of Native Affairs viz. Eiselen, son of a Berlin missionary and Jensen, son of a Hermannsburg missionary, shows the deep-rootedness of separate ‘volks’ among the Germans of the Nationalist Party early era. Eiselen and Hendrik Verwoerd the minister of Native Affairs wanted to keep African nations out of the corrupt western influences, according to Wittenberg.

Changes happened when a new generation of missionaries arrived after 1960. This was around the time when the ANC and the PAC were outlawed and the World Council of Churches (WCC) met in Cottesloe (December 1960) in South Africa and condemned the killing of sixty-nine peaceful protesters in Sharpeville by the South African police. It was also the time when the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) commissioned Hans Florin to investigate if the doctrine of the Two Kingdoms was in any way responsible for the silence of the Lutherans to the atrocities meted out to Africans in South Africa.²¹¹ This era saw the drafting of the much criticised document among the white Lutheran churches called the Umphumulo Memorandum of 1967.²¹² The memorandum was drafted after a ten-day consultation of FELCSA member churches sanctioned by the LWF in Umphumulo. The white Lutherans who mainly supported the apartheid ideology for socio-economic benefits rejected the memorandum which stated that there is no way the doctrine of the Two Kingdoms could support forced removals.

²¹⁰The interview took place at Kenosis in Bishopstowe on 27 September 1998.

²¹¹Hans Florin’s report led to the publication of his book *Lutherans in South Africa*, (Durban, 1967).

²¹²This double-sided typed unpublished loose page is kept in the Lutheran House of Studies in Pietermaritzburg by Dean Georg Scriba.

Professor Klaus Nürnberger²¹³ stated his understanding of Luther's doctrine of the Two Kingdoms by first giving a detailed background of the context the Lutheran missionaries, mainly of German descent, came from. Nazism played a big role in shaping their thought patterns in relation to other nations. The missionaries did not feel that they were called to interfere in the operations of the government because they were not sent to govern temporarily. For Nürnberger no church can successfully exonerate itself from its responsibility because it does not have autonomy in the kingdom of God. He said that indeed the "church may not employ force, the state may not preach. The state must maintain law and order so that the church can accomplish its work of proclaiming the Word. The church must proclaim the Word so that the state may be governed in righteousness and peace." The church has a duty in the kingdom of God just as the state has a duty in it. They are both answerable to God for what they do. For Nürnberger then, the silence of Lutherans was not from their obedience to the doctrine of the Two Kingdoms.

The FELCSA convened two more conferences after the one in Umphumulo the results of which were again rejected by the white FELCSA members. It was this hesitancy to identify with the resolutions of the conferences which led to the suspension of the ELCSA-Cape Church and the Natal and Transvaal members of FELCSA from LWF in Budapest in 1984. The Lutheran theologians and church leaders of LWF affiliation accepted the suspension rather than let go the privileges given to them by Apartheid at the expense of their fellow Lutherans. The white Lutheran churches were finally reinstated in 1992 after rejecting Apartheid and confessing their failure to heed the requests and complaints of their fellow black Lutherans.

The three theologians who responded concede that the fear of deportation was indeed prevalent because some missionaries were deported. Nürnberger remembers that two of his friends were deported, though he was not keen to give their names. Dean Scriba remembers Reverend Wolf of Durban whose permit to work in South Africa was not renewed in 1978 because he asked if Lutheran young men were expected to participate in military service. Gunther Lilje a South African, had to go back to Germany after finishing his studies there because he refused to serve

²¹³The interview was conducted in his office at the University of Natal (Pmb) on 13 October 1998.

in the South African army even as a chaplain. Missionary van Scharrel, who came before the 1960s to South Africa wrote, "I never had fears of deportation. The bureaucracy was always conciliatory and helpful to me." It is possible that van Scharrel was not in any way a threat to the South African state security.

As far as economic benefits were concerned, Scriba and van Scharrel responded that the white Lutherans had to raise funds to help the black resettled communities to build their churches again. Scriba further added that those whites who had farms in Bophuthatswana had to sell them to make way for the new people who were going to be resettled there. That therefore show that there was no direct economic benefit for the whites in the removal process. The opinions of the LCSA-connected theologians, most of whom responded from Germany are slightly different from these as far as deportation and economic gains for whites are concerned.

5.2 LCSA

Compared to ELCSA theologians, the LCSA ones responded in a bigger number, probably because the author is also member of the LCSA. Dr. Wilhelm Weber rector of the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Enhlanhleri, Dr. Friedrich Dierks former missionary in Botshabelo and retired rector of the Lutheran Seminary in Arcadia Pretoria, Dr. Volker Stolle the former mission director of MLC (1978-1984) and current New Testament lecturer in Lutherische Theologische Hochschule (seminary) in Oberursel Germany, Reverend Gerhard Heidenreich a former missionary in Mafikeng among the resettled communities in Bophuthatswana and the current mission superintendent of the MLC based in Bleckmar, Germany. Among them Reverend Peter Alhers the president of the Free Evangelical Synod in South Africa (FELSISA), and finally Reverend David Tswaedi the bishop of the LCSA responded.

Dr. Wilhelm Weber in a detailed response²¹⁴ stated that the Lutheran Church had obeyed the Fourth Commandment²¹⁵ and submitted to people in authority in accordance to 1.Peter 2:18, “Submit yourselves to your masters with all respect, not only those who are good and considerate, but also those who are harsh.” With this obedience in mind Weber does not deny the silence, but says, “Therefore Lutherans kept quiet and submitted to laws regulating marriage affairs and even removals, very often thinking the conditions under which the people were removed to were an improvement and not worsening their living conditions.” On the German missionaries’s silence, Weber responded that they rather took a waiting attitude to allow God to judge and to act because, “They have learnt out of their young history that rebellion and the killing of a tyrant costs too much blood and lives.” This form of justification is informed from the false understanding of the doctrine of the Two Kingdoms where the church has to keep clear of temporal matters because its calling is to matters spiritual. God expects his prophets to speak against injustices and immorality both in the kingdom spiritual and in the kingdom temporal.

Bishop Tswaedi²¹⁶ mentions the late Friedrich Hopf who was the first missionary from the MLC who openly opposed Apartheid through his articles published the *Missionsblatt* and other Lutheran churches newsletters in Germany. Already in the 1960s Hopf was so vigilant that he signed a statement of missions called the “Frankfurter Declaration” which concluded with the words, “We therefore reject in the same way dreamer ideology...that through the influence of the gospel or that under an anonymous co-operation with Christ in the world history all humanity already in this time will enjoy total peace and justice.” This shows how far ahead Hopf was from his co-workers in South Africa and elsewhere in whom he was trying to inculcate a spirit of vigilance in dealing with social injustices. Tswaedi gives no credit to black LCSA leadership because besides being under the tutelage of German missionaries it was depended on its income coming from Europe and could therefore only “rubber stamp” what missionaries had already agreed upon. He cites the example of Schnell and Nun Mokone who both let the church building

²¹⁴Weber’s response is dated 30 July 1998.

²¹⁵Lutherns follow the sequence of the Ten Commandments as found in Dr.Martin Luther’s catechisms which place “Obey your father and mother” as the Fourth Commandment.

²¹⁶He responded by means of electronic mail on 8 October 1998 at 12:06 pm.

in Sophiatown go unopposed while the Anglican Father Trevor Huddleston fought a lone battle to oppose the removal. The moment the black LCSA leadership tried to do something it was already unnecessary. It was only in 1989 at its General Synod in Roodepoort (Ventersdorp) that the LCSA agreed to issue a declaration against apartheid. P.W.Botha was replaced by F.W.de Klerk as president of South Africa and as Gerhard Heidenreich responded it was “a futile attempt to jump on the bandwagon” by the LCSA.

Reverend Gerhard Heidenreich²¹⁷ further develops this idea about the weakness of the LCSA black leadership by claiming that Tswanas both within and without the LCSA traditionally do not criticise let alone depose chiefs though examples to the contrary exist in the history of the Tswanas. It was this tradition according to Heidenreich which was responsible for the silence among the LCSA national leaders. He remembers his late co-worker in Mafikeng, Evangelist Abram Nakedi who many times said, “that he did not think a black person should hold a leading office be it in the political or in the church, because in his opinion nothing could come out of it.”

Though I agree with Heidenreich that there may have been other LCSA clergy who held opinions like the one Nakedi above, I would say that the world in which Nakedi lived was the world of deprivation, poverty and hardwork for blacks to survive. Therefore if one wanted to survive one needed a white face which owned means of production and provided employment, and a white face in the church to raise funds overseas for the salaries of black pastors. I concur with Tswaedi who correctly maintains that the docility and silence of the LCSA black leaders stemmed from an economic survivalist mentality. Nakedi could not be so naive to think that blacks were only able to run their affairs after the arrival of the white people in southern Africa. He was able to read the situation and knew where his bread was going to come from. It was definitely not going to come from blacks who were in the mercy of the whites in South Africa.

²¹⁷He responded by electronic mail dated 2 September 1998 at 11:19 am.

What Heidenreich says about the possibility of LCSA black pastors out-voting²¹⁸ the MLC missionaries should there have been a desire to release a “public statement of protest against forced removal”, is correct under normal circumstances. The question to ask in this case is not why the black pastors did not do it, but if the black pastors had the capacity to do it. Blacks both within and without the church were incapacitated to do anything “subversive” against whites in general and the white repressive regime in particular. The consequences of such action that undermined or seemed to undermine white supremacy were well-known to blacks. They bordered on torture, incarceration or death. The Sharpeville massacre of 1960, the imprisonment and death of students in Soweto and other townships in 1976, the death in detention of Steve Bantu Biko in 1977, were executed with such devastating brutality. The events may have still been vivid in the LCSA’s black pastors to can do anything provocative to the state. Apartheid had so much immobilised blacks mentally that to imagine them to even consider making a public protest statement against forced removals was too ambitious. Blacks in the 1970s were followers without a leader, that is why Black Consciousness was well accepted among them and the government dealt with it so mercilessly.

Dr.Friedrick Dierks²¹⁹ who has since went back to Germany after retirement replied by fax that the doctrine of the Two Kingdoms was not responsible for the formation of the attitude of the missionaries. Their silence came as a result of the “desire to concentrate on the salvation of lost people.” Reverend Peter Alhers²²⁰ is in agreement with Dierks when he responded that the Two Kingdoms doctrine is “nearest to a possible explanation why the Lutheran Churches remained silent in regard of the forced removals (or other policies at that time) as they saw them as ‘political’ or ‘worldly’ issues in which they had not to interfere.” Alhers rightfully thinks that the hypotheses are too confined to adequately deal with this whole subject of removals and the silence of the Lutherans. Dierks further states that the Two kingdoms doctrine was misunderstood as teaching that “the kingdom of the left hand” should entirely be left to the earthly government, since God and the church were only interested in the kingdom of heaven. Dierks’s conclusion

²¹⁸Blacks pastors out-number whites in the LCSA.

²¹⁹Dierks responded by fax dated 7 August 1998 from Hintzendorf, Germany.

²²⁰Alhers’s response by means of a regular surface mail from Pretoria is dated 30 September 1998.

that he and most of the older missionaries did not oppose apartheid because it did not hinder them to proclaim the Gospel, is not limited to Lutherans, but it is narrow in the sense that while they could preach the Gospel, they could not call the apartheid government to act justly and impartially in its dealing with citizens as the Two Kingdoms doctrine teaches. While they could preach without hindrance, blacks could only preach to blacks and not to “all nations” as the Great Commission²²¹ directs all preachers to do. Therefore fear of deportation was no reason for MLC not to oppose Apartheid, since Apartheid was no threat to their work of “saving lost people.”

Dr Volker Stolle and Reverend Gerhard Heidenreich both appealed to Friedrich Hopf whom we have already referred to above. They succeeded him in the position of mission director. Hopf wrote prolifically in German against Apartheid but the well-known of his writings is the book, *Lutherische Mitverantwortung für christliche Zeugnis in Südlichen Afrika*. Almost all of his co-workers rejected his ideas at that time. Heidenreich confesses in his response sent through electronic mail that, “There were very few MLC missionaries if any who supported his views. I too was at that time not one of them.”

Dr. Volker Stolle in his response²²² from Oberursel in Germany remarks that the LCM is made of diverse Lutheran churches which made the possibility of one statement against Apartheid and forced removals non-existent. He writes, “Due to their context the Lutheran congregations in France and in eastern Germany, the former German Democratic Republic (since 1990 unified with the Federal Republic of Germany) were totally against apartheid; the congregations of the Free Synod in South Africa in their majority were in favour of apartheid; the Lutheran congregations in western Germany were divided in their options in favour or against apartheid.” For Stolle this diversity brought about “hard disputes” among the churches supporting the MLC. No common position was found because of internal theological differences. On the Two Kingdoms doctrine the debate ended up with no conclusion as to whether “the church as an institution is called to advise the government or only the single Christians have to act in their special responsibility.” This dilemma could have been surmounted through a declaration of a

²²¹Matthew 28:19

²²²Stolle responded from Germany by air-mail on 25 August 1998.

*status confessionis*²²³ especially when the international community through the mouth of the WCC and the United Nations Organization had already declared Apartheid to be a crime against humanity and a heresy. With such a declaration the Bleckmar Mission as MLC is also known, would have ceased to exist, considering how polarised it was on the issue of apartheid. The mission society remained intact, but repairable damage which will be remembered for a long time to come has been caused both by the MLC's indecisiveness and the LCSA's incapability to rise to the occasion when the time required it.

In conclusion, I have discovered through structured interviews, informal discussions, newspaper articles, books and questionnaires that indeed the agenda of the apartheid government to resettle people of Matlwang, Ga-Maloka, Botshabelo and Mogopa 1968-1984 was executed ruthlessly. The churches which were present in the said villages did not put up resistance worth mentioning except in the case of Mogopa where the SACC, the Black Sash and the Covenant and Land Programme of the SACC were involved before the rest of the tribe was removed.

The Lutheran church with its history of silence informed by its misinterpretation of doctrine of the Two Kingdoms, remained quiet when the temporal government of South Africa meted out atrocities on the helpless and marginalised communities. Over and above other socio-economic injustices suffered by Africans, the Lutherans did not stand up to shout to the government to stop when the four tribes in question were dispossessed of their land in the Western Transvaal.

Even in their localities the rank and file members of the Lutheran churches did not do much to assist those villagers among them who were destitute and in need. One realizes that the fear of the might of the apartheid government was so great that despite the fact that the Bible was calling loud and clear in Matthew 25:31-46 that our neighbours are those who are in need, Lutherans did not render the necessary help. The reason was not that they were all poor. It was

²²³In an ecclesiastic controversy on any central confessional issue, the point where one party refuses to accept the opposition's interpretation of the church's confession as legitimate and dissociates itself from the opposition (through the publication of its own interpretation of the confession on that issue) until such time as the opposition party returns to /accepts this interpretation of the church's confession. Definition by F.Deist in *A Concise Dictionary of Theological and Related Terms*, (Pretoria,1984), p.242.

instead because they were all scared of being seen to be undoing what the apartheid government was doing, i.e legally oppressing the black people to the level where they would never rise again.

As far as the analysis of the theologians and church leaders responses went, it was deduced that the silent behaviour of the Lutheran mission societies and Lutheran churches operating in South Africa was not as a result of the doctrine of the Two Kingdoms *per se*. It was mainly informed by the missionaries's background especially from Germany which did not prepare them to challenge authorities, which also promoted independence and self-determination of individual people (*volks*). Forced removals consolidating homelands in South Africa were therefore nothing to surprise them. Their shortsightedness as Weber responded made them think that what the South African government was doing with the resettlement programme was in the best interest of the African people.

The African leaders of the Lutheran churches on their part were trained by Europeans. Apartheid had so much been inculcated in them as legitimate that they 'knew and kept their place' for a long time. Any opposition to the whites and the government was tantamount to torture, long imprisonment or death. In short, they did not have in them the strength and spirit to oppose the government policies during the era of removals (1960s-1980s).

It is appreciated that individual Lutherans both black and white did stand up against apartheid as it happened in the past that individual members like Dietrich Bonhöffer against Adolf Hitler, even though they were not sanctioned by their churches to do it. In the story of forced removals in the Western Transvaal Dr. Wolfram Kistner of the SACC who fought alongside church leaders of other denominations preached how evil Apartheid was and why overseas people especially the SACC's Covenant and Land Programme groups should militate against it. With the help of the SACC, the Black Sash, the Covenant and Land Programme of the SACC and the new democratically elected government structures, the people of Matlwang and Mogopa have returned to the land of their ancestors. The Bakolobeng of Rooijantjiesfontein and the Batloug of Botshabelo were in the process of going back to their lands at the time of the completion of this thesis.

The Lutherans and the other churches which did not act much different from the Lutherans in the question of silence to land dispossession, now have to prepare themselves theologically and otherwise to be able to face the challenges brought about by the new government of 1994 and democracy. Socio-economic challenges in the form of formal education, health care, landlessness, homelessness, unemployment, poverty *et cetera* are issues to be seriously looked into lest they catch the South African Lutherans unprepared as was the case in the past. The epilogue below will suggest ways in which the Lutheran churches can best ready themselves for these and other new challenges.

6. Epilogue

After the 1994 democratic elections the Government of National Unity (GNU) formed the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to investigate gross human rights violations perpetrated against the people of South Africa during the Apartheid era. People and organisations came forward to confess and ask for amnesty to be exempted from prosecution. The churches also came forward and confessed in a special hearing in East London in November 1997. They confessed their role in racial discrimination and their omission of responsibilities towards fellow human beings especially blacks. Reverend Zach Mokgoebo in an article 'Transformation time for the churches' in *Challenge Magazine* captured the scenario well and summarised it as follows,

The churches confessed that their failure to react or speak out when necessary rendered them guilty of supporting the apartheid system. The depth and impact of their confessions depended on the extent of their alignment with the ruling white minority or the disenfranchised majority. They apologised to both victims and perpetrators within and outside the churches.²²⁴

The ELCSA (N-T), who did not make a public appearance at the hearings but instead made a late submission among other things confessed their failure to speak out critically on the issue forced removals,

We also realise that, in contrast to Martin Luther, the initiator of our tradition, we have failed as a church to speak out critically and boldly against overt public injustices and abuse of power, such as the forced removal of communities from their traditional homes, job reservation, the denial of citizenship, rights to blacks in the country of their birth, police brutality, the breakup of families due to race classifications, vast disparities in educational opportunities between blacks and whites or other policies which effected and hurt the human dignity.²²⁵

²²⁴*Challenge magazine* No.46, 1998 p.2.

²²⁵*Communicatio*, Newsletter of the ELCSA(N-T), September 1998 p.13.

It is encouraging one Lutheran church has seen its mistake and confessed that its silence was in contrast both to the Scriptures and to the teachings of Martin Luther, in this case the doctrine of the Two Kingdoms must have been vivid to the ELCSA (N-T).

Other Lutherans, the ELCSA and the LCSA did not make submissions. Reasons given by the Bishops of the ELCSA South East Diocese Louis Sibiya, and of the LCSA David Tswaedi are that they are a church of the oppressed and therefore did not oppress anybody. In a telephonical interview Sibiya responded that in his churches Church Council minutes CC88 paragraph it is recorded: "Resolved; That the Church Council resolved to inform its members about the TRC."²²⁶ The background to this resolution was that theologically the church can not confess to the government. And since the TRC was seen as an arm of the government it cannot listen to the church's confession.

In the meantime the people of Matlwang and Mogopa have respectively returned to their land. They are now faced with a big task of reconstruction. They need houses, schools, jobs, health care facilities especially as the HIV/AIDS epidemic is escalating. The 1994 democratic elections made opportunities available for people to start afresh. These opportunities are as a result of a new *kairos*,²²⁷ a season to take advantage of while it is still there. The Lutheran churches in the respective villages in which they worked prior to the removals have an opportunity to make up for past mistakes by being of help to the returnees.

An important contribution they can make is on land. They can set up programmes on land stewardship which are going to help returnees to effectively use their land for agriculture and other projects. The church can make its resources like transport, buildings, international friends like the The Covenant and Land Programme of the SACC partners.

Another area where the church can be of major help to the poor in the villages is to be their spokespersons. The church has a platform to speak up from. The Bible teaches the Christians

²²⁶ELCSA Church Council Minutes item CC88.

²²⁷Robert MacAfee Brown (ed.) has written extensively on this issue in his *Kairos: Three Prophetic Challenges to the Church* (1990).

to be responsible for the weak and needy . The Gospel of Matthew 25:31-46 is often the most vivid text challenging christians to show mercy to the needy. Being obedient to such passages of Scripture and maintaining the propheticness of the church to speak out at injustices and immoralities, can ensure that the government has minimum chance to overtly oppress the poor. One may ask what a prophetic church is. Let me take a detour to look at this question in the epilogue since the aim of this thesis is to challenge Lutherans to seriously find their place in the social arena and actively take their part as dictated by Scripture. Endless challenges call for participation in alleviating suffering of the poor and landless.

Looking at the general silence of the Lutheran Church bodies in America during the time of slavery, in Germany during the Third Reich and in South Africa during Apartheid era, one sees a direct antithesis of what a prophetic church should be. Those christians who fought for the emancipation of slaves, who opposed Nazism and those few who challenged Apartheid showed sleeplessness within a sleeping community, necessary for the propheticness of the church. It can not be emphasised that the propheticness of the church is not limited to challenging government unjust laws only. It *inter alia* also challenges immorality, apostacy and matters of faith and faithfulness.

The church prophetic engages itself with contextual matters both spiritual and social. It does not remain silent and pretend that things will somehow miraculously normalise themselves. For it, silence is not an option. It is actually conceived and born out of a silent church set-up where some christians rise up and refuse to be silent. Carl Niehaus who wanted to be a minister of religion but could not since he was expelled from Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit said the following words about the forced removals and the suffering Apartheid caused for black people,

Because of government policies they were being forced to return to the homelands where they were dying of malnutrition. The people were forced to leave the land of their birth to go to drought-stricken areas where they had no hope of employment. I as a Christian could not condone these policies and after considerable amount of turmoil in my soul I decided to become an active supporter of the African National Congress.

The Apartheid policy is a heresy and I believe the church should move towards a state of confession, and no longer participate in the Government, its policies or its military wing, the South African Defence Force.²²⁸

I purposely quoted Niehaus's response in his trial for treason in 1983 because it clearly shows how the church, the white church in Niehaus's case, which participated in South African Defence Force through its chaplaincy, needed to dissociate itself from the oppressive government by means of a state of confession. This state of confession is best explained by Brown as a confession to take a clear stand for the truth of faith despite the fact that the consequences of such stand may sour relationships. He wrote,

So a 'status confessionis' takes on the characteristics of a time of **kairos**. The two words point in similar directions: there come times when the situation is so grave, so fraught with radical consequences, that fence-sitting is no longer possible. One must be for or against.²²⁹

The churches in South Africa, especially the Lutherans are yet to seriously consider the Matthew 25:31-46 call by Jesus to serve him by serving the hungry, the thirsty, the incarcerated, the hospitalised. The explanation of this text is simply that Christians are called upon to act and not to observe people of whatever religious or political persuasion suffer. It is such situations of poverty and oppression that determine if a church is prophetic. Sermons accompanied by action to alleviate hardships of "one of the least of these" as Jesus refers to the needy in verses 40 and 45 of the Matthean text, are imperatives for prophetic churches.

The new South Africa, affectionately called the Rainbow Nation for the multi-racial component of its population is experiencing poverty, unemployment, retrenchments, homelessness especially of children, rape and abuse of women and children, violent crime and Aids among other miseries. Farmers are evicting their workers because of low income due to new economic laws which allow foreign products easy access to South African market. Urban areas are

²²⁸Edgar Lockwood, *South Africa's Moment of Truth*. 1986 p.11.

²²⁹Robert McAfee Brown (ed.), *Kairos: Three Prophetic Challenges to the Church* (Grand Rapids, 1990), p.9.

crowded with people, both men and women who despite the economic situation of South Africa still hope against hope to find means for their next meal.

The situation above is presently facing the church in South Africa. The prophetic church needs to read the signs of the time and do analysis in preparation for action. The GNU cannot manage to deal with all the challenges of the South African society single-handedly. I am not in anyway trying to exonerate the government from its responsibilities. It does not help the poor and the needy people of this country to successfully show who is responsible for their misery but not do something about it. While the church prophetically engages the government on the one hand, it should on the other hand do acts of love to its neighbours.

