

3. Interviews with Mangane Nkewini of Port Alfred, April 1986, Titus Mofolo of Atteridgeville April 1986, Kaphethi leCon 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


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.
12. Titus Mofolo interview


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 16.02.86

16. See note 9 above

17. Interview with Weza Mase, December 1985. The people see their control of a system of justice as part of the struggle to control their own country. Mase 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 Mkhulisi 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

at 72ff

25. See e.g. Raymond Suttner 'Political Trials and the Legal Process'


27. See e.g. statement of Mr Justice HG Nicholas, reported in The Citizen 18.04.66

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 other popular organs of control in the Xaloja area, Beaufort West, Oudtshoorn, 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 13.02.66

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
41. Interview with Mxhuseli 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.

46. ibid.

49. Interview with Maphethi Leeuw.

50. Interview with Gugile Mkwinti.

51. Interview with Titus Mofolo.

52-53 (appear to be no notes).

54. Interview with Alex Motoedi, Secretary of Duine Civic Association, April 1986. See also City Press 20.04.86 for Tshokoza:

Tshokoza 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 Tshokoza Anti-Crime an organisation formed to improve living conditions in the area and root out thuggery.
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 hikoscers' Sowetan, 29.04.86 and Star of 14.04.86

58. See 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. On Mamelodi See Gorgina Jaffee at 5

58a. interview op cit

59 op cit

60 op cit

61. ibid

62. interviews with Weza Made, 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 Mono Badaela 'G-plan: taking it to the Streets' City Press, 09.02.86
Dear John,

Best wishes, go on with your studies and make a success of it.

Yours,

[Signature]