

END NOTES

¹Thembisa (Promise in IsiZulu), not Tembisa, is the correct spelling of this residential area

²Philip Bonner and Noor Nieftagodien, in their study of Alexandra Township, write that because of the drought many farmers abandoned their farms and those who remained laid off black labour tenants in their thousands. The latter sold up their cattle left the land and headed for small and large towns. P. Bonner and N. Nieftagodien *Alexandra: A History* (Johannesburg, Wits University Press, 2008), p.25

³ Interview with Nomathemba Catherine Thulare, conducted by Tshepo Moloi and Gille de Vlieg, 20 December 2010

⁴Letter addressed to Senator J.D. Rheinallt-Jones by Mr D.L. Smit, official in the Department of Native Affairs', 27 March 1939. Archived at University of the Witwatersrand Historical and Literary Papers (hereafter, WHLP) in the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) Collection AD 843/RJ/B1.4 (Box 291)

⁵Letter addressed to Senator Jones by Mr Cowly, Town Clerk of Edenvale Village Council, 1 October 1941'. Archived at WHLP in the SAIRR Collection AD 843/RJ/Sb.3.37 (Box 291). Cowly claimed that in 1941 there were about 150 families squatting on the location

⁶Interview with Matilda and Timothy Mabena, conducted by Tshepo Moloi on 23 January 2011

⁷Interview with Buti David Mahlobo, conducted by Tshepo Moloi, 22 September 2005 [Tshepo Moloi private collection]

⁸Interview with Julius Lelaka, conducted by Tshepo Moloi and Nonhlanhla Ngwenya on 14 September 2010.

⁹Interview with Mrs Thembi Makase by Tshepo Moloi, Phomolong, 28 August 2004; Mike "Figo" Madlala's parents also worked around Kempton Park for years and lived in Phelindaba. Interview with Mike "Figo" Madlala by Tshepo Moloi, for the South African Democracy Education Trust (hereafter SADET) Oral History Project, Kempton Park, 7 September 2004

¹⁰'Letter addressed to Senator J.D. Rheinallt-Jones by Mr D.L. Smit, official in the Department of Native Affairs', 27 March 1939. Archived at University of the Witwatersrand Historical and Literary Papers (hereafter, WHLP) in the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) Collection AD 843/RJ/B1.4 (Box 291)

¹¹ Interview with John Tshabalala, conducted by Tshepo Moloi and Nonhlanhla Ngwenya, 26 November 2011

¹²Siyotula, N.G. 'The Tembisa Rent Boycott', Honours Dissertation, (Johannesburg, University of the Witwatersrand, 1989), pp.7-8; G. de Vlieg *Sash*, 31 May 1985

¹³Interview with Nomathemba Catherine Thulare, conducted by Tshepo Moloi and Gille de Vlieg, 20 December 2010

¹⁴Interview with Simon Ramogale, conducted by Tshepo Moloi, Johannesburg, 7 April; 18 August 2004; All the names referred to by Simon Ramogale have been translated from Sesotho to English

¹⁵Interview with Julius Lelaka, conducted by Tshepo Moloi and Nonhlanhla Ngwenya on 14 September 2010.

¹⁶Interview with Rosina Marakalala, conducted by Tshepo Moloi on 21 February 2011; A boer is a farmer. But in black townships, whites particularly officials and police of Afrikaner descent were referred to as boers; For a description of squalid living conditions in Dindela location, see Star, 24 April 1967.

¹⁷Interviews with Lazarus Mawela, conducted by Tshepo Moloi, 30 October 2011 and 14 December 2011

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Interview with Nomathemba Catherine Thulare, conducted by Tshepo Moloi and Gille de Vlieg, 20 December 2010

²⁰Interview with David Malabela, conducted by Mmatjatji Malabela on 10 October 2010

²¹Interview with Michael "Figo" Madlala by Tshepo Moloi, for SADET Oral History Project, Kempton Park, 7 September 2004

²²Interview with David Malabela, conducted by Mmatjatji Malabela on 10 October 2010

²³Interview with Matilda and Timothy Mabena, conducted by Tshepo Moloi on 23 January 2011

²⁴According to Jonathan Hyslop "the 1960s saw phenomenal increases in employment. In manufacturing, the number of employees of all races soared from 653 000 in 1960 to 1 069 000 in 1970". See Hyslop, J. 'Schools, Unemployment and Youth: Origins and Significance of Student and Youth Movements, 1976-1987', in Bill Nasson and John Samuel (eds.) *Education: From Poverty to Liberty*, (Cape Town and Johannesburg, David Philip, 1990), p.81