Let us now consider what the Anglicans have done in order that Lutherans may avoid reinventing the wheel in their quest to take up their social responsibilities in South Africa. The new Archbishop of Cape Town of the Church of the Province of South Africa (CPSA)²³⁰ Njongonkulu Ndungane who has openly declared war against poverty in South Africa. Professor Ronald Nicolson of the University of Natal and the Archbishop of Cape Town Njongonkulu Ndungane both of the Church of the Province of South Africa, have respectively made strong inputs on the churches's involvement in addressing HIV/AIDS epidemic and in alleviating poverty in South Africa. In his suggestion on church involvement in 'A Theology of Aids' Nicolson prophetically writes:

It is theologically and morally imperative that the churches respond to the crisis, and that they join in national planning about AIDS. The National AIDS Co-ordinating Committee has called for a multi-sectoral approach to AIDS. For the churches not to respond to an issue of such importance would imply that God, Jesus and Christianity are irrelevant and offer no saving grace. Since the churches are so uniquely placed to educate people and co-ordinate assistance, not to respond would be a failure to love.²³¹

²³⁰This is the same church often referred to in the interviews as Church or as Anglican Church.

²³¹Ronald Nicolson, *AIDS A Christian Response* (Pietermaritzburg, 1995) p.18.

It is not necessary for Lutherans to reinvent the wheel. Many organizations have been formed to address the HIV/AIDS problem and the churches being 'theologically and morally bound' as Nicolson reminded, can add financial and human resources in the already existing structures²³² as partners. Facts about HIV/AIDS look at us straight in the eyes in order for us to act. Sowetan newspaper recently carried two articles about HIV/AIDS on the same page. One was about a teachers union National Professional Teachers Organisation of South Africa (Naptosa) committing its members to fight against HIV/AIDS. After enumerating ways and means of their intended action, Naptosa's president Mr Leepile Taunyane said,

By proclaiming the importance of high moral values among its members, Naptosa will promote a lifestyle aimed at preventing the spread of Aids. Through continued promotion of professionalism among educators, and by setting an example and maintaining a moderate lifestyle, Naptosa will contribute actively towards the fight against HIV and Aids.²³³

On the second article by the same journalist Mokgadi Pela yet another non-religious organisation, a workers union takes a decisive action. Mr Patrick Mkhize of Azanian Workers Union (Azawu) committed his union thus,

In mortuaries, we are told, up to 60 percent of the bodies are HIV positive. We also know that five out of every 10 patients admitted to medical wards have Aids-related conditions. With the situation worsening, how can the labour movement stand on the sideline?²³⁴

Mkhize's question can be directed to the church as a whole. Can the church assume an innocent bystander attitude and pretend it is "business as usual?" Parishioners bot young and old, sexually active or not, are dying of 'Aids-related conditions'. The orphans who will survive the killer disease will need help in the form of homes, medical care and counselling. The church, the Lutheran churches should prepare themselves as a united body because HIV/AIDS knows no denominational boundaries. Involvement is necessary for survival. These two articles above are

²³²Ronald Nicolson suggests in his booklet on AIDS cited above p.18, ways on how the churches can be involvement.

²³³*Sowetan* (a daily newspaper) of 20 October 1998 p.6.

²³⁴*Ibid.*

meant to show how the church is left behind in its social responsibilities. Teachers union and workers union have taken the challenge very serious.

On the other side Archbishop Ndungane has declared war on poverty and its byproducts' for example landlessness, homelessness, unemployment, lack of access to education *et cetera*. Addressing one of the causes of poverty Bishop Ndungane in an article in Sowetan gave sobering statistics, "More than 800 million people in the world are hungry. This number may exceed one billion people by the year 2020."²³⁵ Adding on the call for a united action of interested parties Premier of Gauteng Province Dr Mathole Motshega said, "Social partnerships must be rapidly developed between workers, peasants, professionals, entrepreneurs, youth and disabled."²³⁶ Lutherans and other church denominations are also called to such partnerships in their quest for a theology of survival.

The next millennium is approaching with its challenges to churches. Lutherans in particular should unite in order to become a force to reckon with when they bring inputs and contributions through the prophetic theology of survival. Differences put aside Lutherans's unity with its strong influential partnerships in Europe and America is an indispensable partner in the declared war on the social arena for full humanity. The South African Bill of Rights alone cannot bring in change that will address all peoples' needs.

Commitment for a social agenda addressing the needs of the poor and marginalised people of South Africa both blacks and whites is imperative. Lutheran theologians have a responsibility to do a theology that will advance the awareness of churches about the needs of communities in South Africa. Just as theologians pushed through Liberation, Black and Feminist theologies. These theologies addressed general needs of liberation, coming up as people felt the urge to vocalise their quest for liberation. They addressed peoples' quest for liberation from neo-colonial and imperialist agenda of subduing so-called Third World communities. Another theology to address specific social issues is inevitable.

²³⁵*Sowetan* (a daily newspaper) of 21 August 1998 p.10.

²³⁶*Sowetan* (a daily newspaper) of 20 October 1998 p.5 Motshega was responding to statistics putting the number of South Africans living in shacks at more than eight million.

Churches, for being one of the best organised institutions in South Africa today, coupled with the influence and the authority it commands can spread this new theology, call it Theology of Survival. It has to look at ways and means of how women and children will survive rape and abuse, how resources like land can be given back to the poor to work on their survival programme, how the unemployed and the retrenched can still survive, how people with HIV/AIDS and other terminal diseases can survive as humans in the last years and months of their lives. Theology of Survival will also have as part of its agenda the responsibility of calling corrupt officials and leaders to order, so that all, and not only a selected few, may survive. If need be, this theology will be like a whistle which will expose those who are corrupt, selfish and immoral in their duties to society. Finally, God's will in the whole scenario of survival will have to be emphasised.

The issue of how to deal with land in future cannot be left unattended. Unless proper programme on land restitution and land reform is put in place and sustained, majority of the people of South Africa, especially blacks will forever be unhappy. Churches which have land in their disposal must consider what part they can play in land reform. The Mariannhill Diocese of the Roman Catholic Church has in conjunction with Church Land Programme already since May 1998 embarked on feasibility studies to determine exactly how much land the diocese owns. They are also trying to determine the present status of their land i.e. who lives on it, for what purpose is it being used *et cetera*. Lutherans especially ELCSA which has inherited a lot of mission stations from their mission societies must earnestly look into how they are going to avail their land to the use of the landless masses of South Africa.

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Mr Molete Ratshidi Elijah.

Mrs Tlhale Mookodi.

Mr Tlhale M.

Ms Tube Elisa.

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Mr Mogoshane R.

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Appendices

INTERVIEW NUMBER AI

Interviewer: Radikobo Ntsimane

Interviewee: Mr. Buni Tsimane

Place of Interview: Ikageng, Potchefstroom

Date of Interview: 26 May 1998

Language of Interview: Setswana

Profile of the interviewee: Mr Buni Philemon Tsimane was born in Matlwang. He went to school briefly in Roma but had to look after the family's cattle for some years before going to work in Potchefstroom. Mr Tsimane is married Johanna Ditsie and their marriage is blessed with four children. He is currently employed by a fertilizer manufacturing firm in Potchefstroom as a goods-train driver in the plant.

R.N: Why were you moved from Matlwang, Ntate Tsimane?

B.T: The main reason was that the Boers or the whites wanted that land.

R.N: Why did they want that place, what did they want to do with it?

B.T: It looked like they wanted it for residence but when we went to visit the graves we found that they had put their cattle there for grazing.

R.N: Do you know under which law were you forced to move?

B.N: They did not specify the law. They just forced us without telling us the law that made us to move. The were greedy for that place.

R.N: In which year were you moved?

B.T: It seems it was 1968.

R.N: Did you move voluntarily or by force?

B.T: They had since long forced us to move. Lawyers like Rudolf were instructed to speak on our behalf but they finally told us that we will move because they have lost the case. We were forced to look for another lawyer.

R.N: Where did you get the money to pay those lawyers? Who was collecting it?

B.T: The villagers came together and pooled the money together. They found somebody and came together to make collection of the money.

R.N: Where was your *kgosi*? Why was he not the one collecting the money?

B.T: They regarded him as a headman, Moatlhodi Lerefolo.

R.N: Was he a headman or a *kgosi*?

B.T: They called him headman because we did not have a *kgosi*.

R.N: Beside the lawyers what did you as Barolong ba Matlwang do to resist the resettlement?

B.T: It looked like there was nothing we could do because they were (*sic*) scared of whites.

R.N: Did you not have things like daggers to fight them off?

B.T: We had sticks but our efforts were concertrated on our cattle. While they were driving them towards town were drivng them towards the village. That was our battle!

R.N: Now what hardships due to the removal did you as the village of Machaviestad did you encounter?

B.T: Hardships about the removals...there were no problems they just told us that we were moving...they drove us in their trucks. They agreed with the army that they should move us to Rooigrond. They lended them their canvas tents which they never came to take back.

R.N: I do not mean hardships as you were being moved but hardships which you were faced with in the location which you experienced in Machaviestad. Hardships which others faced in Rooigrond.

B.T: Hardships I know about Rooigrond was that there was no grazing for cattle. Cattle died on their arrival there. I had two cows which died there. They were about to multiply but later died. In the location we were just removed and offered four-roomed houses.

R.N: Were you supposed to pay lodger's fee in those houses?

B.T: Yes when you were single you were supposed to pay lodger's fee. No one lived for free, one pays the rent here, one pays the lodger's fee here.

R.N: Did churches come together and help those people who were facing those diffuclties?

B.T: There was nothing churches helped us with. I have never heard anybody saying that the church helped. I have also not seen any church helping.

R.N: Did churches help those who were in Rooigrond?

B.T: People who were living there are the ones who can explain. They used to tell us that Lübeck was helping.

R.N: By the way which church is this Lübeck?

B.T: It is from overseas in Germany.

R.N: How did it help?

B.T: It provided some food for those who were at school.

R.N: As Lutherans why did you not help when you saw such great suffering? Why did your church not help?

B.T: We did not know. I did not know how they were supposed to help. We did not think that the church can be of any help.

R.N: Who was your pastor that time?

B.N: Our pastor was *Moruti Sepeng*.

R.N: Who was the white one who was also there?

B.T: That one came after Sepeng. He was said to be living in Lichtenburg circuit.

R.N: Was he the one who confirmed and baptised you?

B.T: Yes he confirmed me while I was already in the location.

R.N: What are you saying as the Lutheran Church...what are you saying as a member of the Lutheran Church when you and your church were silent when people were in difficulties? How do you see this matter?

B.T: That was a difficult matter. You know that when one does not understand one does not know where one can go for help, where one can get light on how the church should help. We were just watching.

R.N: In future how are you going to help people and the community in their time of difficulties?

B.T: If people come and one realizes that they are facing hardships and one has means to help one should help as we helped.

R.N: *Ntate* Tsimane thank you.

B.T: Thank you *rra*.

INTERVIEW NUMBER AII

Interviewer: Radikobo Ntsimane

Interviewee: Mrs Manankisi Martha Mainama

Place of Interview: Ikageng, Potchefstroom

Date of Interview: 27 May 1998

Language of Interview: Setswana

Profile of the Interviewee: Mrs Manankisi Martha Mainama was born in Matlwang and went to school first in Matlwang and later in Boipatong near Vanderbijlpark. She was confirmed in Matlwang by Missionary van Scharrel. She is married to Mr Doki Mainama and is presently working in a printing shop in Potchefstroom.

R.N: Why were you moved from Matlwang, *mme*?

M.M: The Boers wanted our land and the municipality wanted people to move into Ikageng Location.

R.N: When?

M.M: Some moved earlier but those who remained moved in 1971.

R.N: If you say others remained does it mean that you chose to move voluntarily?

M.M: We saw that it was better to move while others saw that it was better for them to remain.

R.N: Were you removed by force?

M.M: We were forced but were not beaten up.

R.N: Did those who remained fight against the government?

M.M: They did not fight, all they said was that they were not moving.

R.N: Did they have lawyers who advised them to stay?

M.M: There were some lawyers, yes.

R.N: What hardships did you experience as a result of the removal?

M.M: The hardship we experienced in Ikageng was the small size of houses we moved into compared to the ones we had in Matlwang. We found four-roomed houses here. Another hardship was that even when one is a member of of a family occupying the house, one had to pay lodgers fee whether one was still going to school or not. If one did not pay up one was taken to prison.

R.N: Who was taking people to jail?

M.M: The municipality police.

R.M: What churches were working in Matlwang at the time of the removal?

M.M: There was the Lutheran, the Methodist, the Roman Catholic, and the Anglican.

R.N: How did these churches help the tribe of Matlwang at the time of the removal?

M.M: They did not help at all, rra!

R.N: Were your houses demolished during the removal?

M.M: Yes, they were demolished. Many were thatch-roofed and were therefore burnt down.

The corrugated iron sheets we took along.

R.N: Who burnt the houses?

M.M: The municipality police.

R.N: So you were moved by the police! Does that mean you were forced?

M.M: The police were loading us in their pick-ups while the municipality trucks were loading goods.

R.N: What did the churches say, did they not protest when their houses were demolished?

M.M: I do not know.

R.N: Did the churches help those who moved to Rooigrond since they moved a little later?

M.M: I used to visit Rooigrond and have only seen misery there. The people were in a desert. There was no water, no fire wood, no clinic and no transport to travel to town.

R.N: Did the churches not help in those respects?

M.M: They did not help.

R.N: Since you say that the churches did not help what are you saying about the future, should the churches remain silent, especially the Lutheran church help when people face hardships?

M.M: A church is a church because of the people. I will suggest that Lutherans should visit people in their homes and enquire about their needs and help with the provision for food and water. Provision for transport in cases of emergency should also be considered by the church.

R.N: When you speak about the church are you aware that you are referring to black people, people in that same congregation.

M.M: I mean a church is a church because of the congregation. Since we are one with whites in our churches they should also help. They should not only come to church and not do some good.

R.N: Since those people who were in Rooigrond and some of those who were in Ikageng Location have gone back to Matlwang, who has helped them to move back?

M.M: Black people here in Ikageng employed lawyers to help. They used to send Karel Mogotsi to consult with lawyers in Cape Town on behalf of the tribe. While they were still in the process a democratic dispensation came in the country and the programme of returning land to its rightful owners came in automatically. Majority of the people who fought for the return of the land are those in Ikageng. They even organised busses and trucks to transport them back home.

R.N: Who is the chief of Matlwang today?

M.M: Mr Makodi was the chief from Rooigrond. He was responsible for the tribe in Rooigrond but it said that he is not the chief.

R.N: Who then is the chief?

M.M: I grew up with the knowledge that there was no chief. A certain Rre Moatlhodi who passed away years back was the last chief. Thereafter we just lived on without one.

R.N: Thank you, *mma!*

M.M: Thank you.

INTERVIEW NUMBER AIII

Interviewer: Radikobo Ntsimane

Interviewee: Mr. Morris Gorekwang

Place of Interview: Ikageng, Potchefstroom

Date of Interview: 28 May 1998

Language of Interview: Setswana

Profile of Interviewee: Mr. Morris Mbuti Gorekwang was born in 1925 in Matlwang. He went to school for a short time in Roma, because his family needed someone to look after the cattle. He married in 1949 in the Anglican Church. He worked first in Stilfontein and later in Potchefstroom in the military camp. He was the secretary of the tribe and the one liaising with the lawyer of the tribe Mr Roedolf.

R.N: Was Mr Roedolf an attorney?

M.G: He was an attorney of the Matlwang people. He was the first one to represent the people of Matlwang. I was convicted in Potchefstroom for my activities in the Matlwang matter of removal. I was told to be out of Matlwang within three months.

R.N: Was it because you refused that the people should go?

M.G: Yes I refused that people be moved. We were fighting saying that the land belonged to us. I was given three months within which to launch an appeal. We appealed the case and Pretoria accepted it. Then Pretoria dismissed the case. When they dismissed the case I received a phone call from the lawyers that it was dismissed. I took the matter to the *kgotla* (tribal council) who advised me to proceed with the case to Bloemfontein. We won the case in Bloemfontein but I cannot tell you which law favoured us. That is when we settled down.

R.N: What year was it?

M.G: It was 1962 if I am not mistaken, or 1963, between those two years. Dr. Riekert said that Bloemfontein was biased in our favour so he gave us 'notice' that we may have to move later.

R.N: Which Riekert was that, Ramosa?

M.G: Ramosa. He said Bloemfontein favoured us unfairly and that I refused when people were supposed to move.

R.N: What exactly did he say was the reason for your removal?

M.G: He said that the land of Matlwang is a black spot, i.e it was a black spot. They said that Klerksdorp, Stilfontein were black spots and therefore were town council land. We disagreed saying that it was not municipality land but ours. We were born on this land and our forefathers were also born on it. Those who knew how they purchased this land have already died. We have only a little knowledge about this land. Kgosi Tsimane, Ismael Serwalo, Gabriel Gabaotswe and other old men I used to attend the courts with, knew it well.

R.N: Did the Barolong have papers to show that the land was theirs?

M.G: There was no proof, *rra*. There were no papers at all, *rra*. I just followed the old men when they told me how things were built up. In the olden days there were no papers. When people occupied land there were no papers. When the Boers came they found people inhabiting the land and decided to introduce papers. The main thing was the graves of the people we knew and of those we did not know. Since the graves were so old, it became our knowledge that the land was ours. Riekert came back and gave me a letter of warning. I took that letter to Roedolf telling him that they have relaunched the attack. Roedolf told me that those needed someone with a bigger head. We met Sam Motswenyane in Wildebeespan who told us about an attorney called Mr. Silver. Silver asked me to bring him information from Roedolf. We paid Roedolf the last money he claimed we owed him and Silver took over the case which dragged on for too long. We won the case in Pretoria. When I went to the commissioner to ask for papers showing that indeed the land was ours he refused saying that the army wanted the land to do army training on it.

R.N: *Rra*, as you were resisting the removal some people left you and move to Ikageng, why?

M.G: I can tell you that they were scared of the military. The land was now wanted by the military and no longer by the municipality. They were afraid of the army, they also lost hope and move into the location in 1960. That is why one of the wards there is called Matlwang Location.

R.N: Now, *rra*, what difficulties did you face due to the removal of 1960 and of 1968 and 1971?

M.G: The hardships we faced were that we had easy life on our land paer apartheid took our land. They told us that we should no longer plough our fields and they confiscated our cattle. The police drove our cattle into the *skiet* which is a restricted area from which one had to pay a fine to get them back. We had to sell them or pay a fine of close to R300.00

and R400.00 in order to release a herd of cattle. If they found you ploughing they would ask you on whose land you thought you were ploughing. We left our fields unploughed and survived by working in town. Most of us had nothing to do. The whites kept saying that they were going to move us soon.

R.N: Since the churches in Matlwang were Anglican, Roman Catholic, the Methodist and the Lutheran, did they help in solving your problems.

M.G: There was no church which helped us. There is no church which helped us at all. The church that tried to resist was the Roman Catholic because the school belonged to the Roman Catholic. schools.They attacked the Roman Catholic Church. The government stopped supplying books and teachers to other school, and we could only get them from Roman Catholic. The Roman Catholic school teachers were sent to tell the villagers that the school was going to be destroyed. The Catholics gave in and apaerheid took over. The school was closed down and no other church came forward with help.

R.N: Were those in Rooigrond helped by the churches?

M.G: About the people of Rooigrond I cannot tell you if the church helped or not. The Council of Churches used to go to them and helped with whatever it could help with, but I cannot say what exactly did the Council of Churches help them with. It were mainly trhe Germans as they told us.

R.N: Do you speak of the South African Germans or those from Germans?

M.G: The Germans from Grmany used to come and gather peoples' grieviences in Rooigrond and here at the location. They listened to our grieviences in co-operation with the Germans of South Africa. They knew where their people were, and went to meet with them in places known only by them. It were mainly the Germans from Germany who came.

R.N: Now as a leader in the Lutheran Church what do you say when people are facing hardships? Should churches remain quiet when people are in difficult situations? What are Lutherans saying?

M.G: *Rra*, churches should not remain quiet. In those days we did not have an idea that churches could help because they were also suffereing under apartheid laws. When one asked for help as I once did while we were building this church, they told me that we were building a church for communists. We did not have an idea which we could follow. How

could the churches help us when they themselves were under oppression? They were run by Boers!

R.N: I gathered that you once received blankets, coats and eye glasses which all came from the Germans. Do you know about them, *rra*?

M.G: I only heard about them. I do not want to lie to you *rra*. I was still scared of the government. My house was under surveillance because I was suspected to be a communist. My house was often checked. Spies were even set up to keep an eye on me. Tswanas of long ago say *e e boa bo ntlha e a ikilela* (an ape that feels danger looming will run for cover). To be honest I have never received those blankets. They were announced in churches but when the people got there R5.00 were demanded from each of them. The only things I received were from TRAC recently. Those are the things I received after being elected. I took them to Matlwang. I do not have anything to the earlier ones.

R.N: Does that mean that the first ones were not from TRAC but from Germany?

M.G: Yes they were from Germany because they came in big containers from Germany.

R.N: Who is helping with the development of Matlwang, today?

M.G: Today the development of Matlwang is directly under the government. The government is serious about development. Often we are called to open roads and we are also going to allocate sites properly so that people can build properly.

R.N: Rre Gorekwang, what should be done so that in future the churches can be of help? How do you as Lutherans want to help? What would you like to see churches doing?

M.G: *Rra*, we would like to see churches being of help in a manner they see fit because we cannot dictate to someone when we desire help from them. Our main problem is diunity. When we ask for help we do not ask it for only one group but for Matlwang as a whole. When I was in Germany I told them that all help must be received by all.

R.N: As Lutheran leaders you also have means to help in...in Ikageng. What help can you give besides the one coming from outside?

M.G: *Rra*, I do not want to lie to you. It is for the first time that I hear about this matter. We never thought on how churches can help, since nothing has so far been suggested. We never brought our pleas to the Lutherans because they also are still struggling. They need R50.00s in order that they may buy chairs for the church to look beautiful.

R.N: Thank you *rre* Gorekwang.

INTERVIEW NUMBER AIV

Interviewer: Radikobo Ntsimane

Interviewee: Mr Johannes Ntsimane

Place of Interview: Ikageng, Potchefstroom

Date of Interview: 30 May 1998

Language of Interview: Setswana

Profile of the interviewee: Mr. Johannes Ramotile Ntsimane was born in 1938 in Matlwang. He went to Ga-Maloka where he was taken care of by his father's aunt whose cattle he was looking after. Mr. Ntsimane went to school in Ga-Maloka and was confirmed there. He went back to Matlwang in 1965 and started working first at a boarding college and later at the Post Office until he was retired. He married Mamojanku Mahlatsi in 1968. Their marriage is blessed with one child. Mr. Ntsimane is currently a member of the Matlwang Committee holding a portfolio of agriculture.

R.N: Mr. Ntsimane, when were you removed from Matlwang?

J.N: Not long after I got married the forced removals came to be. There was a man called Job Tsimane whose turn it was to be removed. Since his load did not fill up the truck they decided to take my wife along in my absence. I was working at Post Office. When knock off time came I saw my wife in front of me telling me that they have moved from Matlwang they are now in the location. It was still 1968 because I married in 1968. While they were still removing us they told us that we shall have to share our house with a certain woman. I told my wife that since they removed us where we were living on our own in Matlwang, we were not going to share a house with that woman. I told them I shall have my personal house because they have taken me away from where I was living, otherwise I shall go back to where I was.

I told my white boss what was going on. He told me that he was going to phone the municipality people. They told him that they wanted to speak to me personally. They told me there is something in Matlwang that they were looking for. They said they were going to take five years only and we shall go back to Matlwang. That never happened. When I went to them they told me that I can have that house to myself because I had a family. I told them that they should not demand permits and lodger's fee from my guests because I will have many guests.

They then told me that they will give me the house. I asked them to whom does the house belong. They told me it belonged to me. They told me to come the following day when they will give me papers to show that it was mine. The following day they demanded that I produce a registration letter of my wife and children and the number of people in the house. I told them that that was the reason I did not want to come here. They said that we should give them a chance to find what they were looking for before we go back to Matlwang.

R.N: What were they looking for?

J.N: They said that there were diamonds in Matlwang. They wanted to find those diamonds...to find out if they could not get them. But the bad thing about it was that...many people had already moved out but I was removed in a bad way. I then relaxed and watched what was going to take place. I spoke a lot with Mr.Pelser in the municipality offices asking him questions.

