

1. 'Building People's Power' Isizwe/The Nation. Journal of the United Democratic Front. vol 1 no. 2. March 1986, emphasis in original
2. Eastern Cape United Democratic Front. Forward to People's Power! - Down with Minority Rule!. April 1986. Emphasis in original. See also People's Education for People's Power. National Education Crisis Committee. Second National Consultative Conference. Keynote Address. Saturday 29 March 1986, at 14ff
3. Interviews with Gugile Nkwinti of Port Alfred, April 1986, Titus Mofolo of Atteridgeville April 1986, Maphethi Leeuw of Atteridgeville February 1986 and others cited in this paper
4. op cit at 5
5. Sunday Times 16.02.86
6. op cit at 15
7. People's Education for People's Power at 14ff, 'Building People's Power' op cit
8. See Raymond Suttner 'The "Loading" of Procedures in the South African Judicial Process' in J Hund and HW van der Merwe (eds) Responsive Law, Ideology and Justice (forthcoming 1986) ch 8
9. See UDF Press Conference on the Death of Peter Nchabaleng and the Crisis in the Northern Transvaal, Press package, statement by Beyers Naude on behalf of the South African Council of Churches, at 3, announcement of Alexandra Consumer Boycott Committee's decision to isolate police socially. The Star 21.04.86, Business Day 21.04.86
10. Report (untitled) by John Watson, dated 20.11.85. at 2. For examples of alleged police assaults see 3-5 of his report
11. Interview with Titus Mofolo op cit. See also letter to City Press from Thomas Tikumbe of Upington, dated 05.01.86. Georgina Jaffee 'Beyond the Cannon of Mamelodi' Work in Progress April 1986, 4 at 6 appears to suggest that the decision not to go to the police is a result of some degree of coercion or at any rate more pressure than is required in Atteridgeville, for example

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12. Titus Mofolo interview
13. Port Elizabeth activist, written communication. January 1986
14. Interview January 1986
15. See report in New Nation 16.01.86 regarding resignation of two Soshanguve police - 'once shunned by the community they "have joined hands with the masses and will endorse fully what the people see fit to demand"'. See also The Sowetan 11.04.86 report of a policeman who had fled during 'unrest' in Alexandra and now resigned to 'join the struggle'. See also The Star 04.04.86 and City Press 18.02.86
16. See note 9 above
17. Interview with Weza Made, December 1985. The people see their control of a system of justice as part of the struggle to control their own country. Made says:

What has been preached in the past about the Freedom Charter where the People Shall Govern themselves even now we are trying to do that practically.

Similar evidence of the influence of the Freedom Charter was expressed, for example by Gugile Nkwinti, interview op cit
18. op cit
19. cf Complaints book of Soweto Civic Association
20. op cit
21. interview with Mkhuseleli Jack op cit
22. Interview February 1986
23. Interview op cit. Similar accounts of police reference of cases to the comrades and their resolution by ASRO are found in 'People's Courts in Charge' The New Nation. 13.02.86
24. See Thomas Karis & Gwendolen Carter (eds) From Protest to Challenge A Documentary History of Politics in South Africa. 1883-1964 (1972) at

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at 725ff

25. See e.g. Raymond Suttner 'Political Trials and the Legal Process' South African Review Two (1984) 63-75.

26. See 'Prisoners of War? The Soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe', Descom Bulletin, no 9, November 1985 (Dalbridge Natal)

27. See e.g. statement of Mr Justice HG Nicholas, reported in The Citizen 18.04.86

28. Watson op cit

29. interview Titus Mofolo

30. e.g. interview with Gugile Nkwinti

31. Apart from interviews cited, informants have referred to people's courts, ^{and/or other popular organs of control} in the Nelspruit area, Beaufort West, Oudtshoorn, Cradock, Queenstown, Graaff Reinet, Jansenville, etc.

32. op cit

33. op cit

34.. People's Courts: Some Points about their Purpose and Function (n.d. c. March 1986, issued in Atteridgeville, emphasis in original)

35. op cit. Much of this account is confirmed in 'People's Court in Charge' The New Nation 13.02.86

36. See complaints book op cit

37. e.g. speech by Rev Chris Nissen to Grassroots (Cape Town), transcript

38. Titus Mofolo interview op cit

39. op cit

40. op cit

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41. interview with Mkhusele Jack op cit

42. ibid

43. personal communication, Paul Mashatile, President of Alexandra Youth Congress, March 1986

43a. Interview. Titus Mofolo. Georgina Jaffee's account of Mamelodi op cit, e.g. at 7 conflicts to some extent in its emphasis, which is far more disciplinarian and coercive. The concept of 'unwanted elements' appears to be applied by her informants to a far wider category than would be the case, according to my informants, in Atteridgeville and other areas

44. op cit

45. Interview with Maphethi Leeuw op cit

46. interviews in general. See also 'Building People's Power' op cit

47. interview with Titus Mofolo

48. ibid

49. Interview with Maphethi Leeuw

50. Interview with Gugile Nkwinti

51. Interview with Titus Mofolo

52-53 (appear to be no notes)

54. Interview with Alex Motoadi, Secretary of Duduza Civic Association April 1986. See also City Press 20.04.86 for Thokoza:

Thokoza youths seized piles of deadly weapons including pangas, assegais and swords from thugs in a huge anti-crime campaign last week.

They were acting under the Thokoza Anti-Crime an organisation formed to improve living conditions in the area and root out thuggery

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55. interview op cit. Similar experiences are reported by Paul Mashatile for Alexandra

56. Titus Mofolo interview

57. See e.g. 'War declared on "comrades"' Sowetan 14.04.86: 'The United Democratic Front and several progressive organisations resolved to stamp out thuggery in the struggle at a meeting held in Regina Mundi, Soweto. The meeting heard that there were people posing as "comrades" in the township who were robbing people of their vehicles and harassing businessmen by demanding money.' See also 'Attack Them. Call at meeting to stop hijackers' Sowetan. 29.04.86 and Star of 14.04.86

58. e.g. the Port Elizabeth Consumer Boycott Committee has a variety of regulatory measures to govern purchase of goods by traders in the city, and to prevent their harassment by activists. O: Mamelodi See Gorgina Jaffee at 5

58a. interview op cit

59 op cit

60 op cit

61. ibid

62. interviews with Weza Mase, A Motoedi, Paul Mashatile, Titus Mofolo

63 interview op cit

64 interview with Titus Mofolo

64A ibid

65 See People's Education for People's Power op cit and Raymond Suttner, Priorities of National Democratic Struggle Today, (December 1985)

66. See Karis & Carter at 35ff, 112-113, and Monc Babela 'G-plan: taking it to the Streets' City Press. 09.02.86



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NAVORSINGSEENHEID VIR ONTWIKKELINGSOSIOLOGIE
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Dear Daryl,

Enclosed is Sutherland's article - it's an ~~old~~ copy. The article is
copy, in Spanish, & is not clear in places. The article is
a ~~paper~~ short article I wrote which I'm expanding into a longer paper.

Please let me know if you can find anything else on this.

On Apr 1st camp, you should look at the account in

Baron Hiss's 'Journal', September. No 5 had an account of

the 1954 meeting at 'Hk', no 6 had an update, & no 7 continues the

story, plus a portrait of the Comandante. Barrow's account is

13 Feb 54, London #2 015 if you have problem getting this?

copy.

Best wishes, good luck with job, & write well.

John