²⁵Gauteng was originally a name used to refer to Johannesburg. It should not be confused with today's Gauteng as a name for the province

²⁶Interview with David Malabela, conducted by Mmatjatji Malabela on 10 October 2010

- ²⁷Interview with Matilda and Timothy Mabena, conducted by Tshepo Moloi on 23 January 2011
- ²⁸A *stokvel* is a social club serving as a rotating credit union in South Africa where members contribute fixed sums of money to a central fund on a weekly, fortnightly or monthly basis. Each month a different member receives the money in the fund, which is collected during that period (<http://en.wikipedi.org/wiki/Stokvel>)
- ²⁹Interview with David Masina, conducted by Tshepo Moloi on 19 February 2011
- ³⁰Interview with Matilda and Timothy Mabena, conducted by Tshepo Moloi on 23 January 2011
- ³¹Interviews with Lazarus Mawela, conducted by Tshepo Moloi, 30 October 2011 and 14 December 2011
- ³²Interview with Matilda and Timothy Mabena, conducted by Tshepo Moloi on 23 January 2011
- ³³Ibid.
- ³⁴Interview with Julius Lelaka, conducted by Tshepo Moloi and Nonhlanhla Ngwenya on 10 May 2011; 'Straight' is a local language used in the townships to describe a litre bottle of whiskey or brandy
- ³⁵Interview with Matilda and Timothy Mabena, conducted by Tshepo Moloi on 23 January 2011
- ³⁶Lodge, T. *Black Politics Since 1945* (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1983), p.322
- ³⁷Woods, D. *Biko* (England, Penguin Book, 1979), pp.164-5
- ³⁸Steve Biko, *I write what I like*, pp.52-7; Woods, D. *Biko* (New York, Penguin Books), p.175
- ³⁹Interview with Mongezi Maphuthi by Tshepo Moloi, for the SADET Oral History Project, Tembisa, 28 September 2004
- ⁴⁰Interview with Greg Malebo by Tshepo Moloi, for SADET Oral History Project, Hospital View, Tembisa, 14 October 2004
- ⁴¹*Thami Mnyele and Medu: Art Ensemble Retrospective*, (eds.) Clive Kellner and Sergion-Albio Gonzalez (Johannesburg, Jacana, 2009)
- ⁴²Interview with Michael "baba" Jordan by Gift Poli and Ace Nyaleke, Kroonstad; also see M. Pheto *And Night Fell: Memoirs of a Political Prisoner in South Africa* (London, Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1983)
- ⁴³Interview with Jaki Seroke, conducted by Tshepo Moloi, Cosmo City, Johannesburg, 11 November 2011 *Tshepo Moloi's private collection]
- ⁴⁴In 1977 Mnyele, together with Fikile Magadlala and Ben Arnold organized the New Day exhibition that toured three venues in Soweto: Donaldson Orlando Community Centre, Dube YWCA and Ntokozweni Centre, and Regina Mundi. See *Thami Mnyele and Medu*, p.14
- ⁴⁵Interview with Matilda and Timothy Mabena, conducted by Tshepo Moloi on 23 January 2011
- ⁴⁶Ibid.; also see *Thami Mnyele and Medu*, p.14
- ⁴⁷Interviews with Lazarus Mawela, conducted by Tshepo Moloi, 30 October 2011 and 14 December 2011
- ⁴⁸Interview with Gregory Malebo by Tshepo Moloi, Hospital View, Tembisa, 20 October 2011; John Moleya was older brother to James Moleya, the BPC activist
- ⁴⁹Interview with Mr Teboho Tsenase by Tshepo Moloi, for the SADET Oral History Project, Tembisa High School, 10 September 2004
- ⁵⁰Brooks, A. and Brickhill, J. *Whirlwind before the storm: The origins and development of the uprising in Soweto and the rest of South Africa from June to December 1976* (London, International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1980), p.45
- ⁵¹Ibid.
- ⁵²Ibid., p.46
- ⁵³Interview with Mike "Figo" Madlala by Tshepo Moloi, for the SADET Oral History Project, Kempton Park, 7 September 2004
- ⁵⁴Interview with Gregory Malebo by Tshepo Moloi, for the SADET Oral History Project, Tembisa, 14 October 2004
- ⁵⁵Brooks and Brickhill, *Whirlwind*, p.49
- ⁵⁶Ndlovu, S.M. *The Soweto Uprisings: Counter-Memories of June 1976* (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1998), p.7
- ⁵⁷Ndlovu, S.M. 'The Soweto Uprising', in SADET *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2* (1970–1980) (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2006), p. 339
- ⁵⁸Interview with Mike "Figo" Madlala by Tshepo Moloi, for the SADET Oral History Project, Kempton Park, 7 September 2004
- ⁵⁹Ibid.
- ⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Interview with the Reverend Phineas Mapheto by Tshepo Moloi, Lucky Zimba, Nonhlanhla Ngwenya and Mmatjatji Malabela, Birch Acres, 29 September 2010