R.N: Pelsen?

J.N: Yes! I spoke to him at length asking him questions. He told me that I should not despair things will get normal. But instead of normal, things are getting worse. The houses which they said they were giving to us we are today supposed to buy them. They said they were giving those houses to us but we are supposed to buy them and pay rent for them. In Matlwang we were not paying any rent. We built our own houses in Matlwang. Tell me where is the money for the houses they demolished in Matlwang. Where is the money for the damages they caused? Some received R10.00 as imbursement. I do not know if one can built a house for R18.00. It went on like that as we were settling in the location police were taking rounds checking how many people occupied one house. The police claimed to have been send by the location *dikgosi*. When I asked them who exactly was *kgosi* in the location, was it *Rre Mokutu*, was it *Rre Gaby*, was it *Rre Maroganye Kuli*, was it *Rre Nyokong*, they just said that it were the *dikgosi* of the location. When I tried to probe further they told me that I should be at the office first thing the following morning. I told them it was not possible because children have to go to school. I could only come later with my wife.

R.N: Is that all?

J.N: They sent municipality police like Mr Tatane and others. I told them to tell those *dikgosi* to go to the municipality offices at seven in the morning where we shall meet.

R.N: Were there people who opposed the removal from Matlwang?

J.N: Yes! Only a few of them remained. Those who refuse remained. People like *Rre Serwalo, Rre Makodi, Rre Tshabadira, Rre Maimane* said they were not going into the township. I was one of them when they removed my wife by force to come here. I was one of them. I said since I was not born in a location I was not going to the location. They won me by taking my wife in my absence. Those men then went to *Rre Kgosi Montshiwa* to find out what should they do in such a situation.

R.N: *Kgosi* Montshiwa of Mafikeng?

J.N: Yes, but he has since passed away. Montshiwa gave them a short time to settle in Rooigrond until such time that our land was returned to us. *Kgosi* Montshiwa then passed away. Those who remained then made sure that people of Matlwang pulled their socks to go back to their land. But we left Matlwang not of our own will. We in the location formed an organization called Action Committee. This committee went to all communities until we met Mr.Hannekom.

R.N: What year was the Action Committee established?

J.N: After...It was started in 1985. We formed the Action Committee with the aim of going forward.

R.N: In which year have you met Minister Hannekom?

J.N: We have met him on several occasions. I do not exactly remember the date because it was on many occasions. I get confused because *hulle is te veel* (the occasions are many).

R.N: What hardships did you and the tribe face from the apartheid government?

J.N: The apartheid government?

R.N: Yes!

J.N: In apartheid we found out that the Boers are the only ones who wanted to exist. We had to sit on our buttocks as black people. Hardships were that we were born on the land of our forefathers but they wanted to have it. Where are they from except from Holland?

R.N: There were four churches in Matlwang: Roma, Anglican, Lutheran and Wesleyan. Oh! And AME. Now did these churches help in opposing the removal?

J.N: Those churches never helped. The church which helped was Roma because they used to give us something (money) when we went to the meetings.

R.N: But that was after you have long moved.

J.N: We had already moved.

R.N: Who was the pastor?

J.N: It was Nhlapo but his first name I have forgotten.

R.N: What year was it?

J.N: It was in '69.

R.N: During the removal itself?

J.N: No, it was in '71. The removal was in '71. The last load was in '71.

R.N: The one that went to Rooigrond?

J.N: I can be around...you know these things are coming unexpectedly. I could have looked for those papers. It was about '70s. What I mean is that people had already moved.

R.N: Did those in Rooigrond receive any help in their hardships?

J.N: Lübeck is the organization which helped them with tents, soups and other things.

R.N: Is this Lübeck in Germany?

J.N: It is in Germany!

R.N: Was there a pastor or a representative who was helping them whose name you remember?

J.N: Braun and others.

R.N: Was he German?

J.N: He is German.

R.N: Now you as a Lutheran elder and a community leader what did you and the village do on your own to address your hardships?

J.N: There is nothing we helped with because hardships were facing us. We were looking for help from outside. We were in trouble. Time after time we went to prison therefore there was no help we could offer. Our help we were asking from God through prayers. Even the pastors were able to help us. We did not receive help any help even from the Lutherans this side though we gave them letters of request. The last straw was that they no longer read our letters of request to the congregation.

R.N: Often you were the one reporting and announcing issues of Matlwang in church. Were there other people helping you?

J.N: I was working with a daughter of Mr Matlawe her name is Sempe. She even came into loggerheads with one man of the congregation.

R.N: Now since you said that churches of the village even the Lutheran one did not help how do you see their role, is it their role to help or not?

J.N: It is their duty to help when they see that the tribe was sinking. Great pastors like Frank Chikane and Tutu helped to push forward that people should see light. Not our churches which do not help our people to see light and move forward. They should have encouraged us with prayers. They should have prayed so that we end up going back home.

R.N: How will you *Ntate* Ntsimane as a leader even in the congregation in future help people in their hardships not only of removals?

J.N: What is there is for us to remember them in prayers. How else can we help except asking for donations from the tribe so that as a tribe we can help those people?

R.N: You are speaking of help from donations outside, don't you want to make such donations yourselves?

J.N: That is what I am saying when I say that we as a congregation or tribe can make such donations to help people to overcome such hardships.

R.N: *Ntate* Ntsimane thank you answering the questions. Is there something you want to add before we close?

J.N: Well, what I want to add is that all organizations from outside should help us. I am now in the agriculture. I am no longer the chairperson of the tribe. I am now in ploughing. I am running short of the salaries of those people who are ploughing. We need to pay them just a little so that they may not be discouraged otherwise they will earn after harvesting.

R.N: Thank you *Rre* Ntsimane.

J.N: Thank you!

INTERVIEW NUMBER AV

Interviewer: Radikobo Ntsimane

Interviewee: Mamokopela Obaletswe

Place of Interview: Ikageng in Potchefstroom

Date of Interview: 30 May 1998

Language of Interview: Setswana

Profile of the interviewee: Mrs. Mamokopela Ertinah Obaletswe was born in Matlwang on 11 March 1942. She went to school first in Ga-Maloka and then in Matlwang where she finished Standard Six in Roma School. She is married to Salathiel Obaletswe and their marriage is blessed with eight children. Mrs. Obaletswe is presently working as a cleaner in a military place in Potchefstroom.

R.N: When were the people of Matlwang resettled?

M.O: In 1968.

R.N: Why were they resettled?

M.O: The Boers wanted their land.

R.N: What did the Boers want to do with it?

M.O: I do not know.

R.N: How would you say you do not know? Can you just be moved without a reason?

M.O: We just saw the municipality trucks loading us for resettlement.

R.N: What was the answer when you asked what exactly did the Boers want in your land?

M.O: I do not know why they were moving us.

R.N: What did you see in Matlwang as you were being removed, since some people say that the army wanted to use your land for training while others claim that there were diamonds under it?

M.O: I did not hear about that.

R.N: When the announcement about the removal was made did you willingly go or were you forced?

M.O: I think we were forced. We just saw municipality trucks coming to load us and unload us here where four-roomed houses were built for us.

R.N: Were they army or municipality trucks which brought you here?

M.O: Municipality trucks.

R.N: Did they scare you with guns and dogs?

M.O: They did not scare us at all.

R.N: But when you refused to ride on the trucks were not afraid of them?

M.O: We never refused to ride.

R.N: I heard that some people who went to Rooigrond refused.

M.O: Yes, it was a lie.

R.N: Now when you say nobody refused but you only came here in '68, what do you say about the people who moved long before '68 and are presently living in Matlwang Location?

M.O: That it how it came about. It was named that way as Matlwang in the location.

R.N: Why did you remain that time?

M.O: Then our turn to be moved here came.

R.N: But there was a long period between the move of those who went to the location and you who came later. What made you stay that long before you could move?

M.O: They were moving us in drips and draps, do you understand?

R.N: Yes. Now what hardships did you face here, which were brought about by this removals? For instance in Matlwang you may have had it easy but here you may be having hardships. Hardships you did not have in Matlwang which you now have here.

M.O: We face hardships of paying house rent, and having shortage of houses as I live in a shack now.

R.N: Were you not living in a shack in Matlwang?

M.O: Yes, I was not paying house rent, electricity, not having scarcity of water. I was living freely, I just lived freely.

R.N: What about lodger's fee and permit?

M.O: When I came here I went to spend a night at the municipality offices arrested for lodger's fee. I had rented a shack at Uncle Shorty's.

R.N: Yes, what exactly is this lodger's fee?

M.O: Permit is to pay for having a stand with a house and lodger's is to pay for living in your parents' house as a single adult.

R.N: Did you bring the cattle which you had in Matlwang into Ikageng?

M.O: Never! What do you call that Boer?

R.N: Some call him Dolf.

M.O: Yes! Dolf took them for free. That Boer! We used to buy maize meal from him. Bags of maize meal he used to deliver to us. We used to buy bags of maize from Dolf. He bought our cattle cheaply, we did not move with them.

R.N: Was it you who agreed with him on the price or was he deciding alone?

M.O: Yes we agreed with him on the price.

R.N: Which then means that he did not take them by force you sold them to him.

M.O: He did not take them by force.

R.N: There were four churches in Matlwang. There was Anglican, Roman Catholic, Lutheran and Wesleyan. Now how did those churches help you in resettlement hardships?

M.O: Helping in what?

R.N: With ideas of refusing or getting lawyers.

M.O: They said nothing. The churches said nothing, *rra*.

R.N: What do you mean when you say that they said nothing *mma*?

M.O: They did not speak. They did not say this or that way was the best.

R.N: Since they had put up buildings there did they get their money for them?

M.O: I do not know.

R.N: What happened to you Lutherans's little building?

M.O: Lutheran?

R.N: Yes, the one at *Mme* Mamorwa.

M.O: I do not know. Even about that Wesleyan one I do not know.

R.N: Who was your *moruti* in Matlwang?

M.O: *Moruti* of which church?

R.N: Lutheran!

M.O: Who was it? By the way when was I confirmed?

R.N: Was it Sepeng?

M.O: Sepeng! I was confirmed by Sepeng.

R.N: Where was he when you were being resettled?

M.O: He was already transferred, he was not there.

R.N: Who was the *moruti* at that place?

M.O: Who was it....

R.N: Was it not van Scharrel?

M.O: It seems it was he van Scharrel. *Moruti* van Scharrel...by the way what are they called?

R.N: Germans?

M.O: Germans! Yes, van Scharrel was a German.

R.N: What did he say when you were resttled?

M.O: Was he concerned? He was having nothing to do with it.

R.N: He was educated. Could he not help you with ideas on how to go about it?

M.O: He did not help us.

R.N: Did you ask him how you should go about the resistance?

M.O: No.

R.N: Why did you not ask him?

M.O: We were just taken unexpected and suddenly. You do not know because you were in Rooijantjiesfontein or were you elsewhere?

R.N: I was in Matlwang.

M.O: Were you in Matlwang during the removals?

R.N: Yes!

M.O: Do you know how pretty our home was in Matlwang? It was built with stones and decorated with slate.

R.N: How much were you paid after it was broken down?

M.O: We did not get even a cent!

R.N: Now what are you saying as Lutherans, since you were a Lutheran at that time, should churches help when their people are facing hardships which you were facing?

M.O: Such matters were discussed in the past. What does Morris say? What does Morris say?

R.N: We are not asking Morris but what your opinions are.

M.O: He is a Lutheran elder why can't he speak?

R.N: When?

M.O: That very same time.

R.N: He said that he was resisting by means of lawyers.

M.O: Now?

R.N: As Lutherans how much money did you contribute for lawyer's services?

M.O: I contributed nothing, not a single penny. Even at Matlwang as people are going back we have not paid in anything.

R.N: Finally *mma*, what action should churches take when people are facing hardships. Even though you are no longer Lutherans what will you do when people are facing hardships. As churches how do you help those people?

M.O: Which people?

R.N: Like people who are in difficulties of living in tinhouses where rainwater sips through, these houses fall apart, people get exposed to severe cold, they get sick. How do you as Lutherans help them?

M.O: What?

R.N: Some of these tinhouses sometimes fall because of rain and the people placed in temporary shelters in schools and churches. How can you help them? Can you not prepare some soup for them?

M.O: We are supposed to help, to help my neighbour in an event of danger. We are supposed to help. I have to take their children to cram them in my house if a dark cloud has not fallen on me. Do you hear me?

R.N: I do not know if you would like to add, my questions are finished.

M.O: My answers are also finished. What I say is that we are supposed to help each other.

R.N: Have you and your elder and *pastor* spoken about such difficulties and ways of helping?

M.O: I do not have a church.

R.N: *Mme*, thank you.

M.O: I also thank you.

INTERVIEW NUMBER BI

Interviewer: Radikobo Ntsimane

Interviewee: Mr. M.Tlhale

Place of Interview: Gannalaagte

Date of Interview: 17 June 1998

Language of Interview: Setswana

Profile of the interviewee: Mr. M. Tlhale was born in 1920 and went to school up to Standard Six which he passed in 1936 in Ga-Maloka. He was confirmed by Missionary Loosemann in the Lutheran Church in 1937 and married Monametsa Nage in 1947. Their marriage is blessed with eight children who are still alive. Mr. Tlhale is both an elder in the Gannalaagte congregation and also a member of the *lekgotla* (tribal council).

R.N: Now in the village of Ga-Maloka who was the chief during the removal?

M.T: It was the same one who is ruling now, Mr.Modikwagae Molete.

R.N: What year did you move?

M.T: We moved in 1976 the month of September.

R.N: Why did you move Mr.Tlhale?

M.T: We did not move ourselves. We were moved by those who moved us.

R.N: Who moved you, *rra*?

M.T: We were moved by the apartheid regime.

R.N: According to what you heard, what was the reason for the move?

M.T: It is said that we were in a "black spot". There is something called black spot which we do not know.

R.N: Black spot is a black dot, *rra*.

M.T: Yes, they said we were in a black spot. Now they were sending us to where it was appropriate.

R.N: Did they stipulate the laws under which they were moving?

M.T: They may have told us but I do not remember. I do not think they told us because I carry no knowledge of it. It was just a removal because we were in a black spot. We were not told of any law under which we were being removed.

R.N: After hearing the announcement that you were going to move did you decide on your own that yes we shall move, we have understood?

M.T: We did not choose to move. It happened around the days after they came to announce that we were moving. They fetched us and showed us this place this side. This was the place we

were moving to. But we still did not agree. We said this is a place full of water and not a place to live in, but they insisted that they are moving us.

R.N: Was it your first time to see that place in ,76 or did you see it earlier?

M.T: We saw this place in 1975 for the first time. In 1976 it was confirmed that we are moving. One day when I came to my senses I found soldiers in tents around the village. They said now was the time to move. They were armed with guns, sir. It was bad.

R.N: What were your reasons to oppose the removal?

M.T: We oposed it because the land was ours. We cannot be removed from it without valid reasons.

R.N: Do you have papers proving that Ga-Maloka is the land of Bakolobeng?

M.T: I have evidence because our *kgosi* is the only one keeping those things. Evidence is just the question that is being asked today, what we know is that the only the chief keeps the papers. I think this law which allows only the chief to keep the papers is problematic. What are you laughing at now?

R.N: I am laughing at the fact that while the relevant papers are there you were still removed.

M.T: Yes, we were romoved even with the papers available.

R.N: Did I hear you well when you said that there was a struggle against the removal? It shows that you did not move voluntarily since you said there were soldiers surrounding the village. Is there something which you did to oppose the removal?

M.T: There was no opposition, *rra*. What can we do when the police were armed in that manner?

R.N: Where were the guns of the village?

M.T: Ours was a Setswana village where guns are not allowed. Our guns are rocks.

R.N: Yes I mean the young men of the village and the educated people may have collected money in order that lawyers may be instructed to demonstrate your unwillingness to move.

M.T: No, none of those things took place. There was no proper opposition except by word of mouth. We failed there at negotiations.

R.N: If you did not stage any meanignful resistance why were the soldiers called in?

M.T: They came armed because we refused to move by telling them that, sir.

R.N: What was the response of the chief and his council when they heard that like it or not you were going to move?

M.T: I do not remember what the chief said, cannot explain to you.

R.N: I say this because you were among the peopl who came to see this place called Gannalaagte. I trust that the chief was present on that day.

M.T: Yes the *kgosi* was there we all refused because this land was not of the same standard as ours.

R.N: Were you interested in another land or you wanted to remain in Ga-Maloka on the black spot?

M.T: We never wanted any other land except ours, they are the ones who grabbed us and brought us here.

R.N: *Rra*, what about problems and hardships you experienced due this forced removal?

M.T: Our hardship was that moving is an expensive exercise. When a man moves you he carries you with all your rubbish but when you arrive at your destination not everything is produced. When we got here we were in great trouble. We could only bring some cattle which disappeared. We were trying to accumulate some things for our children, like building a small shelter here and there.

R.N: What do you mean when you say the cattle disappeared?

M.T: The cattle disappeared. They disappeared and we were left with nothing.

R.N: Are there some more difficulties which you remember? I mean when you compare this and that village at Ga-Maloka, what is the difference?

M.T: Difficulties are there, *rra*. In Ga-Maloka we used to live with our eyes closed. We had water, we had all kinds of food. When we came this side there was no water, even the fields were not good.

R.N: *Rra*, how many churches were there in Ga-Maloka?

M.T: If I remember well they were there. They were only two. One was called Church (Anglican). They were only two besides those meeting in the houses as people sometimes start their own churches. There were only two churches.

R.N: How did those churches help in alleviating your hardships or in resisting the removal?

M.T: About the churches I do not know a thing. I have not heard anything about churches having helped.

R.N: By the way who was the pastor during the removal?

M.T: Maybe it was Reverend Matlala.

R.N: Was it Matlala or Mosiathaga?

M.T: It must have been Mosiathaga because Matlala came when we were already here. We came with Mosiathaga from that side, you have reminded me. I had forgotten.

R.N: *Rra*, I heard that on the day of the removal a church bell was rung and the village people came together in the church to pray. Do you still remember what happened at that prayer meeting?

M.T: I do not remember. What I remember is that we were once called to the *kgotla* (council place) to tell us about the removal when the time had arrived. I do not know why they called us at that time.

R.N: Who came to tell you?

M.T: We were told by a man who was ruling at that time whose name was Jubana.

R.N: Jubana?

M.T: Yes!

R.N: Where was he from?

M.T: We do not know, *rra*.

R.N: Was he from Lichtenburg or Gerdau or some other place?

M.T: He should have come from Lichtenburg, *rra*.

R.N: I would like to go back to the issue of churches Mr.Tlhale. What, according to your assessment was the reason for churches not to have helped to opposed the removal? Because if one takes away someone else's goods the church should help.

M.T: I do not have an idea in that respect that the church was supposed to have stopped the removal. The church has a role in stopping the removal since we were conducting services in storage places down there.

R.N: Down where?

M.T: There were storage buildings in which we were worshipping when we came here, storages down there.

R.N: Have you received the money to compensate for the church building you left in Ga-Maloka?

M.T: We were just told that the money which build the church we are presently in come from the previous church.

R.N: Are the churches of the same value and beauty?

M.T: No, this one seems to be better than that one.

R.N: Who was responsible for the money, to whom was it given?

M.T: We did not even see the money, we do not know to whom it was given. We heard that we shall find the church building here. We do not know if anybody had the money.

R.N: What is your opinion *Rre* Tlhale, should the church remain silent or be of help when its congregation members or the village is in trouble?

M.T: Whether the church should remain silent is what I do not know, sir. Is the church not a man who came to be a pastor who does not have any power besides the church's council?

R.N: But the church's council is made out of the village people as the Bakolobeng are the leaders of the church. The pastor is like the helper and the advisor. When there are problems in the village they are known by the elders.

M.T: Yes, the committee members.

R.N: What did you say about that problem?

M.T: As I see it today it seems I do not know who were the elders back home. There has been changes to day. Previously they were just elders.

R.N: There were educated people, people like Segatle and others, where did they end up, why did they not help with advises?

M.T: I really do not know what made them not to help.

R.N: Some villages like the one called Motlatla and the other one called Boons Mathopestad were not resettled. Why did you not employ lawyers to oppose the resettlement?

M.T: We do not know how it came about. Nothing stopped us but there was no resistance.

R.N: From the village?

M.T: From the village it never took place.

R.N: What about the church?

M.T: It also did not render any assistance.

R.N: Now sir, in future when you are faced with problems; people like Tutu, Boesak, Chikane when there are problems they stand up to say "no". Now what are you saying being leaders of the church, Lutherans?

M.T: Now it is becoming quite difficult. As I know I have never seen people on their own standing un against issues. The only person accountable is the chief. When issues have passed at the chief they cannot be opposed.

R.N: Is there something *Rre* Tlhale in connection to the questions asked which you may like to add?

M.T: Yes in the questions you asked.

R.N: Even in the answers you provided is there something you want to add?

M.T: There seems like there is nothing.

R.N: *Mme* (Mrs.)Tlhale is there something you would like to add or withdraw which you may have remembered or which you want to ask?

Mrs.Tlhale: Nothing!

R.N: Elders, I thank you. Now *Mme* Tlhale this word saying "Love your neighbour as you love yourself" found in the Bible did you not ask from the government if they see any agreement with it when they are christians but they let you spent nights in the open veld and even let you lose your cattle?

Mrs.T: No we did not ask we just gave in.

R.N: Why did you just give in, was there no way to fight?

Mrs.T: How could we have fought fearing guns?

R.N: Men and boys from your village were working in Johannesburg and had guns, why were they not instructed to bring them home in order to fight?

Mrs.T: They did not know, when they came they found us here having been thrown out here.

R.N: Are there no lawyers and educated people among the Bakolobeng who should have helped with advice?

M.T: We have them but they did not have anything to say. There are educated children but they did not help in that respect.

R.N: Did Jourbert not bribe them to remain silent?

M.T: Jourbert did not bribe them. I just realized that when we started we did not have a united spirit to resist. They may have appeared. We did not resist therefore they did not appear.

R.N: But pastors are educated and should have helped, what do you say?

M.T: No, as you say we did not know. When one is educated one may oppose something. We just knew them as pastors. We do not know if there is anything they can help with.

R.N: The Germans from Gerdau, the van Scharrels, do you know Reverend van Scharrel? Did you not go to the Germans who were Lutherenas in Gerdau to ask for help calling "Come and help us we are being attacked?"

M.T: The rumours were abound that they are the ones who were in company with the Boers collecting the compensation money which we were compensated. It was just said, "Take man, this is how much your house cost". We were paid peanuts but our belongings cost a lot.

R.N: When you speak about the company do you mean company of the Germans and the Boers?

M.T: As it was rumoured this region belongs to the Boers and they were instrumental in getting us here.

R.N: Did you not ask? Was the German who was the neighbour of Ga-Maloka not a Lutheran?

M.T: We do not know, rra.

R.N: You know!

M.T: Aren't the Germans the ones who brought the Lutheran teaching this side?

R.N: Yes!

M.T: He was a Lutheran.

R.N: But he still cheated you?

M.T: We do not know if he cheated us, rra.

R.N: Thank you elders.

M.T: We thank you rra, the questions we did not answer correctly we shall do them again.

INTERVIEW NUMBER BII

Interviewer: Radikobo Ntsimane

Interviewee: Mrs.Mookodi Tlhale

Place of Interview: Gannalaagte

Date of Interview: 17 June 1998

Language if Interview: Setswana

Profile of the interviewee: Mrs Mookodi Tlhale was born in 7 July 1981 in Ga-Maloka. She went to school in Ramadingwana Lower Primary School until Standard One. She was confirmed by Missionary Loosemann. She has forgotten many of the dates.

R.N: Now, ma'am we hear that Ga-Maloka was resettled by the Boer's government. Why were you removed from Ga-Maloka?

Mk.T: I do not understand why, I was even sick those days.

R.N: Did you see people saying let us move and you moved?

Mk.T: That is precisely how it was dear, we just heard, "move!"

R.N: Did you refuse or formed yourselves into a group to oppose the removal?

Mk.T: Horses were called in when we tried to resist and were told that moving is what we shall do?

R.N: Did you try to collect monies in order that you may be able to employ attorneys, lawyers to oppose the removal?

Mk.T: My dear we could not do that with heads as dull as ours, which do not what they do.

R.N: Why do you speak of dull heads when you had educated people among the Bakolobeng tribe who knew everything? Why do you say that the heads were dull?