⁶²The period post 16 June 1976 witnessed the government's direct attack on the members of the Black Consciousness Movement and the BC's structures. For example, on 12 September 1977 Steve Biko died after being severely tortured by the police. See Woods, D. *Biko* (England, Penguin Book, 1979)

⁶³Some of the activists who left the country at this stage included Tumi Seboni and George. See interview with Gregory Malebo, 20 October 2011

⁶⁴Interview with Jaki Seroke by Tshepo Moloi, for the SADET Oral History Project, Illovo, Johannesburg, 25 August 2004

⁶⁵Interview with Greg Malebo

⁶⁶Interviews with Lazarus Mawela, conducted by Tshepo Moloi, 30 October 2011 and 14 December 2011; the ANC's four pillars of struggle were the armed struggle, mass mobilization (inside the country), underground; and international solidarity. It was in terms of the latter that Tambo was globetrotting Interview with Sello Serote, conducted by Tshepo Moloi, 11 February 2011

⁶⁸Interview with Gregory Malebo by Tshepo Moloi, for the SADET Oral History Project, Tembisa, 14 October 2004

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Interview with Frans Pale, conducted by Tshepo Moloi, Tembisa, 6 June 2004

⁷¹Interview with Gregory Malebo by Tshepo Moloi, Tembisa, 20 October 2011

⁷²Houston, G. 'The ANC's armed struggle in the 1980s', in SADET *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Vol.4 – Part 2* (Pretoria, Unisa Press, 2010). pp.1040-1

⁷³Interviews with Lazarus Mawela, conducted by Tshepo Moloi, 30 October 2011 and 14 December 2011; Thami Mnyele left South Africa in 1979 and in 1985 was murdered during the South African government's raid in Botswana. See *Gaborone Daily News, No.20, 21 January 1985*

⁷⁴Interview with Gregory Malebo by Tshepo Moloi, for the SADET Oral History Project, Tembisa, 14 October 2004

⁷⁵Brooks and Brickhill, *Whirlwind*, p.274

⁷⁶For a detailed account about the Community Council and Town Council, see for example, Seekings, J. 'Quiescence and the Transition to Confrontation: South African Townships, 1978-84', (Oxford University, D. Phil Thesis, 1990)

⁷⁷Interview with Gregory Malebo by Tshepo Moloi, for the SADET Oral History Project, Tembisa, 14 October 2004

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹For a detailed account about the history and role of the UDF, see Seekings, J. *The UDF: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa, 1983-1991* (Cape Town, David Philip, 2000)

⁸⁰Interview with David Masina, conducted by Tshepo Moloi on 19 February 2011 In 1980 David Masina, together with Sello Serote, visited the ANC in Botswana to meet with Wally Serote and others. See interview with Sello Serote

⁸¹Interview with Gregory Malebo, conducted by Tshepo Moloi, 20 October 2011

⁸²Interview with Matilda and Timothy Mabena, conducted by Tshepo Moloi on 23 January 2011

⁸³Interview with Mcendisi (Prince) Sibanyoni by Tshepo Moloi and Nhlanhla Ngwenya, Tembisa, 3 November 2010

⁸⁴*The Star, 1 August 1986*

⁸⁵*Star Africa News, 15 May 1986; Star 31 Dec 1985*

⁸⁶Interview with Gregory Malebo, conducted by Tshepo Moloi, 20 October 2011

⁸⁷Interview with Matilda and Timothy Mabena, conducted by Tshepo Moloi on 23 January 2011; Timothy Mabena was released in 1989

⁸⁸Matona, T. 'Student Organisation and Political Resistance in South Africa: An Analysis of the Congress of South African Students, 1979-1985' (Cape Town, University of Cape Town, Honours Dissertation, 1992), p.4

⁸⁹Ibid, p.5; Seekings 'Quiescence', p.190

⁹⁰AG 2635 AZASO Collection: 'The Demands behind the boycotts', in *SASPU:FOCUS, Vol.3, No.2, November 1984* (University of the Witwatersrand Historical and Literary Papers), pp.11-15; also see AD 1790 'Cosas'

- ⁹¹Interview with Lazarus Mawela; interview with Greg Thulare and Debra Marakalala by Tshepo Moloi, for SADET Oral History Project, Midrand, 19 November 2004
- ⁹²Ibid.; In 1983 students at Jiyane Secondary went on a rampage after four pupils were temporary suspended when they refused to be punished. See *The Citizen*, 23 July 1983
- ⁹³Interview with Mncedisi (Prince) Sibanyoni by Nonhlanhla Ngwenya and Tshepo Moloi, Tembisa, 28 October 2010
- ⁹⁴*Sowetan*, 25 July 1984
- ⁹⁵*Sowetan*, 1 March 1985
- ⁹⁶*Rand Daily Mail*, 19 February 1985; *Star Saturday*, 2 March 1985
- ⁹⁷Carter, C. 'Comrades and Community Politics: The construction of Hegemony in Alexandra Township, South Africa, 1984-1987', Ph.D. Thesis, (Mansfield College, University of Oxford, 1991), p.96
- ⁹⁸The first president of TEYCO was Mongezi Maphuthi.
- ⁹⁹Interview with Sello Serote, conducted by Tshepo Moloi, 11 February 2011
- ¹⁰⁰Ibid.
- ¹⁰¹Ibid.
- ¹⁰²*Star*, 26 March 1985
- ¹⁰³Interview with Jaki Seroke by Tshepo Moloi, for the SADET Oral History Project, Illovo, Johannesburg, 25 August 2004
- ¹⁰⁴Interview with Ezekiel Dithebe, conducted by Tshepo Moloi, 31 October 2011
- ¹⁰⁵University of the Witwatersrand Library and Literary Papers. Abdul, S. Bemath Papers, File A2248 BEMATH (PAC), *Azania Combat: Official Organ of APLA*; George Nyanga's funeral obituary; also see interview with Ezekiel Dithebe, conducted by Tshepo Moloi, 31 October 2011.
- ¹⁰⁶Interview with Ezekiel Dithebe, conducted by Tshepo Moloi, 31 October 2011
- ¹⁰⁷Interview with Mncedisi (Prince) Sibanyoni, conducted by Nonhlanhla Ngwenya, 28 October 2010
- ¹⁰⁸Interview with Thandi Swakamisa by Tshepo Moloi, for SADET Oral History Project, 23 April 2004
- ¹⁰⁹Interview with Rosina Marakalala, conducted by Tshepo Moloi on 21 February 2011.
- ¹¹⁰Interview with Matilda and Timothy Mabena, conducted by Tshepo Moloi on 23 January 2011
- ¹¹¹Interview with Gille de Vlieg, conducted by Tshepo Moloi, 26 June 2011
- ¹¹²Ibid.
- ¹¹³Ibid.
- ¹¹⁴Ibid.
- ¹¹⁵Interview with Nomathemba Catherine Thulare, conducted by Tshepo Moloi and Gille de Vlieg, 20 December 2010
- ¹¹⁶Interview with Matilda and Timothy Mabena, conducted by Tshepo Moloi on 23 January 2011
- ¹¹⁷Interviews with Lazarus Mawela, conducted by Tshepo Moloi, 30 October 2011 and 14 December 2011
- ¹¹⁸Ibid.
- ¹¹⁹Ibid.
- ¹²⁰*Business Day*, 29 September 1986
- ¹²¹Interview with Rebecca Fosi Sibanyoni, conducted by Tshepo Moloi and Mmatjati Malabela, 29 November 2010
- ¹²²Interview with Elizabeth Mthembu, conducted by Mmatjati Malabela, 2 April 2011
- ¹²³*Sowetan*, 26 July 1992
- ¹²⁴*The Star*, 27 April 1994
- ¹²⁵Ibid.
- ¹²⁶Ibid.