Mk.T: I meant people like us who did not go to school, I meant us.

R.N: Why did those educated people not help?

Mk.T: I do not have an idea.

R.N: Now in what type of hardships if any, did the removal expose you to?

Mk.T: The removal put us in hardships of life here. Some times you will hear that is no water and we have to pay for it.

R.N: Did you keep any cattle here?

Mk.T: I had them but sold them to whites because I did not have anybody to look after them.

R.N: Did you have any more hardships? I heard that in Ga-Maloka you had a lot to eat. What about here?

Mk.T: Here it is difficult sir, life is a bit difficult.

R.N: Do you not keep livestock?

Mk.T: I lived a bit difficult here because I was ordered to go to where I was married to find food there.

R.N: What do you mean ma'am when you say where you were married?

Mk.T: Because the man who married me is not of this village. It was said that he is a Monogeng and therefore I should go to look for food among the Banogeng.

R.N: Is that so! Now did the church in the hardships you were facing come to your assistance when you in Ga-Maloka to oppose the removal?

Mk.T: Er....rra I do not know, I did not even hear that the church ever helped.

R.N: How many churches were there in Rooijantjiesfontein?

Mk.T: Do you mean their number, rra?

R.N: The number.

Mk.T: I do not know whether I shall be able. It was the Lutheran, the Church (Anglican), and the Wesleyan (Methodist).

R.N: Who was the Lutheran pastor during the time of the removal?

Mk.T: It was *Moruti* Mosiathlaga.

R.N: What was pastor Mosiathlaga saying when things were turning so bad while he was there?

Mk.T: I do not know rra, I have never heard anything of what he said.

R.N: Now as Lutheran congregation what did you do to oppose the removal to Gannalaagte?

Mk.T: We did nothing, rra, as I said in the beginning it was said that Bakolobeng should move and we moved as Bakolobeng were moving.

R.N: Now *mma* as you were already here did the church give you to reduce your problems?

Mk.T: Yes sometime ago I remember we received blankets, that's all I remember, but we were also given soup sachets and maize-meal bags.

R.N: Who gave you these things *mma*?

Mk.T: We received them from our pastor's wife Mrs.Setsho.

R.N: Where did they come from?

Mk.T: It was said that they come from our dean's wife in Mafikeng?

R.N: Now did you ask when they gave you where exactly did the meal and the soups come from?

Mk.T: Yes we asked and the answer was that they are from Mrs.Motswasele. But I suspect that she and Mrs.Setsho were the ones who bought them.

R.N: During the removal of '76 and '78 did they give you something?

Mk.T: No, we were not given anything except by those who were removing us. They gave us milk and soups whose taste was outlandish.

R.N: What do you mean its taste was outlandish?

Mk.T: It was not edible with the porridge.

R.N: Would you say it was better than nothing?

Mk.T: It was better because the liitle ones could eat the porridge.

R.N: Do you mean the children?

Mk.T: Yes, I mean the children, brother.

R.N: Now since the Lutheran Church was quiet, what about the Anglican?

Mk.T: I do not know much about the Anglican, but we were given blankets and were told that they come from the Anglicans. People from the tribal office were dividing them among us. It was a gift from Anglicans.

R.N: Were they distributed for the villagers?

Mk.T: Yes they were distributed though they did not manage to give to all of us.

R.N: When was it *mma*?

Mk.T: I do not know I have forgotten.

R.N: Was it around the years of removals?

Mk.T: Yes it was shortly after we had moved here.

R.N: Did you find out where exactly they were coming from?

Mk.T: I did not find out where they were from except that they were from the Anglican Church.

R.N: The last question on the issue of the Lutheran silent in fighting for human rights. Since the land belonged to you and the Lutheran Church was present in the village but remained silent even with Mosiathlaga around, would you say it was right in keeping silent?

Mk.T: It was not right since they are helpers they should have defended us from unjust things. Now about rendering any help I do not of help they could have rendered.

R.N: As Lutherans here in Ga-Maloka what help can you provide in times of need?

Mk.T: That question is difficult for me, I do not know what to say.

R.N: Do you see it as your responsibility to help in times of need?

Mk.T: I do not know, we help ourselves. But we keep complaining and not help with a thing.

R.N: What exactly stop you from helping?

Mk.T: I do not know I think it was just out of us, I don't know.

R.N: What does the Bible tell you the Women's League?

Mk.T: I don't know, I do not belong to the Women's League.

R.N: Where do you belong?

Mk.T: I am just in the congregation.

R.N: Yes, are not in the choir?

Mk.T: No I am not a chorister. I just listen as they explain what the Bible tell us.

R.N: Are the pastors not telling you that you should love your neighbour as you love yourself and things like that?

Mk.T: They tell us *rra*, they never stop saying it.

R.N: Now when your neighbour is in trouble what do you do?

Mk.T: Yes we can help, we can help by sympathising with them giving them the what they need.

R.N: My questions are over but may I ask if there is something you wish to add in the questions or in the answers you gave?

Mk.T: I can add on the year of my birth but I can't recall the month.

R.N: You said the year was?

Mk.T: It was 1918 July 07.

R.N: Is there something more you would like to add?

Mk.T: No my dear!

R.N: Thank you *mma*.

INTERVIEW NUMBER BIII

Interviewer: Radikobo Ntsimane

Interviewee: Mr.Elijah Molete

Place of Interview: Gannalaagte

Date of Interview: 17 June 1998

Language of Interview: Setswana

Profile of the interviewee: Mr Elijah Ratshidi Molete was born in 1922 in Ga-Maloka. He went to school in Ga-Maloka and finished in 1942. He was confirmed by Missionary Lange in 1936. He married Mamosepele on 13 January 1971. Their marriage was blessed with five children. Mr Molete used to work in a textile factory in Johannesburg before coming back to Ga-Maloka before the removal took place.

R.N: When the removal of Maloka took place where were you?

E.M: When the removal came I had already left Johannesburg to be in Ga-Maloka.

R.N: In 1976?

E.M: In 1961, I went back to Ga-Maloka.

R.N: Did year 1976 found you here?

E.M: Precisely!

R.N: Now why exactly were you removed from Ga-Maloka, because you are a Molete of the chieftaincy?

E.M: We were removed because our land was fertile. The Germans were the ones who caused our removal from Maloka.

R.N: What have they done since you say the caused your removal?

E.M: They rejoiced when we left. The Germans were very happy when we moved. They even cultivated our land and our fields after we left.

R.N: Do you mean the Germans or the Boers *rra*?

E.M: I speak about both the Germans and the Boers.

R.N: Now Mr.Molete what law did they use to remove you ?

E.M: Sir, they did not tell us which law was in operation. There was no law we were just removed by force.

R.N: Now in that removal when they told you to move did you move voluntarily or did they force you?

E.M: We were forced, we did not want to move we were forced.

R.N: I heard that you were brought to see this land and you were happy with.

E.M: No, we did come but there was no village here. We just came to see what kind of place this was which we were going to move to.

R.N: Did you like it?

E.M: We did not like it. We did not like it at all.

R.N: Now why did you come since you did not like it?

E.M: Because we were removed by force. We were forced to come and live here we were forced.

R.N: *Rra*, what shows that you were forced, what evidence is there?

E.M: *Rra*, when they took us away from there they had guns. They asked the chief “*Gaan jy loop of nee?*” (Are you moving or not?) and *kgosi* said that “No, I am moving”.

R.N: Did he really say that he was moving?

E.M: Yes, he asked him “ *Gaan jy loop kaptein, of nee?*”

R.N: *Ja of nee.*

E.M: *Toe se hy se ja* (He said yes).

R.N: Did you say he was in favour of moving?

E.M: He was not in favour. *Kgosi* did not want to move, not all of us were not in favour, but we were supposed to move because they had guns and spears. The police followed us asking, “*Gaan julle loop of nee?*” And we answered “yes sir “we were going to move.

R.N: I hear you were paid a lot of money to move from there to this place.

E.M: No, we were not given money *rra*, we should have known about it.

R.N: Were you not compensated for your houses?

E.M: Compensation for houses? That money for the houses...they did not compensate us adequately, they were just paying out. For my house they paid R700.00.

R.N: Was it not a lot of money those days?

E.M: No it was not a lot of money, it was not a lot of money.

R.N: How much did you think your house was worth?

E.M: R2,000.00.

R.N: How much?

E.M: R2,000.00 or R20,000.00...

R.N: Did you tell those who were paying out the monies how much you wanted?

E.M: They did not tell us they just gave us since they had already decide. They paid us while we were about to leave. They just came and gave us while we were on our way moving out.

R.N: Did you manage to take along the roofing from your houses and other things?

E.M: Yes.

R.N: Did you have time?

E.M: We did not.

R.N: When one reads in papers one finds that you already knew about this removal in 1974.

E.M: '74?

R.N: Yes.

E.M: Mnhhhhh

R.N: That was not unexpected.

E.M: They did tell us in advance, it was not sudden, rra. It was not sudden they told us, they told us but we forgot that on such a day we shall move.

R.N: But you refused anyway?

E.M: We refused but it was of no help.

R.N: Now *rra*, since you say you have been forced, what action of resistance did you take to show your unwillingness? How did you refuse?

E.M: We started in the first place through negotiations saying that we were going nowhere, we were going nowhere at all. They came one day to tell us that we shall move. Then they came on the last day, that was the day which they told us that they shall come to take us. They told us that if we do not want to move we should tell them, when we do not want to move. Then since they were armed and we were not we went like a hen splashed with water, fearing that they may shoot at us.

R.N: Did you not try the lawyers, in order that you may block the removal?

E.M: No we did not try the lawyers, we did not try to block it with lawyers.

R.N: What stopped you?

E.M: I think it was because of ignorance....but we did get a lawyer...

R.N: Was he white or black?

E.M: He was Bosman.

R.N: Bosman.

E.M: Bosman once came to our village to see our land. Now since Bosman was a white man he did not help us at all. Bosman did not help at all, I think he was given something by the other party.

R.N: Was the case tried in court?

E.M: It did not reach the court of law.

R.N: Now did you pay him?

E.M: I do not know if he was given any money because there were men who were working with him so I do not know what they did and where it all ended.

R.N: Were they men from the tribe?

E.M: Yes they were from the tribe.

R.N: Now what were the hardships which you experienced from this removal?

E.M: Rra, do you mean trouble?

R.N: Yes, the trouble in which you found yourself due to the removal.

E.M: Yes we had trouble because we were brought here against our will. They were pointing guns at us...they were pointing guns at us. It was real trouble because they told us that we must come here this is the land of fish...they said go and turn into fish in Ganalaagte which we did not know. Sir we were moved by force, when we did not want to move at all.

R.N: Did you have cattle?

E.M: We had cattle, rra.

R.N: Are they still there?

E.M: They are still there.

R.N: Were there no problems with cattle?

E.M: Yes, there were problems. We saw that they were not going to load them on the trucks.

We slept in the open veld as we drove the cattle here. They did not help with cattle as they promised that the government will help with trucks to load the cattle.

R.N: Did they tell you to drive them yourselves?

E.M: We drove them ourselves, sleeping in the veld...we were sleeping in the veld.

R.N: Now in the problems you were facing where did the church help?

E.M: Sir, I can not explain much about the church since I do not know if it could help. I do not believe that ti helped. I do not believe but I do not know. But I do not believe because if it did I should have known something about how much the church contributed. It was not ...I do not believe, I do not believe.

R.N: Was it not the church which found those lawyers for you?

E.M: No, it was only us in the tribe.

R.N: Did the leaders of the churches help you with soups when you arrived here, or things like milk, meat, blankets and the like?

E.M: Nothing, nothing, the church was never involved, it was never involved in such matters.

R.N: Who was your pastor?

E.M: When we were removed?

R.N: Mosiatlhaga?

E.M: Mosiatlhaga, rra. Yes it was Mosiatlhaga, why do I forget my own pastor?

R.N: Now how did he help with ideas?

E.M: He did not help with ideas, Mosiatlhaga did not help at all.

R.N: Now it is rumoured that when you left there was a final prayer, do you remember it?

E.M: Rra, I do not remember it.

R.N: Don't you remember people being called to the church where the chief was going to announce that now they were moving?

E.M: No...I... I don't know.

R.N: Don't you remember anything?

E.M: No I don't remember anything there.

R.N: Now since you are Lutherans, there were Lutherans, Anglicans. Now as Lutherans where do you think the church could have helped, Mr.Molete?

E.M: Rra, I do not know and I can not point to anything why the church did not help us. I do not have an idea why the church did not.

R.N: Were you expecting help from the church?

E.M: Nothing from anybody, rra. We did not expect any help from anybody, if they were able to help they could have just helped. They did not help though we were not expecting any help from the church.

R.N: Now as leaders of the tribe and of the congregation today, how can you be of help in an event when the tribe experiences problems. You as christians and as Lutherans?

E.M: Do you ask what we can help the tribe with?

R.N: Yes when there are problems like in heavy rains, storms, or extreme cold. How can you be of assistance?

E.M: Yes the tribe can be helped by giving them blankets and anything which the tribe sees as of help to the people.

R.N: I mean you on the side of the church.

E.M: On the side of the church at present?

R.N: Yes!

E.M: No, I do not know anything and can not explain anything of help to the tribe. I cannot explain anything.

R.N: As you see it, should the church help people in times of difficulties?

E.M: Yes sir, let it help...let it help indeed but I do not know where it has helped.

R.N: The churches of Bishop Tutu and Boesak and others fought to oppose the Mogopa resettlement. Those people are leaders of the church. Now you as leaders of the congregation what are you saying about that?

E.M: Rra, I have never heard that a congregation can help, it may help where there is a need. I do not know anything rra, I can not explain anything about help coming from other tribes like Boesak.

R.N: Now do you not see it as fitting in times of national disasters that the congregation here in Maloka to gather old clothes or give out money to help people in need?

E.M: Yes when such things are available, or when the tribe has something in the form of a treasury people can be helped.

R.N: Now you as Elijah Molete, a Lutheran, a christian, how can you help people in time of need?

E.M: Rra, I can help if I can help with something. But who is who when one does not have anything? If one had a small treasury one could give something to the church as a Lutheran and a member of the congregation.

R.N: I mean outside the church where you see your neighbour suffering. The Tswanas of old have somethig called "*mafisa*". Did the church do away with it or you just disregard it?

E.M: We have not done away with it, we just disregard it.

R.N: In the beginning I heard you saying the Germans were very happy when your land was being expropriated.

E.M: Precisely, the children of the Germans were very happy.

R.N: Do you suppose they are the ones who took it?

E.M: No, they have rented it and they are ploughing. The very same ones.

R.N: Now did you see the money of the Lutherans church when you came from Maloka?

E.M: Yes rra. We saw it but I cannot tell how much it was but we saw it. We even built another church with that money here.

R.N: Did you say that the church should remain silent when people are in trouble as it happened in Ga-Maloka?

E.M: No! I do not say it should remain silent, when it is able it should help those who are unable.

R.N: When you say the church do you mean you or bishops and deans?

E.M: No rra, I mean the congregation, the congregation itself.

R.N: That is how far I shall go with the questions unless there is something you want to add in the questions or the answers you gave, in case you forgot something.

E.M: No rra, I think I have forgot nothing.

R.N: Do not be afraid, add!

E.M: I am dry, I have no more words Mr.Ntsimane.

R.N: When are going back to Rooijantjiesfontein?

E.M: I do not know but if all go well around September.

R.N: This year?

E.M: Yes this year.

R.N: By the way September is like tomorrow.

E.M: Yes we are going back. Those who are going back will go, and those who are staying will stay.

R.N: Thank you Mr Molete.

E.M: Thank you Mr Ntsimane.

INTERVIEW NUMBER BIV

Interviewer: Radikobo Ntsimane

Interviewee: Ms Elisa Tube

Place of Interview: Gannalaagte

Date of Interview: 18 June 1998

Language of Interview: Setswana

Profile of the interviewee: Ms Elisa Tube was born on 8 July 1917 in Ga-Maloka. She went to school in Ga-Maloka until Standard Two and was confirmed by Missionary Meiny on 4 December 1932.

R.N: *Mme*, why were you relocated from Ga-Maloka in 1976?

E.T: Do you mean when we were moved? They said there is something underneath, diamonds. It was during the time of chief's father.

R.N: Who was chief's father?

E.T: Boas Molete.

R.N: Did he have a Setswana name?

E.T: His Setswana name was Ramosidi.

R.N: Now where are the diamonds?

E.T: They should have mined them, they should have mined them, but it is suprising that we are still here. They dug up a water bore hole in the thorny forest where cattle were grazing. They quickly closed it up.

R.N: Did they close that hole?

E.T: They closed that hole up.

R.N: What year was it *mma*, when you were supposed to move with chief's father?

E.T: I do not remember quite well because those days I was working, coming home and going to work.

R.N: Where were you working *mma*?

E.T: In Johannesburg.

R.N: Did that relocation succeed or was it refused?

E.T: The one with chief or the one with his father?

R.N: The one with his father.

E.T: His father refused but they succeeded with this one.

R.N: Where did they say they were relocating you *mma*?

E.T: Seberia.

R.N: The Seberia close to Mareetsane?

E.T: I do not know places this side.

R.N: You stayed on and did not move but in 1976 Kgosi Kelly Molete was ruling. Now when they were moving you in '76 why were they moving you?

E.T: They said there was something underneath the ground which they needed like the soils which are sold like *marela* and cement. We were on the things which they needed. As I was listening because I lived close to the chief They said those were the cause of our removal. They should have mined them now.

R.N: Could they not mine them while you were there?

E.T: No, they would not have let us see them.

R.N: What was the law which was moving you Mme Elisa Tube?

E.T: We do not know it. The chiefs will know. We are just ordinary people.

R.N: Did you not catch a rumour of the reason for your removal? What law?

E.T: No, they did not explain it.

R.N: When the removal was announced did you volunteer to go or were you forced?

E.T: They did not force us, they tricked us by saying we will only be here for some years and then go back home.

R.N: How many years?

E.T: They said five years.

R.N: Do you know the person who spoke about five years?

E.T: I heard it at the *kgotla* (chief's council meeting) fed to me by the wind because at that time women were not attending the *kgotla*, only the men.

R.N: I mean was there a white person or what?

E.T: There was a white person.

R.N: Who was the commissioner?

E.T: I do not know his name because we call all of them commissioner even those who pay or pension.

R.N: Where was he from?

E.T: From Lichtenburg.

R.N: Did you fight in resisting the 1976 removal?

E.T: Yes, indeed we did not agree to this removal.

R.N: Did you tell the white people that you do not agree to move?

E.T: The main issue is that we people of the village are not called to answer for themselves because these things are only known by *kgosi* personally.

R.N: Do you not hear anything as people of the village in order that you may gather funds to employ lawyers to defend your case?

E.T: No, nothing came up *rra*. In short we were not allowed to go to the *lekgotla*.

R.N: Would you have done something?

E.T: No, we are strong with themen, we women could not have dodne anything.

R.N: Now what hardships do you face here which were not there in old Ga-Maloka?

E.T: What do you mean?

R.N: Yes the hardships which the removal caused which were not there in Rooijantjiesfontein.

E.T: *Rra*, the hardship is that we are mixed here, and one cannot keep things safe. When one has bought firewood one does not find it when one want to make fire. It was not like that there.

R.N: What do you mean when you say you are mixed?

E.T: I mean due to removals they have mixed us with other villages with which we were not mixed back home. It was only Maloka while Dithakwana was a bit far though it was part of Maloka. We were not mixed, even that village comes from another place, it was far from us.

R.N: Do you mean Rakgwedi?

E.T: Yes, we were not mixed with it.

R.N: Do you mean it is under Kgosi Molete's jurisdiction?

E.T: No it is not.

R.N: May I ask again: It is said that there were police and army forcing you onto trucks on the day of the removal, was that so?

E.T: Yes. There were those who were striking saying that they were not moving. We were moved by force because some said they were going nowhere.

R.N: Where did they get the authority to refuse to move?

E.T: From among themselves when they talked that they were not moving.

R.N: Did *kgosi* work with them to stop the removal?

E.T: No, *kgosi* was not in that, they were doing it without him. They did everything without *kgosi*. They planned things and *kgosi* would hear about it.

R.N: I heard that churches in the village were Church (Anglican) and Lutheran. Did these churches manage to help you in resisting the removal, in order that the removal was unsuccessful?

E.T: I do not know now because the Lutheran Church was the only one in the village, it was not close like it is today with each one at its place.

R.N: Do you know of anything which the Lutheran Church did to help, because it had a *moruti*? Its *moruti* was Mosiatlhaga and there were also German pastors in Gerdau to help fight the removal.

E.T: I do not believe because we came here with Mosiatlhaga.

R.N: Did he not refuse?

E.T: Yes, because we came with him. He has died but we came with him.

R.N: Do you still remember the prayer session on the last day before the removal?

E.T: Prayer session?

R.N: Yes at the Lutheran Church.

E.T: What was it prayed for?

R.N: That we were now moving.

E.T: You know on the day before we could move there was a lekgotla session for the removal. It happened that kgosi went to Lichtenburg. I was watching because he used to pass near my house. A car with a canopy driven by a white person came and passed by me towards the store.

R.N: Towards Mustapha's store?

E.T: Yes. It was written on both sides. On one side it was written in English and on the other in Afrikaans saying: Like it or not. Kgosi was already gone therefore he did not find such writing.

R.N: Was this written on the car?

E.T: It was written, I know how to read. I still had eyes and I read: Like it or not you are going.

R.N: Was this written on kgosi's car?

E.T: No, it was a government car.

R.N: Saying like it or not you are going?

E.T: I made sure I saw it with my own eyes, I could still see.

R.N: Then you moved?

E.T: Yes, went and moved.

R.N: Now as it went to the store, did they know the Indians, the Mustafas?

E.T: No, it was just showing us that we are moving as it went on the road. It may have went to show the shop that there was going to be a removal.

R.N: If the Lutheran Church resisted, where did it resist, *mma*?

E.T: Resisting for what?

R.N: Resisting the removal.

E.T: The church never resisted, no I do not know the church which resisted the removal.

R.N: Yes.

E.T: It never appeared.

R.N: Does that mean the church and the pastor and the elders and the leaders of the congregation were simply quiet when you were moving?

E.T: The church was never involved in the removal, I shall be lying to you.

R.N: Was it right for it to be quiet when its people were in danger, almost all people of the village of Maloka were Lutherans. People face difficulties and the bishop, deans and evangelists remain quiet alike?

E.T: About the removal?

R.N: About the removal. Removal is like taking other peoples' land, you cheat people of their land.

E.T: In that removal I never heard that the church was involved, I mean the church. I shall be lying to you about it, It just gave prayers but not that we should move.

R.N: What were they for?

E.T: Praying that difficulties which may befall us be stopped.

R.N: As Lutherans do you see it as your responsibility to help in case the village is facing difficulties?

E.T: When someone is in difficulties?

R.M: The village.

E.T: You see when we knew we could have helped where we were able. Now were not informed.

R.N: Do you mean there are no educated people among the Bakolobeng?

E.T: They are plenty.

R.N: Could they not help with ideas and advices?

E.T: People are hardheaded. They applied for Passes and burnt them in front of kgosi. Is that sense?

R.N: Where did they apply for those Passes?

E.T: They came to apply for them in the village.

R.N: At the chief's place?

E.T: Yes!

R.N: After taking them?

E.T: He came first probably to talk to kgosi about the whole plan. Then kgosi called us to say that only women were to apply for Passes. We were to listen to what the commissioner came for because he came for the purpose of speaking to women. If we disagreed with him it was up to us to disagree. They said yes but after getting them they burnt them, they burnt them in front of kgosi and claimed that it was kgosi who made them burn them.

R.N: Which kgosi are you referring to, *mma*?

E.T: The father of this one. This one was working he was not yet kgosi.

R.N: Do you mean Boas Molete, *mma*?

E.T: Yes, that's the one I mean.

R.N: Do you remember the year on which Passes were burnt, *mma*?

E.T: In 1957.

R.N: Were they burnt by ANC?

E.T: I do not know if they were burnt by ANC. They said they needed to stop others because we were going to be made to pay tax. That is what they told us and Passes were burnt. There were groups which were issuing Passes to people.

R.N: Were these women or men, where were they coming from?

E.T: They were from our village.

R.N: They were burnt the same way in Zeerust, *mma*.

E.T: I do not know, we were just amazed.

R.N: They were burnt in the whole country, *mma*.

E.T: Now in our village they said should we get Passes we were going to pay tax.

R.N: When people were so clever to oppose Passes where were those leaders when they were supposed to oppose the relocation?

E.T: They were still there in opposing the relocation. They went to see the land driving in their cars. They had cars. When they came back a *kgotla* was called. I saw everything because I lived close to the *kgotla*. The one who was leading the burning of Passes said that they saw the land was infested with snakes, we should not be taken to that land because snakes will eat us. I do not know how we ended up here because they refused saying it was the land of pans and snakes. A nsake even ate a child when we arrived here.

R.N: That snake?

E.T: It took two to three people. That place does not dry up.

R.N: Did it take them and eat them?

E.T: They were found dead.

R.N: Now where do you think the church should help in times of difficulties, you as christians. Your Bible says "I was sick and you did not come to visit me, I was in prison and you did not come to see me, I was hungry, I was thirsty, I was naked and the like and the like."

E.T: Oh! The problem is in the church.

R.N: Yes the problem is in the church. My main question is what are the churches doing when their people are faced with difficulties?

E.T: They are also facing difficulties.

R.N: But they have educated people and lots of money.

E.T: The educated people are the ones causing this confusion instaed of helping us because we are not educated. We are watching to see what is taking place.

R.N: Do you say it shold help or it should not help?

E.T: The church has a strong person who is doing bad things deliberately.

R.N: When you say a strong person doing deliberately who do you refer to?

E.T: Satan!

R.N: Can the church not reduce his power?

E.T: There are instances where it is able but not all people are able.

R.N: Is the pastor and the bishops and the congregants supposed to help when the village faces big hardships?

E.T: It does not mean that they are just relaxed, they help, but it is not possible. They live by prayer which is help from their part, there is nothing they can do?

R.N: As a christian and a Lutheran how can you help in an event your neighbour is in trouble?

E.T: I can help only with what I have, when there is nothing, then there is nothing. When there is something I will help because I am an ordinary person. Was it not because of the commissioner's pension, even just tea I could not have. This side there is nobody who can help you, back home (Ga-Maloka) we used to help each other.

R.N: Who changed that?

E.T: Our attitude has changed it, all these bad things which we see this side were not there back home. If they were there they were still in a coming stage, we had not seen them as we see them with our eyes this side.

R.N: *Mme* Elisa Tube thank you.

E.T: Yes, *rra*.

R.N: *Le ka moso* (Help me in the future should a need arise).

E.T: Now are you running away after giving me to the authorities?

R.N: Relax *mme*, nobody will trouble you.

INTERVIEW NUMBER BV

Interviewer: Radikobo Ntsimane

Interviewee: *Kgosi* Modikwagae Molete

Place of Interview: Gannalaagte

Date of Interview: 19 June 1998

Language of Interview: Setswana and English

Profile of the interviewee: Chief Kelly Modikwagae Molete was born in 1924 and was confirmed on 10 October 1940 by Missionary Loosemann. He studied both in Kilnerton and Lovedale from 1940 to 1945. He married Paulina Nchoe in 1959 and was installed as chief in 1960. Their marriage is blessed with four children.

R.N: *Rre Kgosi*, would you please give us the background of the removal since you have mentioned that the removal has its own history?

K.M: After the 1936 Land Act was passed we were supposed to be moved to Siberia, west of Gama Maloka but the people refused. Our parents, the old people, were still alive. In 1971 we were again told to move. In August of 1976 the people were unhappy, because we were going to move. There was a number of commissioners responsible for this.

R.N: Would *Kgosi* remember the names of those commissioners?

K.M: Commissioner Joubert was the one mostly responsible.

R.N: Where did Joubert come from?

K.M: They were from Lichtenburg.

R.N: Did they mention the laws? Did they tell you exactly why they wanted you to move?

K.M: I cannot remember the laws specifically. It was a known practice that a place like ours was declared a 'black spot' and was to be removed.

R.N: Was that the only reason? Did they have an interest besides the land?

K.M: I could not read their minds. I thought that it was a current policy that was practised from 1936 by the Apartheid government. When I grew up I knew that this was going to happen to us one of the days. The tempo was increased by the Nationalist government in 1948.

R.N: Would you say the interest was of agricultural purpose since this place falls within the maize-triangle?

K.M: One could not say much about this because we had a government which got power by assuring its people that it was going to apply Apartheid. This was the reason. The government wanted to divide South Africa into black and white.

R.N: Sir, would you tell us about the reaction of the people when they were removed in September 1976? How did the village react?

K.M: People had given up any hope of seeking a way of resisting. We just surrendered although it was not our will. It was the governments will to do it. We were hopeless against a situation like that.

R.N: Was there any legal advice that you got to oppose the removal from your land?

K.M: There was such an idea but we found it futile. I myself was deadly against the removal. But I knew that as a chief when I try to stand against it, they will just remove me and put someone else on my place and the tribe will go because the tribe had already yielded to this spirit of removal. It did not have any power to resist it.

R.N: Would you tell us of hardships the villagers went through due to this removal, especially since they were well-established in Ga-Maloka?

K.M: This created hardships for us. It was a very traumatic affair. As we felt hopeless about it, we simply had to succumb. They lied to us that they will give us big lands where we will be farmers. But this was not the case. Our farms later collapsed.

R.N: Did you experience any hardship as far as cattle-farming is concerned?

K.M: We came along with our cattle. There was no good grass for grazing. We experienced salt pans, lime soil, rocky areas. Farming is restricted to certain areas and very small. Our land is being transversed. We have a problem of squatting. The whole environment is not conducive compared to the one we used to be in. People are moving in and out.

R.N: While you were experiencing these hardships did you receive any help to alleviate them? Help from outside the country?

K.M: We received no help from outside. The government helped us by putting up shacks for us in Gannalaagte. It gave us rations which I am not sure how long they lasted. They gave us soup packages until we were settled.

R.N: Were the rations in the form of soup, milk and sugar?

K.M: I did not directly take part in this exercise. It was the tribe which did. I do not know for how long it lasted.

R.N: Did NGOs like the Black Sash come to your assistance?

K.M: We did not appeal to them because we knew that they were not in the good books of the government.

R.N: What did the churches like Lutherans and Anglicans do to help? Did they give any sort of advice?

K.M: They did not help us when we were moving. Nobody offered assistance because everybody was despirited.

R.N: Since there were Lutherans in Gerdau did they offer any assistance?

K.M: They did not help us. The moruti who started the church stayed on from the inception of the church until 1914. When he died his son took over until 1931. These were ministers who were close to us. After the death of the young Schulenburg they lost contact with the church. These ministers turned out to become farmers. When we were moved we only had missionaries who lived a distant away from us. Our church was falling under the mission church during their time.

R.N: How was Missionary van Scharrel connected to the church at the time of the removal?

K.M: He was at Madudu and was a relieving minister at our place. Meyer came in 1932 to 1933, Loosemann came in 1933 to 1946, and there was Modise, Lange and Kruger.

R.N: How far was Madudu from the land of Ga-Maloka, sir?

K.M: It is a farm called Haakboslaagte. It is about 15miles from Ga-Maloka towards Coligny. It is halfway to Coligny.

R.N: Did the Lutheran Church be of any assistance?

K.M: It gave nothing. There was no help from any church.

R.N: Did the village expect any help from the Lutheran Church?

K.M: Do you ask about those in Madudu or about Lutherans in general?

R.N: In general.

K.M: At the time of the removal we had only African group of churches called the ELCSA. We were by that time having *baruti ba Batswana* (Tswana ministers). Before them it were Germans. Reverend Mosiatlhaga came along with us to Gannalaagte. He was succeeded by Modise, then Mhiko.

R.N: Sir, as a committed Lutheran would you say that the church should respond to the peoples' needs when its help is needed?

K.M: This will be an expectation. People usually expect help from others when they are in danger. We became aware of th fact that the church was experiencing racial problems of its own.

R.N: Do you know if some of the Germans, the white farmers bought your land?

K.M: As far as I heard Jansen has bought a plot. And Loosemann is just leasing. They were actually not interested in buying our land.

R.N: Who occupies Rooijantjiesfontein presently?

K.M: It is a number of farmers. The one who is in the palace is van der Landen.

R.N: None of the Germans took interest in the land?

K.M: They did not. After the second Schulenberg's death we started to talk about 'special grants'.

R.N: Would *Kgosi* say that in future the African Lutheran church will have to help individuals, people who are in need?

K.M: African churches are poor. They cannot be expected to help other people. They were weakened by the system.

R.N: Would you have something to add which we may have overlooked, sir?

K.M: We overlooked the fact that Rooijantjiesfontein was bought by the mission society of Berlin.

R.N: Was it bought with the mission or the tribal money?

K.M: It was with the tribal money.

R.N: How was it then that it was registered under the Berlin Mission Society?

K.M: I can not answer that. It is an old matter. Black people in South Africa were not allowed to buy land at that time.

R.N: Thank you *rre Kgosi!*

K.M: Thank you.

INTERVIEW NUMBER CI

Interviewer: Radikobo Ntsimane

Interviewee: Mr.Mogoshane (Member of Chief Shole's council)

Date of Interview: 19 June 1998

Place of Interview: Ikopeleng in Ramatlabama

Language of Interview: Setswana

Profile of the interviewee: Mr R.Mogoshane was born in 1924. He was confirmed by Missionary Johannes Schnell in Botshabelo in 1940. He went to school until Standard Six in Botshabelo. He worked in Johannesburg for many years. He married Aletta Ntimeng Moeti in 1952. Their marriage was blessed with eight living children. Mr Mogoshane is presently a member of Chief Shole's council and is the induna in Ikopeleng.

R.N: This village which was resettled, Botshabelo....do you remember when it was resettled and why it was resettled?

R.M: The village was resettled from Botshabelo in 1977. We were summoned by our *kgosi* (chief) telling us that the Boers were on the offensive trying to move us.

R.N: Which *kgosi* are you referring to?

R.M: I mean Kgosi Seitshiro Shole....when we gathered at the kgotla (council's place) and asked the Boers what was the matter, they told us that they are removing a black colour from a white colour.

R.N: What did they mean by that?

R.M: They said, "*Hulle haal die swaart kol uit die wit kol uit.*" (They were removing a black spot from a white spot).

R.N: When they speak of *swaart kol* what do they mean?

R.M: Swaart kol means we black people, they were removing black from white.

R.N: When you speak of the Boers of the Boers do you mean officials or just neighbouring Boers?

R.M: They said they were the law...people of the law.

R.N: Do you still remember their names?

R.M: I have forgotten their names now.

R.N: Did they show you an Act of parliament or maybe the law that meant that black people

should be removed from white ones?

R.M: No! I cannot explain that one...it was the *kgosi* who told us that the Boers have come to tell us to move.

R.N: How did the people of the village react to that announcement. How did the Batlounge accept this issue of resettlement?

R.M: Batlounge people refuse to accept this resettlement saying that they can not be ordered out of their land being told that whether they liked it or not *wil of nie* they were going to move.

R.N: Was it the first time in 1977 that the resettlement was approaching the Putfontein village? Were you ever told before that that you will be resettled?

R.M: Yes we were told long time before that that we shall be resettled during the reign of *Kgosi William Shole*.

R.N: Was he the father of Seitshiro?

R.M: He was the father...of the one who is now ruling.

R.N: Where did they say they were moving you?

R.M: They were moving us to ... I forget the name I shall tell you....yes places around Taung.

R.N: Now what did *Kgosi Willem* say?

R.M: *Kgosi Willem* refused and the tribe also refused. The Boers did not persist until the year 1977 when the different ones came who said when we say you are moving, you are moving.

R.N: Do you still remember the years when they first came, sir?

R.M: I have forgotten at this time, I don't think I can still remember.

R.N: Was it around 1936?

R.M: It is around there.

R.N: It is because in '48 the government was taken by the Boers, the coalition government of Smuts and Hertzog was now taken by one person...they were no longer combined. 1948 the National Party of apartheid took over, do you remember sir?

R.M: I do not remember.

R.N: When the tribe refused to move during the time of *Kgosi William Shole* how did the Boers accept the refusal?

R.M: They went back and never came to tell us if they have given up or not...it was just quiet.

R.N: During the resettlement which brought you here in Ramatlabama, what problems and

difficulties did the Batlouning tribe experience due to this removal? Do you remember any?

R.M: Do you mean difficulties back in Botshabelo or here?

R.N: Difficulties in Botshabelo if you had any during the time of the removal and difficulties when you arrived here and realized things which you had there were not here.

R.M: Yes we did have difficulties because in Botshabelo we had rivers, drinking from the streams and digging wells without any problems. When we arrived here we wanted the water which we had in Botshabelo only to be told that this was not Botshabelo, we have to drink from taps.

R.N: Did you have any problems pertaining to livestock?

R.M: Yes we had problems...we had problems before we realized it because we had just arrived, we found that there was not enough grass. The cattle lived well for about two years, then they gave birth to mawelana, twins, twin calves. On the third year drought came and we sadly lost our cattle.

R.N: I hear there was a lot of stock theft taking place here.

R.M: Yes, thieving!

R.N: Who were stealing?

R.M: Those outside on neighbouring villages were the thieves.

R.N: Now earlier you told me that on the day of the removal there was somebody sick in your house. Did you know of the exact day of the removal?

R.M: Yes, we did not know the day of the removal...they took us... each day they took people they did not give notice of who they are moving the following day. All they do is loading and they are told at night that when they wake up these are the people they will load, and they just load you and go. What really hurt me was that when we arrived here I realized that I was running short of one load of bricks which I had bought in Botshabelo. When I asked them they told me that they will investigate. When I persisted they asked me what was the number of the truck which loaded the bricks. I told them I do not know because I was here in Ramatlabama and the truck was in Botshabelo. Until today that load is still missing.

R.N: They may have sold it. *Rra*, did you receive any help from outside the village of the Batlouning to address problems you have told about, were there people who had mercy on you and offer help?

R.M: No sir, if it is help from outside we have received nothing, there is nobody who came to our assistance.

R.N: In those days some villages had lawyers to resist removal through the lawyers. Money was collected and lawyers were “bought” to oppose the removal. Did you not try that avenue?

R.M: No, we have not tried the lawyers. We thought when we resist on our own we shall be left alone.

R.N: Did you fight by means of guns and axes with the men and young men of the village from Johannesburg?

R.M: We did not fight with guns.

R.N: What stopped you?

R.M: Guns were carried by those who were moving us.

R.N: Where were yours?

R.M: We had none...we did not have any.

R.N: Now *rra*, the Lutheran church seemed to be the only one in the village or at least all people were somehow connected to it. Where there other churches in the village in 1977 when you were moved and in 1978?

R.M: There were other churches.

R.N: Now what help did these churches render in hardships you went through?

R.M: There is no church that ever helped, not even a single little help!

R.N: You as leaders of the village and as Lutherans did you receive any help from the Lutherans who were there during that time?

R.M: We received no help from the Lutherans who were there. My point is that what we agreed upon is when they wanted to move our pastor from here, that is where we came together as Lutherans and resisted.

R.N: Do you mean they wanted to take him from here...to...

R.M: They wanted to take him from Ramatlabama to Ventersdorp.

R.N: Do you mean Moruti Titus Phogojane?

R.M: *Moruti Titus Phogojane.*

R.N: I am asking about the Germans who were in the village...those who helped the Batlounge people to buy their land. How did they help to oppose the resettlement?

R.M: Among the Germans nobody helped. When we were moved from Botshabelo all the German pastors were not there, they had already moved to Johannesburg.

R.N: Who was looking after their property then, things like the hospital or was it a clinic, a school if it was there?

R.M: There were nurses at the clinic who were care-takers, and the doctors who were put there coming from Coligny to work at the clinic.

R.N: Were they black or white people?

R.M: Whites.

R.N: What did they say when they saw that things were being “destroyed”?

R.M: These whites did not show up during the removal, they never ever appeared.

R.N: Does that mean they knew in advance that you will be removed?

R.M: It looks like they knew in advance.

R.N: Did they close the clinic or sell it?

R.M: The clinic was closed...when we moved the clinic was closed and those who were working in it went on to work in Gelukspan Hospital.

R.N: When did they move... for how long was the clinic closed before you moved?

R.M: It was about two weeks.

R.N: Had the white pastors already sold? Had they already sold that land when you moved?

R.M: It means they had already sold that land.

R.N: Now was there no cooperation between the village and those German Lutheran pastors of Free Church?

R.M: You see we thought that the clinic was under the doctors because we were paying for services there.

R.N: Do you still remember the pastors who worked in Botshabelo in a chronological order?

R.M: I already forget them because of old-age...I remember Moruti Schnell.

R.N: Who succeeded him?

R.M: Then Moruti Dierks.

R.N: Who followed him?

R.M: Damaske!

R.N: Who succeeded Damaske?

R.M: It was Moruti Häfner.

R.N: Was he the one whom you say was not there during the resettlement?

R.M: Yes he was not there, he was in Botswana.

R.N: You already told that the churches did not help, as well as the Lutheran Church. Did the Lutherans sell before you were moved?

R.M: It means that they sold before us because they continued their services here without discussing with any person...they built another church here.

R.N: Would you say the Germans were cooperating with the government which was resettling you, I mean when you just think about it?

R.M: When I think about it I would say they were working together with the government which was removing us because they did not speak to us the church people, but the church buildings they were doing with them...no one resisted!

R.N: Sir, as a Lutheran did you expect that those Lutherans could help you because they had wise people in the village? They were even leaders in the village since they had been there for so long.

R.M: We had forgot that they could help as our heads, our leaders?

R.N: Now how did you help in the resistance since you already had “eyes” and saw that things are going bad, what did you black Lutherans do?

R.M: We people of the Lutheran Church did not render any help during the removal. What we did was to remeber back home and make our own church in Ikopeleng.

R.N: Since you have now seen that Lutherans did not render any help during the Botshabelo removal, in an event where there are hardships here how will you black people on your own, the Batlounge...the Batlounge Lutherans help in the village?

R.M: That is...what do you mean?

R.N: You as Lutherans, say a big snow falls and cold covers the village...as other churches usually help when there are big rains and floods and the like, how can you help without looking up at the Germans to assist?

R.M: We can help, we can help each other because we built a church without the Germans...with our own help because we wanted to be in a church of our own. It so happened that when they were trying to move our pastor to Ventersdorp I told that since they said that the Lutheran church was brought by Germans...and since it was brought by them what then did they want to do. They said they can move back to Germany with their church. I said “you can go back with your church to Germany but what remains is that I have a name that I can write in that Lutheran Church, you can go with yours!” I told them that.

R.N: Did the Germans come personally to move Moruti Phogojane?

R.M: The Germans came personally, they even came in a truck and brought a scooter which he would use when he arrived there.

R.N: Who was that German pastor?

R.M: The one of Ventersdorp.

R.N: Was it not Moruti Nietzsche of Ventersdorp?

R.M: Yes, Moruti Nietzsche of Ventersdorp.

R.N: Now I can say that I have exhausted my questions, do you have something to add in your answers you gave or in the questions which I may have not asked but you regard as important about the removal?

R.M: I cannot go on because this matter of the removal we the Batlounge people were not united in it.

R.N: It is said that you people here in Ikopeleng came first. When it was announced that you were moving you were the ones who requested saying yes we shall go, as you are today in Ikopeleng (*ikopeleng* means 'request for yourselves').

R.M: I shall tell you how this name of Ikopeleng came about: When we move to this place, after a few people were moved, we requested that the farmers should go first so that they can find out if there is a place where they can plough. That is how the word of the name came about. We requested to come first so that we can see where ploughing can be done.

R.N: Now what kept those who came here in 1978 back?

R.M: Others stayed longer because they were still employed in the cities, they were still working for whites. Since the removal was sudden nobody really prepared for it...we were removed by force. There were some people of Dimorogwana, who remained behind because they had employed a lawyer.

R.N: So they are the ones who got lawyers?

R.M: Yes, they had employed a lawyer who would speak on their behalf in order to refuse to move. But their lawyer could not be of help, they ended up moving.

R.N: Do you remember the name of the lawyer?

R.M: I have forgotten.

R.N: People went to him in Johannesburg and he lost the case?

R.M: He lost it because people ended up moving and thereafter dagvaars came claimin lawyer Dlamini's money.

R.N: Even though he lost it?

R.M: Even though he lost it.

R.N: Was this idea of seeking legal advice given by the Lutherans?

R.M: No, the idea came from Dimorogwana only, because Dimorogwana and the village were not united because the land was not one. Dimorogwana people were on their own plots and we were on our own land.

R.N: Thank you sir, I had that much.

R.M: I am the one thanking you!

INTERVIEW NUMBER CII

Interviewer: Radikobo Ntsimane

Interviewee: Mr. Gideon Nchoe

Place of Interview: Sixhundred in Ramatlabama

Date of Interview: 20 June 1998

Language of Interview: Setswana

Profile of the interviewee: Mr Gideon Nchoe was born in Botshabelo on 5 March 1933. He went to school in Botshabelo. In 1951 he was confirmed in the mission farm Roodepoort near Ventersdorp by Missionary Henning. He went to work in Krugersdorp thereafter. He married and had to build a house at Botshabelo in 1968 for his family. He returned to stay at home in 1976. Mr. Nchoe is among those who are in the committee that is trying to get their land Putfontein back.

R.N: When exactly did you hear about the announcement of the very first resettlement?

G.N: The first resettlement was announced during the time of old *magosi* (chiefs) like William Shole who did not agree to move. It so happened that the commissioners who were there at that time were listening to people. The removal was not undertaken. Houses were painted numbers but were left untouched. In '77 around February or March they came to revive those words. The old kgosi was not there, he had died and there was another one called Laban Shole who was a regent for the present one.

R.N: Do you speak of Seitshiro, *rra* (sir)?

G.N: I speak of Seitshiro, *rra*!

R.N: Do you still remember the years of the reign of William Shole and the commissioner who came to announce the first resettlement?

G.N: *Rra*, the years of the time of Kgosi William Shole I do not have them clearly I was still a small boy. I am not sure but he reigned some years before Seitshiro took over. Now I do not know when he came to power because he took the throne which he was given by Laban Shole, which means it was given to him by his paternal uncle. That is how he came to get the throne. But when you come to think of it, it was around 1934, around the '30s.

R.N: Now during his time of *rre* William Shole's government around 1930 do you not remember the name of the white person who brought the announcement of the removal and the place to which you were supposed to move to?

G.N: During *rre* William Shole's time I was still in the towns but because I heard adults speaking it was to be around Tshwane (Pretoria) but I am not sure which side thereof. But since it was the times of *rre* William Shole, *kgosi* and the tribe did not agree to that resettlement.

R.N: Now *rra*, do you remember the legislations which were used to remove you from the land of Putfontein?

G.N: The legislations? When the commissioner came in 1977 February I was one of the people who came to the *pitso* (gathering). The commissioner said the village of Botshabelo is a black spot, which means the land of the white people. We Tswanas, or black people must go to the land of black people Bophuthatswana. In the first place a commissioner came to inform us but many of us did not agree with what the commissioner said. I was one of those who were present and I disagreed with the commissioner saying to him that he cannot take us to that land when we have our land. Secondly we had not seen that other land to find out if we liked it or not. An argument ensued between the tribe and the commissioner. I realize that there was a problem with the leadership. Our leadership was defeated by the white leadership by means of the legislations. During that time when the *kgosi* disagreed with the legislations he may lose what he had. He eventually gave in.

R.N: What do you mean lose what he has?

G.N: I mean he may lose his chieftaincy or steps be taken against him according to the laws made in parliament. That time one could lose the chieftaincy.

R.N: *Rra*, do you remember the name of the commissioner who came to inform you in 1977?

G.N: I remember, Keet.

R.N: Keet, Keet who?

G.N: Just Keet, I don't know Keet who.

R.N: Did he say that you are going to form Bophuthatswana?

G.N: Yes, he said as Tswanas we need to live on the same area, though we did not see the importance of that because we saw that where we were was right for us, that where we were born. We were just being oppressed. They said it was the law, but we did not want to come here.

R.N: Was the black spot reason the only one for your removal, or were there other things which made your land attractive to whites at that time?

G.N: *Rra*, one could see that that was not the only reason. Whites did what they did because ours was an agricultural land, the land of gold and diamond. We have crop-farming and diamond. Anglo-American was going to open a mine in the village of Batlounge. Papers were already signed. Now the difficulty we had in those days was that Boers were around us, they were the ones who insisted. They were looking at the seeds coming from our land because it was a land of crops and ploughing, it was the land of diamonds.

R.N: Now it is said that the Lutheran pastors like Schnell found diamonds around Botshabelo, do you know that matter?

G.N: No, it was not like that. What I know as told by our parents is that our grandfathers who gave birth to our fathers were digging there and found the diamonds which they took to Schnell so that he can sell on their behalf. They were the ones digging, but it was difficult to sell so when they found them they gave them to Schnell to sell.

R.N: Is there an open-cast mine there?

G.N: Yes, there is a diamond open-cast mine.

R.N: Now was there opposition to resist the relocation announced by Keet. Was Keet challenged when he spoke at the *pitso* (gathering)?

G.N: We opposed, we opposed that removal. Many of us opposed it, but many of us agreed to it. But those who disagreed, if one was careful enough, were the owners of that land. Those who agreed to it were people who were taken into the village because they had no place to go. The difficulty which was present was that when you opposed the government Keet watched you and if he realized that you had a political 'spirit' he would promise you imprisonment. That is how I saw it. He promised me saying that I alone should come to Lichtenburg because I was the only one who did not understand. I then realized that the man has an evil agenda.

R.N: When he called you to Lichtenburg, was it because you were going to see that new land?

G.N: He said come to Lichtenburg that I should show you were you were being relocated to, because I was the one who really was objecting, and a few others. Someone

came from Lichtenburg and told us that someone was in Lichtenburg, and those in Lichtenburg told me that the commissioner told *kgosi* that he should be careful of 'that black one' he will spoil the people. He meant that I will spoil the people of *kgosi*. The manner in which it was happening, as I said the removal took place because of people who were not of Botshabelo. The government, for its lack of sincerity did not care about the rightful owners of the land, that is why it managed to move us.

R.N: Was there any other resistance besides the one on the day of the announcement? Or were there schemes to get the lawyers, attorneys to oppose the removal?

G.N: Yes, there was another resistance where lawyers were found to oppose the removal. Rre Mogorosi was responsible for that project, he was the one who was in the forefront refusing to move before there were proper agreements. It was said that an attorney be found, but at the end this attorney told us that when the law has spoken there is nothing one could do. So we lost the case and left that lawyer business.

R.N: Do you still remember that lawyer and who was paying him?

G.N: He was paid by all of us. We collected money, those who were opposed to coming over here.

R.N: Do you remember the name of that lawyer?

G.N: *Rra*, I do not remember that lawyer. One could remember if one goes there (pointing at Mr.Mogorosi's house).

R.N: Was he a black person?

G.N: He was a black person?

R.N: I mean the lawyer, was he black?

G.N: He was white.

R.N: Now what hardships did you experience caused by the removal while you were that side and when you arrived here?

G.N: *Rra*, the hardships brought about by the removal is that we were not prepared. There was unrest in this village of ours. There was a group that left with *kgosi* first. Now the group that remained accused the group that left with *kgosi* and that caused unrest in the village. There was another group that went to Tlathlaganyane. They said they are not moving to Ramatlabama, they'd better move to Tlathlaganyane under *Kgosi* Ntubane. Yet another group remained in Botshabelo. These are the ones who did not get a chance to even wash themselves. The truck would just stop in front of your house and men would go up your roof to tear it down. That time you will just be humble trying to protect your children,...

R.N: When did you come here?

G.N: I came on the 6 December 1977.

R.N: Are those of Ikopeleng the ones who agreed to be moved or the ones who resisted?

G.N: They agreed to be moved, others came later joining them.

R.N: Now you call this part Sixhundred.

G.N: This place is called Sixhundred because there were sixhundred tinhouses. G.G (General Government) used to provide tinhouses and convass tents.

R.N: What about a village called Twohundred?

G.N: Two-hundred is Ikopeleng.

R.N: Ikopeleng is Two-hundred. Were there two-hundred tinhouses?

G.N: They were two-hundred.

R.N: Why did *kgosi* not intervene during the removal?

G.N: Kgosi had already given in. It was kgosi who moved first. He had long ago given in when he told us that the law said that whether we liked it or not we must move.

R.N: Was he moved or he moved himself?

G.N: Rra, he was moved. Nobody moved himself, we were moved in the G.G. trucks. Kgosi moved first then his followers.

R.N: Who are the ones who came in '78?

G.N: That was the group that remained, which was the one that resisted. They said we are not going there but they ended up giving in.

R.N: There were churches ther like Roman Catholic Church, Methodist and Lutheran. And now how did the Lutheran Church help in the resistance and in the hardships you encountered when you arrived here, since it was the major one that side?

G.N: Rra, the Lutheran Church did not play any part, it did not help at all just as all the churches did not help.

R.N: *Rra*, how could they not take part since they had a clinic, big houses and even the pastor's house. Why did they not oppose the removal because they were going to lose?

G.N: Rra, I would say they never appeared because I never heard that the bishop or the church was saying something. I never heard the church being mentioned or the pastor, I never heard any of that.

R.N: Now did they leave their property that side or maybe you Lutherans received the money for those buildings?

G.N: Rra what I know is that they left all things that side but when we arrived here Lutherans built a church and the government built a clinic. Now the church is built and the clinic is built by the government.

R.N: Now where were the German pastors when you were moving from that side?

G.N: None of them showed up. I didn't see any Lutheran pastor. That time the pastor was Matlotleng (Phogojane) who was responsible for the church.

R.N: What did he say when people were being moved by force?

G.N: Rra, moruti said nothing because at that time he was still very young and under the same oppression like all of us. He did not say a word.

R.N: Rra, do you say that other churches which were in the village did not help?

G.N: Rra, no church helped, not a single one.

R.N: Now what do you say, should churches remain silent? I speak to you as a Lutheran, rra. Should you Lutherans remain silent when the tribe and the village face hardships, of relocation or just any hardship. Do you have to be silent, or do you have an idea?

G.N: Rra, one should not be silent, but according to me experience the was a spirit of politics at that time, often pastors did not want to be involved. One knew that one had to be involved by resisting as it was necessary. But honestly when the church and the congregation are there, and the tribe, it is necessary that this whole thing becomes a team work. At that time though one could see that the pastors were afraid, they recognized the law, knowing how tough the laws of the Boers were. Now they were afraid to be involved because they feared that their involvement may lead to them being declared as opposers of the government and be imprisoned. That is what I think was the case.

R.N: Were the German missionaries also afraid?

G.N: Rra, some of German missionaries were afraid, yes some were afraid, but others were in cahoots with the Boers. Why do I say that they were in cahoots with the Boers? Some were scared others were in cahoots with th Boers.

R.N: Rra, do you have evidence that they were in cahoots with the Boers?

G.N: I realized that the Germans had part in our village take for instance Moruti Schnell. Many of them had part in the village of Botshabelo. Brogman (Wroggemann) of old had his descendents who were still alive who had an interst in Botshabelo like Moruti Dierks, do you hear me? Those are some of the people who were connected to the tribe of Batlounge. He and the children of Schnell had their origins in the tribe of Batlounge. Now those are the people who should have critically looked at those issues as

white people, but none of them came to us. Therefore I concluded that there must be something that made them not to come to our help.

R.N: What do you mean by something, *rra*?

G.N: I mean fear.

R.N: Who were they scared of since they were white?

G.N: They were scared because they were Germans, they were Germans a nation that came from far while here we had Boers. They were Germans from Germany. Now you know that when the Boers have made a law, a law signed for by a minister, it should be obeyed just as it was signed for by the minister. They don't care how the blacks feel about it. The law protected the Boers, it did not care for people coming from other countries. Boers were the ones protected by the law.

R.N: *Rra*, you say that the Germans did not help to confront the Aparthei regime. Were there benefits which they were getting?

G.N: *Rra*, they were getting something. The Germans were getting something that is why I tell you that some of them were in cahoots with the Boers. There was some place where they were benefitting. Speaking mainly on those Germans who lived among the Batlounge and knowing the Batlounge and their weaknesses. Other Germans were near Batlounge. But those who were around (our village) had a role to play in getting us relocated because they were in cahoots with the neighbouring Boers.

R.N: Were they working with the Germans who neighbours of Putfontein?

G.N: There was a mission station in Bethel, which was the first village to be moved. This removal of Bethel caused the removal of Botshabelo. Some people there fought with the government among the Germans.

R.N: When did the the village of Bethel, Bodenstein move?

G.N: The village of Bethel moved around 1959.

R.N: Now *rra*, as Lutherans, christians, Batlounge, do you see it as your responsibility in future to help in an event when the village is experiencing hardships?

G.N: It is necessary, as christians it is necessary that a christians love their neighbours as they love themselves. In times of hardships christians and the church must get involved when they are able to help.

R.N: What are you saying about the silence of the Lutherans along with your pastors and Free Church leaders in general. What do you say to their silence in respect to this major removal of Batlounge?

G.N: *Rra*, your question is difficult because damage has already been done because it happened years back. Since it damaged has already been caused I think that the church must renew its laws so that when the village experiences hardships they should help where they can help. Now damage has already been caused.

R.N: *Rra*, I have exhausted my questions but if I have left out something important feel free to add it.

G.N: What I can add is in connection with us here, in this land where we came by force not by our wishes. This land did not welcome us. Secondly when we left that side there is nothing the government satisfied us with. Say for instance if one has a four-roomed house like this one, as the owner of the house, having built it with ones' strenght and money one needs to be asked how much one thinks that ones' house was worth. What amount would satisfy one? One just saw a Boer typing something and then one had to leave. You will not believe when I tell you that a four-roomed house whoae bricks were bought in Coligny, which was well-plastered since I had just started (my business), but they only gave me R400.00. Until today that action still causes my heart to drip blood. R400.00 only. Some got R200.00, others got R250.00 and those who were fortunate got R600.00 others R800.00 and yet others R100.00 and the like and the like. The government has caused us a lot of suffering, he gave us nothing. When we arrived here we saw that this land is not as big as the one we were removed from. When you went to complain at the Boer who was there he would tell you that "*Jy maak jou nou slim*" (You are trying to be clever), and leave you just like that. Even when you tried to ask for help from the Bophuthatswana government you found men with thick necks who told you that they will see how to deal with it until you give up as we have given up. But we continued claiming our land until in 1990 when the new government came into power and announced that those who want thier land from which they were moved by force...

R.N: When are you going back to Putfontein?

G.N: We should have long gone back. Actually all the papers are done. All we need to do is to meet with the people now on our land who should leave. But since the government is clever maybe thy are just playing a trick on us. We are waiting on them to say men come there is your land. But it is now six years since but they did not deny us. As it went, commissioners came, we held many meetings until they finally told us that the case is in court. Now they were going to call us to meet the Boers in Mmabatho.

R.N: Who was that commissioner?

G.N: Firstly it was Seremane, Joe Seremane, Mamashile came and then Seremane, not Peter, he is a commissioner in ...

R.N: There is no problem if you have forgotten him.

G.N: That was the one who came. We have to meet the Boers when the case can go well in court. The educated will meet and see how they turn it around.

R.N: Thank you *rre* Nchoe.

INTERVIEW NUMBER CIII

Interviewer: Radikobo Ntsimane

Interviewee: Mosadiotsile Mosiane

Place of Interview: Ramatlabama (Sixhundred)

Date of Interview: 20 June 1998

Language of Interview: Setswana

Profile of the interviewee: Mrs Mosadiotsile Mosiane was born on 28 April 1922 in Botshabelo. She finished Standard Six in 1942. She was confirmed on 3 December 1939 by Missionary Walther Bast. She was married to Mr Mosiane who died just before the removals of 1977.

R.N: Why were you removed from Botshabelo?

M.M: I do not know why we were relocated. During the relocation I was in deep pain, I was mourning my husband's death.

R.N: How then did you hear about the relocation, who told you?

M.M: I got the news from my brother who passed away. He died in 1979 when we arrived here. When I was in mourning clothes he was the one who was at the tribal office of Botshabelo. He came to tell me that there is going to be a relocation. All people at the office are promised to get tinhouses, what about you? He asked me because I could not be in the midst of the tribe, not mix with the tribe, but wanted something with my children. I told him it is wise to go to Seitshiro and find out what he would say.

R.N: Who is Seitshiro by the way?

M.M: I speak of Laban Shole who was leading the tribe here during the removal to Ramatlabama.

R.N: Did you hear about a law that was removing you from there, because some of those I asked told me that there was a black spot where you had built? Black people must be relocated away from white peoples' land. What do you say about that?

M.M: That matter I do not understand because I never heard anybody speaking about it.

R.N: Do you not know anything about black spot?

M.M: I know nothing about the black spot.

R.N: Now *mma*, how did you go out of Botshabelo, Putfontein when some say there were diamonds there, do you now about them?

M.M: I shall not say it with certainty but there were open-cast mines of diamonds there. You see our village on that side was surrounded by these mines.

R.N: Now *mma*, you said that you do not know the legislations which were relocating you. But have you after the announcement of the relocation voluntarily move?

M.M: I do not know how the leaders went about it because at the time when one was in mourning attire one is not supposed to be in the midst of the people. I was at my younger sister's place, the mother of this girl (she was present during the interview) when I sent my brother to find out what was happening. When he came back he told me that kgosi has promised that I will also get a place for myself. I wondered how I was going to get it because some people's Passes were taken for processing but mine was not taken to have my name in the book.

R.N: Do you mean sister Gabobolae? Were you at her mother's place?

M.M: I was at Goibile's mother's place.

R.N: *Mma* do you know of any resistance put up by the Batlounge to oppose the removal?

M.M: Before we come to the resistance let me tell you how I came this side. I waited for the car of the commissioner who was at the tribal office on that day. I waited for him by the road. When he drove towards me in that van wherein *Kgosi* Shole and three Boers were seated at the back...

R.N: Were they from the office or were they going there?

M.M: They were already done at the office. They were going down to Laban Shole. I waved for the van to stop. When the Boer stopped the van he asked, "What is the matter mosadi (woman)?" I said, "People are moving but nobody is telling me anything. Will I get a tinhouse or will I get a place where I can hide my head, what is going to happen?" The Boer, what was his name...?

R.N: Keet?

M.M: Yes Keet! He got off the van and squated on his knee saying to me, "*Mosadi* (Woman), are you one of Laban Shole's people or of Mogorosi Sele?" I said, "No, I am of Laban Shole." He said that if I am of Laban Shole I was going to get your place where we are going.

R.N: We understand. Now this person you mentioned was Mogorosi who?

M.M: Yes, there were two groups, that of Shole and that of Mogorosi.

R.M: Was this Mogorosi also of Batlounge tribe?

M.M: Mogorosi was also a Motlounge of Botshabelo.

R.N: Now what part does Mogorosi's group play in Seitshiro Laban Shole's village?

M.M: They are of the same clan but split into groups during the removal. Some went with Mogorosi and others with Shole. When they asked me I told them I am not of Mogorosi but of Laban Shole.

R.M: Were both groups in agreement with the move or were they both refusing to budge? Which ones were agreeing to move to Ramatlabama, since they promised you a place when you said you were of Laban Shole? What if you had said that you were of Mogorosi?

M.M: It meant that if I had said I was of Mogorosi I would not get what was due to me. I finished with Keet when he said I would get my site in Ramatlabama and we parted there on that same day when they returned from assigning numbers to each person so that their loads may be unloaded at their allocated house numbers.

R.N: It sounds as if Rre Mogorosi's side was resisting? How far did they go with the resistance?

M.M: I do not know but they did resist. I do not know how far their resistance went.

R.N: What hardships did you experience during the removal and when you were already here?

M.M: The day of the removal was a heartbreaking with hardships. I remember that we used to call the people who were removing our village Ma-G.G. (People of G.G i.e of General Government). They were people whose nature one could not understand. They were fighting us...they nearly killed my brother's child...

R.N: Was this boy you're speaking about disturbing them?

M.M: He was not disturbing them. They had already infiltrated the village and did not want that any boy of the village to walk about, but themselves.

R.N: What do you mean "but themselves" because since they were in the village they could walk about?

M.M: They did not tolerate any of our village. If you were of our village at this time, you see what time it is now? Around 3pm, 4pm, 5pm when the girls of the village were going to draw water, no one of our village should wander about because they were feared.

R.N: What nationality were they? What language were they speaking?

M.M: It was not Setswana. It was Sepedi ... it was Sepedi and iSizulu, or it was the kind that was not of Setswana.

R.N: *Mma*, what other hardships did you face when you got here?

M.M: Before we got here on a Sunday when we thought that the children were in church they came running in a big noise. Along with some adults they reported that Ma-G.G told them that they did not want to see them in church again. It ended there...nobody questioned them and we never went to church again. We ended up moving.

R.N: Were Ma-G.G. (G.G. personnel) only black people or were they mixed with whites?

M.M: They were mixed with whites because their office was down near our Lutheran Church. They had put up sheds where they were living along with the whites.

R.N: What were your hardships *mama*? The differences here and there in Botshabelo?

M.M: Here we had shortage of water. We had water hardships.

R.N: Was there no water?

M.M: Water was brought to us in truck.

R.N: Where was that water coming from?

M.M: We do not know where that water was coming from but we were brought water in a truck driving along each street or it parked a bit far where we went in wheelbarrows and drums to draw water.

R.N: Who was bringing the water?

M.M: Batswana were driving but we did not know what part of the world they were coming from.

R.N: Now since churches were there how were they of help. These churches which were already established in old Botshabelo, Wesleyan (the Methodist), Church (the Anglican), Fora (the Dutch Reformed)...no Fora came with A.M.E, Lutere (the Lutheran) how did they help in the hardships you were facing?

M.M: On my side and according to my knowledge I do not know what the church helped with because things were just left like that. Since the removal people were feared some of our Lutheran Church property was missing. I do not know who was watching the loading. Nobody knows.

R.N: As the property of the church was so disorganised what did the German pastors and black pastors like Phogojane Matlotleng do to address that problem?

M.M: I already said that some left in 1977, we...I the speaker left on the 2 February 1978. When we arrived here some people had already left with some things, some

things had already left. We were left behind as I told you that we left on 2 February '78.

R.N: Why were you left behind?

M.M: Nobody was telling you when you were going to be removed. It happened that in the morning trucks would come down the road towards Mokgalo and towards Mokula or towards Taung because we were not the only ones left near the kgosi's Great Place. We were at the Great Place in the village. But in Taung and in Tawaneng, in Kgalong and in Kula there may have been some houses left....

R.N: Did kgosi move first *mma*?

M.M: Yes he was the first to move.

R.N: Why did you remain when *kgosi* left?

M.M: We did not know why we remained because we did not know the sequence of when we shall move and who was going to move us.

R.N: Now since you say you do not know how other churches helped, how did the Lutheran Church help? How did it help in difficulties since it was a big church in Botshabelo?

M.M: That the church helped, I do not know how it helped because even today we still lament some of the things which were in the church...not all of them arrived and we do not know who was putting them together when we moved.

R.N: Would you say it is right for the church to remain quiet when its people are faced with hardships? I speak to you as a leader of the Prayer Women's League of the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa. What are you saying when people are in trouble and as you were silent like in Botshabelo?

M.M: We remained silent because we knew that we had leaders. They should have called us together before things went bad to inform us how things were going to be done like who was going to move first. There were even those who on their own requested to be moved due to the form of treatment we went through. People of Ikopeleng ended up requesting to be moved as the name suggests (Ikopeleng is the reflexive form of the imperative plural of *kopa*).

R.N: Were they of the Lutheran Church?

M.M: Yes we were all of the Lutheran Church though some were that side and others that side but we were going to the same church.

R.N: Now you as the leader of the Lutheran mothers' group will you help in future in an event people face hardships? People sometimes experience difficulties from rain, strong

winds breaking houses and soem people end up being squatters suffering from hunger and diseases. Now what are you saying since other churches do help?

M.M: That time I was a prayer woman praying with women. I became their leader in 1991 for the first time here. That is when I started leading the women.

R.N: Now as the leader of mothers do you lead them in functions and in preaching only or do you also lead them in social matters outside where help is necessary?

M.M: I do not only lead them in preaching and outside things. Now in connection with church, our church this side even when it was built it was Mmakhoni and I. Mmakhoni is my brother's wife. We were the only two even on the day when the load of the church arrived. We put it in the church when it arrived. My sister-in-law whose name is Maria Mashole and I were the only ones who were there when it arrived. It was unloaded under a tree which is still there even today. We even conducted church services under that tree before the church was built. That poor quality property remained outside for as long as the church was not finished. It was finished when we were here. Each day we went there. It was built by Moruti Schnell's son. We used to go to look at how it was progresing. He would ask us what we wanted and we would tell him that we are just interested in seeing how the building was proceeding.

R.N: What do you say about the Germans who left you in the veld when you were hoping that they will help you? What are you saying about them, were they scared or what?

M.M: Precisely for the fact that there were leaders we had placed all these things on the pastors and our elders. There is a church council, isn't there? We thought we would get direction from them telling us how to deal with such things and why. It ended up like this.

R.N: Do you mean they disappointed you and you have lost hope in them?

M.M: Lost hope in whom?

R.N: Those leaders in whom you wxpected help but did not get it?

M.M: Actually...besides that they have disappointed us, really we did not have their order because there was no one who could tell us the procedure from them on how we were going to deal with things.

R.N: In conclusion *mma*, what do you say when you church remains silent when the christians, not only Lutherans have problems? In general what is your feeling about this silence, as a Lutheran and a leader?

M.M: What silence do you mean now?

R.N: Because the Lutheran Church was silent when things we gathered for relocation. Lutheran leaders were not there to lift up a nose or an ear to say “stop!” There was just silence until you ended up here.

M.M: We also could not take things into our own hands and we did not know which leaders were to deal with these things.

R.N: Now what do you say about that silence? How do you feel about it?

M.M: This silence did not go down well with us because during the removal each person got some refund as a consolation. As I said we do not know who received the refund on behalf of the church, we don't know nothing.

R.N: Since you say the Germans were gone during the removal what do you mean when you say you do not know who got the money. When you came to Sixhundred you found the church built by the son of *Moruti* Schnell. Was it not built with the money received from there?

M.M: The church which we do not know if it was built with the money received from there. Even today we have not been informed that as the church stands we have received so much as refund and so much was spent on this and so much on that.

R.N: Do you mean there was some cheating which took place ?

M.M: I do not believe there was any cheating because things were done in a big hurry even in our homes one cannot tell where other things...

R.N: I have exhausted my questions but in case you remember something which I have left out feel free to mention it.

M.M: No, as the other women told you that they were not present they are telling you the truth. Until we were moved I and my late sister Gaitsiwe were the ones who were gathering things together. When the trucks appeared...after you went in...there was a bus in which you were to ride after your load was loaded. Someone should ride in the truck so that they can see where it was going to be off-loaded because things were often just left lying in the veld. Some chairs are just useless, our furniture was really broken. Now because of the greediness of Ma-G.G. there was this office where one had to go and with the allocated house number go and claim refund. Now one would go there and often find that they were not there and there was nobody who could tell you where they were and why they were not in the office. I remember one day after we had moved my mother's uncle's child was being buried in Oukamp in Botshabelo. When Ma-G.G. were in the offensive they really were in the offensive. They just came in their vans and took away the fence, broke down the house and windows. You know that removal was

full of sadness because we were attacked very brutally. Some children lost their minds because these Ma-G.G. had gorged one boy chasing him in their vans until we did not know where he fled to. I remember that we looked for a certain child for two days not knowing where he fled to in fear of them. He fled across the river to hide among the rocks.

R.N: What was the name of the river?

M.M: The river was called Monamaladi.

R.N: Is that how much you have *mma*?

M.M: Yes I stop there ,I may have forgotten other things.

R.N: Thank you *mma*.

INTERVIEW NUMBER CIV

Interviewer: Radikobo Ntsimane

Interviewee: Masaka Mokone

Date of Interview: 20 June 1998

Place of Interview: Ramatlabama Sixhundred

Language of Interview: Setswana and English

Profile of the interviewee: Ms Masaka Mokone was born in Botshabelo and went to school in Sophiatown in Johannesburg and finished in 1960. She was confirmed by Missionary Johannes Schnell in Sophiatown around 1940s. She finished a Social Science degree in Wits University. She is presently running a family business in Ramatlabama.

R.N: Why were you removed to Ramatlabama *mma*?

M.M: It was a parliamentary law of South Africa. It was forming Bantustans and forced black communities from their places to come and cram here into one place to consolidate those Bantustans.

R.N: Did the people agree to be removed *mma*?

M.M: People did not want to move because the land which they occupied was bought by our grandfathers through the help of the Lutheran Church as I heard. After the Matebele Wars people were scattered all over but there were people living together. Churches encouraged them to buy land in order that they may live on it fully and the missionaries would start congregations. So Lutherans in Botshabelo did exactly that, encouraged people to buy land.

R.N: You mentioned that it was through the help of the Lutheran Church. Does it mean that the Lutheran Church paid money or it just gave advice?

M.M: It was just advice to mobilise and organize them to buy land.

R.N: Now through the removals you said people were unhappy. Was there resistance to resist the removal?

M.M: Resistance was there although they did not know what side they belonged to.

R.N: How many sides were there?

M.M: Two sides.

R.N: How were they standing...what were the stands of the two sides?

M.M: Alright, there was an extreme left which said "we are not moving" and the extreme right which said "we are moving what can we say when the government say lets move?" They resisted because took the case to court where they won part of the case

and lost the other. There were those who organized meetings day and night resisting the removal of which some were jailed.

R.N: Were they of Batlounge?

M.M: Yes those of Batlounge.

R.N: Do you remember who was leading the extreme left which said they were not moving?

M.M: I can't remember.

R.N: But what were the final result of the people who were resisiting?

M.M: Final result was that the army was called in and the Special Branch was there every time to monitor that there was no resistance and the removal went on.

R.N: Do you remember exactly when the people were removed?

M.M: 1977....from the mid-1977.

R.N: And do you remember the last removal?

M.M: No, I am not sure but it is probably 1978.

R.N: On which side was the Tribal Authority on the fracas of this removal?

M.M: Tribal Authority...people were scared of the Special Branch therefore you could not see the true colours of the Tribal Authority. And they were just open we are going so says the law.

R.N: Now what hardships did the community come across in the removals while they were moved and while they were trying to establish themselves in Ramatlabama?

M.M: The removal was very pathetic and the compensation for all what they worked for for for the rest of their lives were just given pitance. One was not given the statement of the value of your house, assesment of how did you arrive...like at our home after we arrived in Ramatlabama I went to ask for the statement of how they arrived at the figure. What was written was vark kop, twintig vrugte bome Vyfrand elk and then iets soos Vierkantigehuse, and then they wrote measurements, brick sand and cementvensters,sink dak and they wrote the value. Their value was very low considering that the house was insured. At the time it was insured the currency was Pounds and comparing it to what they were giving it was a disgrace. Those were some of the things they felt they were not going to reveal to you. They refused to tell us on which spot they were going to put us so that we can make a shelter in order that when they remove us we could move into an at least decent shelter we could afford. They just took you and put you in the middle of nowhere. Furniture broke, they got G.G. trucks and people who had no experience in packing furniture, of transporting furniture. They just threw your furniture around. What happened is that the morning they

decided to pick your house, they just stand in front of your house and knock to tell you that we are going. As they say that some people start to remove your doorframes, windows, what not and...actually we had already packed everything. So furniture broke, some items got lost along the way and we tried to report to the commissioner that we lost furniture and some things broke, this and that happened, all was in vain.

R.N: No compensation?

M.M: No compensation what so ever, when we arrived here there was a tent at the entrance of the village where they said “Huis number so and so” and then we were paid in hard cash, “Daar is hy R450.00” for your house or what ever they liked. So there were no houses when we got here, we were given tents and one small corrugated iron shack. They just asked how many you wanted and that shack, and that tent. The grass was not eradicated they just put us on a big bush or grass. The first thing when you arrived was to eradicate grass. Your furniture was on the street where there were snakes, a lot of snakes.

R.N: That brings me to the role of the Lutheran Church and the churches which were already established in the village of Batlounge. How did the churches help the people in those times of hardship?

M.M: They were just quiet, every one was quiet, probably in fear of the Special Branch or whatever we do not know. They were just quiet.

R.N: Do you mean the pastor of that time and the national leadership? We may have had a pastor right in the village, pastors and national leadership, which one was ones were quiet?

M.M: The pastors were in trouble, we were swimming in the same boat, the hearts were bleeding.

R.N: Were they actually scared?

M.M: They were actually scared but they were crying for their property they had, and the national body of the church was just quiet.

R.N: Now the Lutheran Church especially because as I have heard they had also property in Putfontein, how did they deal with their property, do you remember?

M.M: I suppose they just sold it. And the full statement of what happened at that time they built a church at Sixhundred and Miga in Ramatlabama.

R.N: Would you say that your expectations within the Lutheran Church and the general membership was the community expecting help...was there an expectation of help from the church within the village?

M.M: Really, help they did expect but they were really in agony so nobody came forward and say here is little help.

R.N: Why do you say according to your opinion were the churches quiet?

M.M: I have asked a lot of questions about our church, Lutheran Free Church for a very long time. And the usual answer is that even in the time of the first, second Matebele wars the church was quiet. And the argument was we are the free church committed to state opinion so ans so. We are just quiet for a long time, and at the time when it was difficult people suffering.

R.N: What are we looking to ...the way forward...would we do ...also you...the Lutheran Church should we involve ourselves when communities are experiencing the hardships not only of forced removals but also other hardships, what role should we play in that instance?

M.M: I think now we are too passive...okay when it comes to state matters of politics, when we decide to be quiet not to be involved it is okay. There is a lot we can do beside involvining..., like offering material help, counselling those who need it, a lot of things like that even services.

R.N: What form of services?

M.M: Like when we arrived here there was no ambulance taking people to the nearest hospital which is about 36km. from here. People got sick and the church could have organized some transport to take people there. No shop, no groceries, some sort of help.

R.N: But probably the ignorance may be the source of the churches frustration, probably when people are more educated that would have been of more help, what do you say?

M.M: What ignorance?

R.N: Ignorance to the facilities that the church can offer.

M.M: What happened, I am not sure wethere it was Dierks (Dr.F. Dierks) or who, who said the removal of Botshabelo to Ramatlabama reminds him of Germany. When the wall was being build people moved from East to West and settled in tents. And you know I feel they even had experience of what happened here. Maybe they should have given pastors this side advice to help. To give them advice that is there a need for this or that. Even the resettlement which we have requested to return to where we came from it happened in Germany where our church originated. People are taking their land back which was taken by the communists who built the wall. So we Lutherans have experience. Like what Mandela has done now he copied it from Germany, he knew it was possible, it happened in Germany where it was worse in the communist country. So our church is in an advantage over other churches because where it

originated they had a similar problem to ours, something more or less similar. And they are in a better position to help in problems we find ourselves in.

R.N: Now I have exhausted my questions. Probably you may have something to add which you may have left...

M.M: But I feel our church is better than all other churches here. Truly it is the one which was in a better position to help us materially and with advices like now as we are claiming our land back. I am sure they could have trained two or one people to fill in the claim forms to do this or that. Even to advise on what we are going to do as soon as we arrive there, how are we going to start afresh. Such things which started Botshabelo. So starting afresh a new Botshabelo when the relocation of the land takes place. Those are the people who can help us a lot.

R.N: Thank you *mma*.

M.M: Thank you.

INTERVIEW NUMBER CV

Interviewer: Radikobo Ntsimane

Interviewee: Reverend Titus Matlotleng Phogojane

Date of Interview: 21 June 1998

Place of Interview: Ikopeleng Ramatlabama

Language of Interview: Setswana

Profile of the interviewee: Reverend Titus Phogojane was born, baptised and confirmed in Botshabelo. He is a son of a Lutheran minister. He is presently pastoring a Lutheran congregation in Ikopeleng.

R.N: *Rre Moruti* would you please tell us why exactly were moved from Putfontein?

T.P: We we moved from Putfontein in order that as black people we should come to cram here under the government of Kgosi Mangope.

R.N: Was there anything that the government of yesterday was removing you for from Botshabelo?

T.P: Yes there was something they were looking for because that land is really fertile. Compared to this one it is a beautiful land.

R.N: When you say fertile do you mean in accordance to agriculture?

T.P: Yes, agriculture.

R.N: Did they inform you under which law they were relocating you?

T.P: Rra we were not told anything about the law which removed us that side.

R.N: Now did you voluntarily decide to move when they told you so or you moved without resistance, without resistance or was there resistance in the village?

T.P: There was no resistance because kgosi had already moved out. There was no resistance, he just told us that...we went to the kgotla where a date was set without any resistance staged.

R.N: Since you were the pastor at that time *rra*, how did you see your church helping the village which was experiencing hardships due to the removal of Botshabelo in 1977 and 1978?

T.P: During the time of the removal to tell you the truth the church did not render any help, there was no role it played.

R.N: Now did the leaders tell you that there was going to be a removal and so you also will have to move that side?

T.P: They never said anything but I knew that when kgosi leaves along with the tribe I also was going to follow them because we were one in the congregation.

R.N: Didn't the bishop write a letter of farewell to those who were moving?

T.P: *Le eseng!* Not even a letter!

R.N: Now *rra* let me ask because I heard that some left in 1977 and others in '78, were there disagreements in the village?

T.P: We do not mean that there were disagreements but those of the farms and those of the village moved without any problems. We of the farms are the ones who resisted, looking for lawyers to stop the removal. That is the reason we remained behind for some time.

R.N: Now in this matter did you receive help from outside the village from organizations like Black Sash or SACC to help you in paying the lawyers?

T.P: We helped ourselves by contributing our own money.

R.N: Did the Lutheran Church not give advice in that matter?

T.P: Never!

R.N: Now *rra*, may I ask you as a pastor what exactly caused the church to remain silent when its people were facing difficulties?

T.P: No *rra*, I cannot pinpoint anything I do not know why we as pastors of the church mixed with whites ones or we blacks together. I do not know why but I saw nothing happening?

R.N: Let me ask about the teaching of Martin Luther called "two kingdoms," doctrine of Two Kingdoms. Would you say it may have been the one that says that people may...the church may not involve itself in political matters. Is it the one that made people to remain silent?

T.P: Precisely it is the one that made people not to involve themselves in politics...

R.N: Now what do you say in connection with the silent? Is it the right doctrine to be followed by Lutherans. If the tribe is in difficulties should we stand aside and say these are politics and we are not involved?

T.P: No! On our side with the people of Dimorogwana we did the right thing by resisting and bringing the case to court though we failed.

R.N: Now what action can you take today because hardships keep cropping up even though they are not related to relocations? Do you as Lutherans see your role in matters political, when the tribes are in difficulties?

T.P: Yes! It can happen that we take part in political matters or when the tribe is facing difficulties. We can investigate the cause of the problems.

R.N: Let me ask my last question. The questions I have already asked are major ones. Do you have something you want to add which I did not ask or the one which you did not mention?

T.P: I have finished there is nothing I can add. I want to say is that that time was not pretty, it was a bit bad about the children. Our children were sent back because there were no places for them in schools.

R.N: Did you and the leadership of the church not make provisions in advance in order to have something you can work upon when you arrive here?

T.P: We made no provision while we were still in Botshabelo. For the church to operate we organizes from this side. Whites had already made provision for the Word of God to be preached by placing a moruti in Mafikeng.

R.N: Now as you will be moving to Old Botshabelo Putfontein what arrangements have you made for the clinic which you had and the proper continuation of church services?

T.P: In years past some white people came to tell us that before they could move people back there they will built clinic and schools first. After they had built those things they were going to built two-roomed houses for the people, and the children would go to schools and the nurses would help people in healing diseases which may be there.

R.N: Do you Lutherans who used to run a clinic that side intend to re-open it?

T.P: How can we intend to do that when that clinic was under white people. We blacks only know that it was the clinic to help the tribe. We do not know how it was started.

R.N: Was it not the Lutheran Church's clinic?

T.P: It was.

R.N: Now what do you mean moruti when you say it was for white people?

T.P: It is like that because even the church which was sold we did not see anything from it. Even with the clinic we were not consulted that is why I say it were things for whites only.

R.N: Would you say that you were expecting help and advices from your church and deans who were Germans during the time of the removal?

T.P: We were expecting great help. If they could have helped us with something like saying we should not agree to move. But they remained quiet with nobody encouraging us not to move, or getting lawyers to help us not to move.

R.N: Where did you end up with your cases and those lawyers?

T.P: Those cases and the lawyers ended up in the air.

R.N: Will you resist in future?

T.P: Yes we can resist on condition we are united into one force, as we did in Botshabelo with the people of Dimorogwana in Botshabelo. United into one unit.

R.N: What else beside Martin Luther's teaching which you think caused Lutherans and the leaders of the LCSA to remain silent when you were resettled? Was there something else?

T.P: There is nothing I think I can pinpoint but the main thing is that at that time people were afraid. There is a certain fear when something is taking place. When one speaks up as a leader fingers will be pointed at you when the rest of the people step backward.

R.N: What were they afraid of, *rra*?

T.P: They were afraid of the police.

R.N: Do you mean the Lutheran pastors?

T.P: I mean the tribe. To tell you the truth Lutheran pastors were quiet instead of giving us direction.

R.N: Why were they quiet, *rra*?

T.P: They are the ones who know the reason to that.

R.N: A leader cannot just be quiet, there must have been something causing that quietness.

T.P: Yes there is something. Say now if a man quiet and silent when one is facing problems one cannot see what his intentions are, he does not want to reveal his secret. They did not want to reveal their secrets as in the sales of houses. We were not told anything about the sale of the mission (house). That is being quiet.

R.N: Thank you *moruti*.

T.P: Thank you *Rre Ntsimane*.

INTERVIEW NUMBER DI

Interviewer: Radikobo Ntsimane

Interviewee: Chief Jacob More

Place of Interview: Pachsdraai

Date of Interview: 22 May 1998

Language of Interview: Setswana and English

Profile of the Interviewee: Chief Jacob More was born in 1937 in Mogopa. He studied mainly by correspondence before he became a minister in the St. John's Apostolic Faith Mission Church. He studied for ministry in Ephesians College and in Union College. He married in 1964 and his marriage is blessed with four children. He is presently the chief of the Bakwena ba Mogopa in Pachsdraai.

R.N: *Rre* More, when did the issue of the removal start to be discussed in Mogopa?

J.M: It started in 1956. We had a strategy to deal with the government officials those days. We had one man who was going to answer on behalf of the tribe. Nobody else was going to speak. Most of the meetings held with those government officials took about three minutes. The government then sent a different group of officials to make us move. Before our first meeting with us started, an old man led us in prayer saying, "God help us, here are people coming to take what belongs to us." After the man said "Amen!" One official responded by saying that they did not come to take away what was ours. The removal plan was abandoned. In the early 1980s Black Sash came to inform us that we were going to be removed. Threats were many at that time for anyone who dared to join a political party. People were scared of going to jail. A new magistrate called De Villiers bribed some members of the tribe to move. Seeing that I More was a minister the tribe fetched me from my place of work in Carltonville in 1977 to be chief in the place of my late father. I was at that time working in the Non-European Affairs. It was no longer called Native Affairs. The Bakwena fetched me from work. I was working.

R.N: What law did De Villiers say was responsible for moving you from Mogopa?

J.M: He spoke of white spots. Blacks were to move from white spots to go to Bantustans where blacks were being gathered. He formed a group to stand up against me and the lekgotla. He came to the tribal office to confiscate the tribal rubber stamp claiming that the new group he has formed wants to keep it so that when needed I can get it from them. In the presence of my former secretary Mr Rampa, I told De Villiers to bring me a letter from the government authorising the stamp hand over. He could not. All these

happened between 1981 and 1982. A big confusion ensued. Earlier there used to be two opposing groups called Mogoaiwa and Phamola. During my time there was Ra-sethunya and Ra-Selepe. My group was Ra-Sethunya because I had a gun and the other group was so called because they used axes to fight. The Ra-Selepe group wanted to take my chieftaincy over. The Bophuthatswana government took advantage of this division. They left Mathopstad and Motlatla villages alone and concentrated in moving us. De Villiers was sent by the government to force us to move. He was their weapon. He was also seeking promotion in his work. We then called all the Bakwena from Johannesburg and other places. Not all of them turned up though. We agreed to take what was available to us. My grandfather Thomas More once said, "They are coming." He said that those people were wise. He then said that he will be dead when they come but we should take the land we see to be good for us. We followed the advice. We had a primary school and a middle school in Mogopa. We were promised a high school and a proper clinic on condition we moved. On 21 June 1983 the first load was moved to Pachsdraai. Those who refused were taken by force and dumped here. Black Sash took them and moved them to Bethanie near Brits and to Onderstepoort. There were three places where Mogopa people were moved viz. Pachsdraai, Bethanie and Onderstepoort. We agreed with the government and the neighbouring Boers that any member of the tribe who visits the graveyard in Mogopa should not be disturbed.

R.N: Why did people not want to move to Pachsdraai?

J.M: They said that the reason for moving was to create Bophuthatswana. It is strange because they were now moving to Bethanie which was under Bophuthatswana government. We who did not want Bophuthatswana came to Pachsdraai.

R.N: What hardships did the people experience as a result of the removal?

J.M: People lost a lot of things. Their furniture broke during the removal. The compensation they received could not build them new houses.

R.N: Did you receive any help from outside Mogopa?

J.M: People who received help from Black Sash were those who went to Bethanie.

R.N: Did people receive help from churches?

J.M: No help at all!

R.N: How many churches were there in Mogopa?

J.M: There was the AME, the Methodist Church, the St.John's Apostolic Faith Mission Church, the ZCC, the NG Kerk, the Presbyterian and the Lutheran. None of them

helped. No relief whatsoever. Those in Phatsima seemed to have received help from Council of Churches, not from individual churches.

R.N: Did you expect help from churches, *Kgosi*?

J.M: We were in need of help so we expected it. We expected it. But there was no information saying that those who needed help could come. We struggled on our own.

R.N: Did any church oppose the removal?

J.M: No, the only organisation which oppose the removal was Black Sash but it did not have support because we were scared that one may be jailed for supporting them. Once I had literature from them and someone told me I shall go to jail for that. I was the first to be threatened. It were the elites of the village, the teachers who scared me off Black Sash. Was it not for them I could have gone to Pietermaritzburg. I had Black Sash's addresses. When I thought of my wife, my children and the old people in the village I decided against asking the Black Sash for help. How was it going to look like in the eyes of the village and the sleeping ancestors if I abandon the village to go to jail? I was promised that if I could agree to move to Bophuthatswana I was going to be given a new Mercedes Benz and servants to work for me. I would have been provided with groceries by the government. I decided that if the tribe must die, I shall die with it. I have suffered with the tribe up to now. I became the chief of the tribe 'when the pot was already cooked'. When I came in it was ready to be dished out. Things were already bad. If I were to say no, I was going to be locked behind bars on charges of being political.

R.N: What role should churches play when the people are facing hardships?

J.M: As a minister, I think churches should start a fund for the tribe which will be used to help the tribe fight its legal battles. The church leaders were also facing trouble. They lived in fear and wanted to protect their families.

R.N: Did churches in your village not ask their friends in Johannesburg and Europe to help them to resist the removal?

J.M: They can answer that for themselves. If I answer now I shall be binding them with things I do not know. Let them bind themselves.

R.N: Thank you *rra*, for having me here.

J.M: May God help you to come back for some things you may need clarified.

INTERVIEW NUMBER DII

Interviewer: Radikobo Ntsimane

Interviewee: Labius Mompei

Place of Interview: Pachsdraai

Date of Interview: 22 May 1998

Language of Interview: Setswana

Profile of the interviewee: Mr. Labius Mompei was born in 1910 on the farm Oulaagte. He was confirmed by Missionary Henning in 1927. He came to live in Rietfontein near Mogopa in 1960. He became an elder in the Lutheran Church in Mogopa in 1957 and still is in Pachsdraai.

R.N: *Rre* Mompei why were you moved from Mogopa to this place?

L.M: I do not know, I do not know sir, but as we are told when *kgosi* announced to the *kgotla* that we were going to move, they told him that he was not the *kgosi* but he is still *kgosi* today. Those who opposed him were scattered all over the place before they were fetched by force.

R.N: By force?

L.M: We were not moved by force, but they were moving by night. When you go out at night you found out that there was nobody, they were moving out by night.

R.N: Did you not ask *kgosi* why you were being moved?

L.M: It was said that we were living in the midst of whites, we were in the land of whites.

R.N: Were there no papers showing that the village belonged to the Bakwena ba Mogopa tribe?

L.M: It was like that and it is still like that, it is written.

R.N: Is the land of Mogopa yours?

L.M: Yes!

R.N: Was it not of the Boers?

L.M: *Kgosi* Mamogale used to come there.

R.N: Which one is Mamogale?

L.M: He is from Bethanie. He used to come and while he said he was their chief they said that he was not their chief. They said that he was not there when they bought Mogopa. They said they were not his people.

R.N: What was *kgosi*'s explanation of the removal?

L.M: The explanation was that we had to give way for the whites. The law said that we should give way to the people in the whites only land.

R.N: Where were you supposed to move?

L.M: We were coming here. We came to see the place first and liked it. We found fat cattle here.

R.N: *Rra*, does it mean you moved voluntarily?

L.M: No we did not volunteer, men of the lekgotla were sent to come and see this land. They came to see it in the company of whites and liked it. When they came back they told us that they saw the land and liked it, so we moved here. While we were still waiting a Boer came and told us that on a particular day we should expect trucks to come and load us.

R.N: Were there people opposed to that removal?

L.M: Among us?

R.N: In the village?

L.M: Those who refused are still there they have not moved even now. But when I go there I see they do not have houses.

R.N: Who painted these numbers on your doors?

L.M: I think they were painted by the law because I saw those living in our village painting them.

R.N: What hardships did you have to face as the tribe of Mogopa in connection with the removal?

L.M: As a new-comer in other peoples' village you cannot speak about hardships. When I moved into the Mogopa village it was already established and I could not have complaints. I just listened to them and did not say this way and not that way.

R.N: *Rra*, you say there was not hardships but you moved from built up houses to no houses, is that not a hardship?

L.M: I do not regard that as hardship because even on the farms you do not find ready house, when you move onto a farm you built your own house. That is your own problem.

R.N: It is your own problem!

L.M: They claim there were problems because they just relaxed and did nothing. If it was not for my cattle dying I would have remained with a lot of money from the compensation. I built my house and roofed it but its roof was blown away by wind.

When my cattle started to die I sold them. Those are the minor hardships I faced otherwise it was fine without a problem.

R.N: But the old mogopa was very close to town, *rra*.

L.M: I used to walk there during that time.

R.N: I hear that town is far from here.

L.M: It is far but I once tried it by foot.

R.N: Do you mean to town?

L.M: Not going there, but coming back. I had gone to my younger brother's funeral in Zeerust. When I left there was no bus. I walked from Zeerust hoping to be picked up by passing motorists. We were not picked up until the sun went down. We walked the whole night and arrived here in the house at 4 o'clock in the morning. I left Zeerust at two in the afternoon. My legs were killing me but I had arrived.

R.N: *Rre* Mompei did the Lutheran Church help you when you were moving or did they support you somehow?

L.M: They were supportive.

R.N: What did they do to help?

L.M: They gave us money... those of Goedgevonden under Moruti Molefe before they were resettled.

R.N: I mean on the removal? Did the missionaries help?

L.M: They just helped us by conducting worship services here, otherwise they did not help us.

R.N: Did they not resist against the forced removal.

L.M: I never heard about their resistance.

R.N: Why did some people of Mogopa refuse to be resettled, those people who remained?

L.M: They said that they were not going to leave their ancestors' graves, their grandfathers.

R.N: What do you have to say about the diamonds in Mogopa?

L.M: We do not know but the owners of the land know about them. We have not heard anything about them even in a lekgotla we have not heard any discussion about them.

R.N: Were the diamonds not the reason for them to refuse resettlement?

L.M: But they were not mining them!

R.N: Can one still find them there?

L.M: Yes you can! I have not seen them but they are there.

R.N: Who of you Mogopa people since some of you went to Bethanie, others to Phatsima and...

L.M: I say they all went to Bethanie, they moved from Bethanie to Phatsima.

R.N: Were they in Bethanie?

L.M: They were in Bethanie and moved to Phatsima. What I heard was that they were not in good terms with the kgosi so the kgosi sent them back and they went to Phatsima. Some of them came back here but the majority of them went to Phatsima. From Phatsima they went to Mogopa to clean the graves but remained there.

R.N: In Mogopa?

L.M: Yes, we also go there to clean the graves.

R.N: In those three divisions which ones were helped by the church?

L.M: The church did not help except by conducting worship services, *dis al*(that is all). Another form of help I have not heard about.

R.N: Now you *rra*, what do you think was the reason for the church to remain quiet? Do you feel it was the right thing to do when the missionaries were educated people who know the white man's law but remained silent?

L.M: I do not know if they did have compassion with us but I know that they were bringing church services to us. While were still in tinhouses some boys alternated coming to see us. They were Germans. Ledig and Ramatlabama are one people they are our people. That is why I tell you that my grandfather is in Botshabelo, my uncles are there, my aunts are there. In Ledig there are my aunts children who are my brothers and sisters. During their removal I helped to move those of Ledig, those of Magokgwane and those of Botshabelo I helped to move to Ramatlabama.

R.N: *Rra*, now is it right for the church to be quiet. When people are in difficulties, congregations in hardships, should their pastors be silent?

L.M: No, I cannot tell you that.

R.N: You are an elder in the congregation, do you remain quiet or do you help when there is someone in need in the congregation?

L.M: I shall try to help in that need. But since there a number of things that do not go accordingly I shall address the need orally and if I fail I leave it at that. If there are senior persons I shall tell the need to them.

R.N: Do you not see any wrong for the church to keep silent when people are suffering?

L.M: I do not see.

R.N: At all?

L.M: I take it to be right. It is just right because it was never demended by law.

R.N: Did you know that other churches reisted the Mogopa removal. SACC, South African Council of Churches said people should not be moved. Other people who resisted were the Black Sash.

L.M: I heard that some were Black Sash. Those people who were brought here by force were taken away by Black Sash.

R.N: Taken here back to Mogopa? Now do you think Blak Sash did a good thing?

L.M: I do not understand, I did not take it into consideration even a little. Recently ...some time this..., no it was last year around November and September a man died and I found white people at his funeral. They were only girls and were said to be Black Sash.

R.N: You had moved voluntarily but Black Sash helped those who did not want to move. Now what do you say about the church which did not help while Balck Sash was helping?

L.M: I will not trouble my soul and let it wander around because I never expected anybody's help!

R.N: Among the Lutherans?

L.M: I did not think about it. I am only hearing about it from you and know that I have denied yself help. I should have asked them to help me.

R.N: Thank you *rre* Mompei.

L.M: I was able to do things for myself man! I was working for myself. I did not care for anything. When we came to see this place I was impressed and wanted us to move here *daar dieselfde-tyd* (immediately). I told my wife that this is where we shall spend our last days.

R.N: Finally may I ask if the Lutheran Church, your church and my church should help people in need in the future?

L.M: It should, like we have built this church it was *Ntate* Hohls. We were asking for help but the church refused to help. We asked our children who are employed to help us with the building but they refused saying that we should leave that church since it was not ours. We just saw the money coming from someone and we started building.

R.N: Was it *Moruti* Hohls who said the money was sent by the Germans?

L.M: He said one was *Moruti* Poppe's father and the son of *Moruti* Schnell. The day before yesterday they sent R3,000.00 but he did not tell us the name of the donor. That is the money we used to finish the building of the church. He said it were the Germans from overseas who helped.

R.N: *Rre* Mompei, thank you for answering these questions.

L.M: I am happy but if you take me to jail know that I am not scared of jail. I was scared of it in the past now I am no longer scared of it.

R.N: Just relax, there are no problems coming.

INTERVIEW NUMBER DIII

Interviewer: Radikobo Ntsimane

Interviewee: Mrs. Emma Mosenogi

Place of Interview: Pachsdraai

Date of Interview: 23 May 1998

Language of Interview: Setswana

Profile of the interviewee: Mrs. Emma Mosenogi was born in 1935 in Doornkop (Tsetse), near Ventersdorp. She was confirmed by Missionary Henning in Roodepoort mission farm near Ventersdorp. She is married to Mr. Mosenogi. All children have since passed away in Mogopa.

R.N: Now *mma*, when and why were you removed?

E.M: We moved in 19...they said that there were diamonds there.

R.N: When you say "they", who do you refer to?

E.M: The whites removed us there because they wanted to do as they liked there.

R.N: Could you not dig those diamonds yourselves?

E.M: Yes we could not because we did not have the right tools. I once found a diamond but could not sell it.

R.N: Was it only diamond for which you were resettled?

E.M: They mostly spoke about it.

R.N: Did they ever speak about the laws resettling you since other villages without diamonds were also being resettled?

E.M: Yes, each village knows why it was moved since these things were not alike.

R.N: Were you only removed because of the diamonds?

E.M: Yes we were removed only because of the diamonds.

R.N: Does it mean that you chose to move or you were forced to move?

E.M: We were forced, that is the reason our resettlement was in bits and pieces with some people in Bethanie others in Phatsima. They went moving out of wish. Yet others are in Mogopa.

R.N: Was there any evidence of refusal and resistance to oppose the removal from within the villagers?

E.M: There was because we agreed with *kgosi* and went with him. Others refused. It happened that when they were removed from there and arrived here, their trucks immediately took them to Bethanie before we could find out what happened.

R.N: Was it the Black Sash?

E.M: Yes the Black Sash.

R.N: Did you agree to move without a strike?

E.M: We agreed, we just watched where *kgosi* was going.

R.N: Do you follow the *kgosi*?

E.M: We follow the *kgosi*?

R.N: Did the *kgosi* not put up a resistance?

E.M: He did but since you know that Satan is strong and therefore influenced *kgosi* to give in.

R.N: What hardships did you Bakwena experience. What pain did you have to go through? Did you receive the reimbursement for your demolished houses?

E.M: They paid up but it was not equal to the value of our houses. When one builds a house one does not mind how much one spends because it is ones own house. We could not even build houses with it because it was not enough.

R.N: Did you not want the rest of the money through lawyers?

E.M: Yes, even our property was damaged. They promised to repay for our things but we have since waited until now. We tried to struggle but ...

R.N: Let me go a bit backward and ask if the churches had made a fund and give advices on how to deal with the removal? Did they give you any food, blankets, soups or make provisions for tents and the like?

E.M: No.

R.N: Was there no church which appeared?

E.M: Yes, I have not seen any church except that church was requesting this or that.

R.N: Do you have food and drink here?

E.M: We have no food because it is not raining. If there was rain it was going to be something.

R.N: Why did the people who remained that side disagreed with the removal, since *kgosi* had agreed?

E.M: They undermined him.

R.N: Was he not a *kgosi*?

E.M: He was a regent for someone.

R.N: Was he standing on behalf of the one of Bethanie?

E.M: We do not know.

R.N: Do you know if churches gave aid to those people who went to Bethanie or those went to Phatsima?

E.M: I do not know how they helped them.

R.N: What do you think about the silence of the Lutheran Church? As you said no church helped but do you think that it is proper for the church to remain silent when its parishioners are in hardships?

E.M: It is not proper.

R.N: What do you think they should have done *mma*?

E.M: I do not know...

R.N: But there was some money about which we spoke that people of Ramatlabama got to built a small structure with.

E.M: We do not know about it?

R.N: Was there no pastor or evangelist who could help you with advice while you were still in Mogopa when the resettlement was announced?

E.M: In Mogopa there was none?

R.N: Where were they?

E.M: There was Hendrick Molefe in the Goedgevonden.

R.N: Yes I know Hendrick Molefe.

E.M: He was based in Goedgevonden but came to us as well.

R.N: Don't you know *Moruti* Nietzsche? Wasn't he visiting you?

E.M: I know him but he was not coming to us.

R.N: Now how will the churches help in future when people are in need of help or when you experience difficulties here?

E.M: Churches should help.

R.N: Are you not a member of the church *mma*?

E.M: I am a member of the church but to tell you the truth I have not been coming to church. Since we came here I have not been coming to church regularly.

R.N: What is the problem?

E.M: I am stuck!

R.N: But how do you see its role in offering aid not only to Lutherans but to other people who may be facing hardships? How would you like to be helped in your time of need?

E.M: Mnhhhh...

(Someone shouted that my recording of the interview will lead E.M. to prison)

R.N: Please relax *mme*, nothing will happen to you. I have spoken to *Moruti Phogojane* and

E.M: Are you sure?

R.N: Let us answer this question first, *mma*.

E.M: I really do not know.

R.N: But should the church only speak about spiritual and money matters?

E.M: I do not want the church to be involved. I say that the church should not be involved because I am not aregular member. If one is a regular member then one sees.

R.N: *Mme* Mamosenogi thank you for a short time you gave me to ask you a few questions. I assure you that nothing will happen to you. There is nothing that will happen to you connected to this interview. Thank you

INTERVIEW NUMBER DIV

Interviewer: Radikobo Ntsimane

Interviewee: Mrs. Agnes Dithlareng

Place of Interview: Mogopa

Date of Interview: 3 June 1998

Language of Interview: Setswana

Profile of the interviewee: Mrs. Agnes Boitumelo Dithlareng was born in 1928 in Leeudoringstad. Mrs. Dithlareng was married to John Dithlareng but no longer remembers some dates.

R.N: Now *mme*, I would like to ask why this village was removed from her? What did you hear was the reason?

A.D: You see there was confusion, some moved and others did not want to move, we were moved by force. We therefore did not move we remained. Others went to Pachsdraai. We remained here like that but after a short time they sent Reikblok to remove us.

R.N: What do you mean by Reikblok *mma*?

A.D: The police. They were all around the village. They saturated the village. Trucks came and dumped us in Pachsdraai. They took us like that and dumped us in Pachsdraai where we did not stay long. We had lawyers who brought in trucks to take us away from Pachsdraai to other places.

R.N: Now why exactly were you removed. Now when they said to you “Bakwena ba Mogopa we are removing you”, what were their reasons?

A.D: They said that the government want this land.

R.N: What did it want to do with it?

A.D: I do not know what it wanted to do with it. People who will know are the leaders. I do not know what they wanted to do with it.

R.N: Didn't they say that this land has diamonds?

A.D: It is said that there are diamonds and coal deposits and oil. We do not know because we have never seen them.

R.N: Now *mma* do you know those lawyers you mentioned?

A.D: I have forgotten them. Lerothodi was our *kgosi* but as things went along Mamogale withdrew from being our *kgosi* and joined Mangope (of Bophuthatswana).

R.N: Who is Mamogale?

A.D: Lerothodi the *kgosi* of this and Bethanie village.

R.N: Of Bethanie? What then was More?

A.D: It was More.

R.N: The More in...in Pachsdraai?

A.D: No the elder to that one in Pachsdraai. We used to refer to him as chairman. Actually he was told to take care of things this side. There was an elder one who..

R.N: Is he there...was he in Bethanie?

A.D: Yes he was in Bethanie. He died last year.

R.N: Now *mma* when you asked the lawyers why they were refusing that you be moved did they tell you on which law were they basing their case?

A.D: I do not know...

R.N: When you call the lawyers *babueledi* (your spokespersons) where were they speaking for you?

A.D: In order that we may return to our land as we have now returned.

R.N: Was there no resistance from you in '83 as people of Bakwena to refuse the move from your land?

A.D: There was. When they were supposed to force their way in at one night people from America were present. They spent the night camping with us. No struggle took place (that night).

R.N: And you...

A.D: We stayed put for some time. It then happened that in February...I do not know the...but it was February when they came in at night.

R.N: Do you still remember the year *mma*? What year was it?

A.D: No I do not remember the year but I know it was February. You see people who remember things are these children of mine. I did not go to school I am just an ordinary person.

R.N: 1983, it is said that that was the removal which took people to Pachsdraai. Were you also moved in '83?

A.D: We were not moved with the first group. It seems like there was a first group which was moved and we remained. Mokwena told those of us who remained to plough, and we ploughed. Truly it happened that on the 30 February they came to attack us...and enjoyed our crops.

R.N: Who is Mokwena you are referring to?

A.D: I speak of Mamogale.

R.N: Did you fight the government when it was forcefully resettling you?

A.D: Yes we fought it.

R.N: Who was victorious?

A.D: We were victorious.

R.N: Now *mma*, how many churches were there in the village during the time of the removal, churches which were established?

A.D: There was Roma (Roman Catholic Church) and AME and Prese (Presbyterian Church) and Lutheran which had a small building. It was a small building so that we were not using anybody's house for services. We knew that after the service is over the church will be locked and when the church starts it will be unlocked. It was built...but all churches were built like the AME, Wesleyan, Roma.

R.N: Now *mma* how did those churches which were in the village help in the hardships caused by the removal?

A.D: I have not received any help I am afraid of lying, moruti.

R.N: Who was your Lutheran pastor during the time of the removal?

A.D: It was...he has since died.

R.N: Where was he based?

A.D: He used to live in the location.

R.N: Mogale?

A.D: I do not recall clearly...

R.N: During the removal how did the Lutherans help?

A.D: No, they have never helped us since we moved coming from it. When we came from Pachsdraai we were taken to Modikwe. That is when I started to join this church of Nietzsche. That is when I registered and they accepted me. I showed them papers of my previous Lutheran church, they never gave me problems.

R.N: Who is this Nietzsche you are speaking about?

A.D: No, Nietzsche was in Ventersdorp. This side we had Damaske who was succeeded by Poppe. They were Germans.

R.N: Now how did those Germans help?

A.D: They helped us this side. Moruti Damaske and Poppe found a site for us where a big church was built when we were that side.

R.N: In Modikwe?

A.D: Yes in Modikwe until we moved back home this side.

R.N: In the struggle you waged for your land of Mogopa how did they help you?

A.D: No, they did not help us.

R.N: Now *mma*, let me ask if there were any churches helping you when you were resisting the removal?

A.D: I was not aware but the person who used to come to the people was *Moruti Desmond Tutu*.

R.N: Desmond Tutu.

A.D: He was the one who used to come...

R.N: Coming to do what?

A.D: Coming to ask questions and give some answers. Working as our representative.

R.N: Was he saying that you should move or that you should stay?

A.D: He did not say that we should move but that we should remain.

R.N: By the way he is an Anglican?

A.D: Yes!

R.N: Now *mma*, do you remember any other person besides Tutu who helped you from outside in your time of resistance?

A.D: Pastors?

R.N: Pastors or people of organizations from outside the village.

A.D: I could not really realize it because of the riots caused by the confusion and battles.

R.N: Who were fighting?

A.D: It were the Boers. I do not understand where they were coming from because they used to come armed to us causing commotion. I am not aware of where they came from we just used to refer to them as Boers. We do not have a clue of where they came from but they were Boers. We used to see them carrying guns in meetings...they were carrying guns.

R.N: Were they shooting you or some other people?

A.D: Yes they wanted to shoot us, yes.

R.N: If you refuse to go?

A.D: Yes if we refuse. Some were hit with the butt of their rifles others with...

R.N: Do you know an organization called the Black Sash?

A.D: I know it. It was making rounds among us. It is of Anika Heisen and others.

R.N: When you look at it *mma*. Why did your Lutheran Church...why did it not sent its wise people to advise and help as Tutu and others came?

A.D: I can not understand.

R.N: Was it afraid?

A.D: Surely it must have been afraid. I am not certain how things worked out.

R.N: You have counted Damaske, Nietzke and Poppe. Where were they during that time?

A.D: I do not know where they were. I actually met them here ...this is where we used to meet. Moruti Tswaedi also used to conduct worship services here but only for a short time...he is the bishop now.

R.N: Now *mma*, when you say you do not know where they were, did you not ask them?

A.D: No we did not ask them.

R.N: Would you say that it is necessary for churches to come to peoples' assistance when they are facing hardships?

A.D: We?

R.N: Yes you, not the Germans. You black people.

A.D: Yes we can help since people lose their things, their things break. We are supposed to try and help. We can maybe collect R50.00 or other things to attempt to help those people.

R.N: Now *mma* what do you think...let me ask about the silence of the Lutheran. How did you feel about that silence when your pastors were not there but only of other churches like Anglican?

A.D: I do not know what we can do about that, it beats me Moruti. I really do not know, I am unable to reply to that.

R.N: I ask about your feelings when you saw that people who were supposed to help you were not there on that day.

A.D: I can not understand what stopped them from helping us. I do not know what they were undermining.

R.N: Now who really received help from churches among those who moved to other villages like Phatsima, Modikwe and Pachsdraai?

A.D: We of Pachsdraai did not receive any help. Some of us remained there in Pachsdraai they no longer came here. We came back in drips and draps. Maybe they received help. Some remained in Bethanie, others remained in Modikwe yet others remained in Phatsima and we left. In Phatsima we were given a temporary stay for three months. We stayed that three months until the year came to a close. Then we came here. People were already used to that land. They saw water taps and other things in the yards and decided to remain and we came. After we left those things came to an end. They were eating because vegetables were planted, fowls were raised and cattle...that little bit of milk...but after we left nothing of that sort continued.

R.N: Who was helping the tribe with those things that side?

A.D: A white man called G.G. was appointed. It was zhe time when G.G was working with the people. They gave us rations of maize meal, soups and other things. After we had left those things were discontinued and it seemed as if their lives became difficult. Even water was not in good supply anymore. They stopped all those things.

R.N: Now *mma*, would you say it is acceptable for a church to be involvd in political matters?

A.D: It is not acceptable for the church to be involved in politics.

R.N: Is it not involved in politics when it helps in matters of removals?

A.D: Yes those are politics since they are removal matters, but it wants to help people. It wants to help people.

R.N: Should it be involved?

A.D: Yes it should.

R.N: Thank you *mma*. I do not know if there is something you want to add or something I may have not asked you?

A.D: No, there is nothing more.

R.N: Thank you.

A.D: Yes, thank you.

INTERVIEW NUMBER EV

Interviewer: Radikobo Ntsimane

Interviewee: Mr. Malefo Rammekwa

Place of Interview: Mogopa

Date of Interview: 23 June 1998

Language of Interview: Setswana

Profile of the interviewee: Mr. Malefo Rammekwa was born on 5 December 1941 on a farm called Ratzegaai near Ventersdorp. He went to school in Ventersdorp but did not go far. He was confirmed in 1959 in Roodepoort mission farm near Ventersdorp by Missionary Henning. Mr. Rammekwa is married. He is one of those who returned to Mogopa before 'proper' authorisation was given.

R.N: Now *rra* when you were removed from this Mogopa called Swaartrand, did you say it is Swaartrand, why were you removed?

M.R: I do not know why we were removed. There was commotion in the village which caused us to move. It so happened that those who moved first spoke secretly to the whites. We heard this from those who were paying out monies. Now when they were moved some took over their positions and instigated the removal, speaking to the whites to support them.

R.N: When did the first group move?

M.R: They were removed in July in '83.

R.N: When did you move?

M.R: We moved on the 14 February '84.

R.N: Why exactly were you removed?

M.R: Those are the ones who caused that we moved, there was no conflict. It was caused by those people that we moved.

R.N: Was it not caused by the Apartheid government which wanted this land because it had diamonds?

M.R: That we did not hear about. What we heard about is what was caused by those people. The person who used to come here was the magistrate from Ventersdorp along with those Boers.

R.N: Did the magistrate along with those Boers come in '83?

M.R: They came in '83 for those who went to Pachsdraai. We remained here. In '84 we were removed by force.

R.N: When you say that they chose to go, do you mean that they said that they wanted to move?

M.R: They requested it.

R.N: Did you resisit?

M.R: We refused.

R.N: What did you do to show that you refused?

M.R: We refused. We remained and were helped by lawyers. Pastors also used to come here. I remember that Bishop Tutu was present. He even used to sleep with us here under a tree.

R.N: Did you sleep with Tutu under a tree?

M.R: We slept with him under a tree when they started coming at night to harass us.

R.N: Were there others pastors who were present that you remember during the time of your refusal to move?

M.R: Others whose names I no longer remember were present. I recall him because he appeared in a newspaper which I can show to you now.

R.N: Of which churches were those pastors who accompanied Rre Tutu since he was an Anglican?

M.R: He was accompanied by pastors of other churches but I do not recall from which churches they came. They used to tell from what churches they came but I have forgotten because it is some time back now.

R.N: Do you remember if any of your Lutheran Church was present there?

M.R: No, I never heard that any of the Lutheran Church was present there.

R.N: Yes, were other Lutherans like Hermannsburg present?

M.R: It seems one of them was present.

R.N: It seems?

M.R: It seems one was present but I do not recall clearly.

R.N: Now how did those churches help and support you?

M.R: They may have helped because we received food rations after we were removed from here by force. We were given food, corrugated iron and building materials so that we can be assisted where we were. They also brought blankets.

R.N: Were they coming from the churches?

M.R: I heard that they were from the churches but I can not confirm that they were from the churches, since the white pastor who was with those people was Dr.Kistner .

R.N: So it was Dr. Kistner?

M.R: Yes it was him.

R.N: But Dr. Kistner is a Lutheran pastor.

M.R: He is the one who was with us for a long time. Even this year we saw him, he came to us.

R.N: Now did they help you while you were in Bethanie or only when you were here?

M.R: They helped us when we were in Onderstepoort. They began here and when we were in Onderstepoort they helped us a lot. We could not hold meetings with them because the government, the kgosi of Bethanie did not allow us to conduct meetings with such people.

R.N: By the way was Bethanie in Bophuthatswana?

M.R: It was in Bophuthatswana.

R.N: Now since you church did not make any noise what are you saying as Lutherans? Was it proper for it to remain silent?

M.R: No, it was not supposed to be quiet. It was supposed to complain as we also complained.

R.N: I mean as you saw Anglicans and other churches when yours was not there, how did you feel?

M.R: We did not feel good.

R.N: Yes.

M.R: We did not feel good.

R.N: Did you inform them that as Bakeana ba Mogopa, as Lutherans you were moving?

M.R: We informed them. *Moruti* used to come to administer Holy Communion here in my house. My wife and I informed him. He told us that he is not involved in political matters.

R.N: Who was that moruti?

M.R: It was *Moruti* Nietzsche.

R.N: Did he say he is not involved in political matters?

M.R: He said he is not involved in political matters.

R.N: Yes.

M.R: Yes!

R.N: What year are speaking about?

M.R: It was before we moved from here, in '83, in '83 because we moved from here in February '84.

R.N: Did you not tell him that other pastors were present?

M.R: He was told, we used to tell him that other pastors were present, that many churches were supporting us and he said that he is not involving himself in matters political.

R.N: What do you think was the reason he said he is not involving himself?

M.R: I do not know.

R.N: Did he not tell you why he was not involving himself?

M.R: He did not tell us.

R.N: It is said that there were other pastors who left besides Nietzsche, do you remember them?

M.R: I do not remember them, there were many pastors.

R.N: I mean those of our Lutheran Church?

M.R: I do not know them well. If I knew them I would have seen them. Of the Lutheran Church I do not know them well, I only knew Nietzsche well.

R.N: Don't you know *Moruti* Damaske and *Moruti* Poppe?

M.R: No I do not know them. The one called Poppe I have just seen recently. I saw him here at home conducting Holy Communion service here at home.

R.N: Yes, so Communion service they continued to conduct?

M.R: Yes they came for it.

R.N: In the food rations and the blankets you received did our LCSA Lutherans and our Germans contribute something?

M.R: I do not know. I cannot say with certainty.

R.N: During their distribution did you see our Lutherans?

M.R: No, no one appeared. They just sent them into the village and the village people would distribute them, our village's leaders.

R.N: Pardon me *rra*, what did you say when *Moruti* Nietzsche said that he will not be involved in matters political? Should a church be involved in politics?

M.R: Those were not politics. I do not agree that they were politics, it were just things fabricated by people. Those were not political matters. He was supposed to have played a role because it were not politics. It were not political matters.

R.N: What was it?

M.R: It was just oppression that they were doing.

R.N: *Rra*, I do not know in questions I have asked because you say that the church should not be quiet, it should be involved in politics...do you mean should be involved in politics when there is oppression?

M.R: No, we do not know. We were just asking for help from the churches. I do not know if it were politics but we were asking for help.

R.N: But do you say that your church should be involved in politics or not?

M.R: I say it should be involved.

R.N: In politics?

M.R: Yes in politics.

R.N: Does it mean that you think politicians will not do their work well?

M.R: I do not undermine them.

R.N: What if they also get involved in church matters since you want churches to be involved in politics what will you say?

M.R: When they do what?

R.N: When people of politics involve themselves in church matters is it right, since you say that church people should be involved in politics?

M.R: Yes it is fine but they should do good politics. If they do not do good things it will not be proper.

R.N: Which ones are good?

M.R: To conduct things in a proper manner.

R.N: *Rre* Rammekwa I do not know if there is something you want to add. I no longer have questions. What do you want to add which you or I may have forgotten?

M.R: I do not know, I have nothing more.

R.N: Thank you, by the way what is the name?

M.R: Malefo Rammekwa.

R.N: Thank you.