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Bozzoli, Belinda

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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

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BY: **PROF. BELINDA BOZZOLI**

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SPACE AND IDENTITY IN REBELLION:
Power, Target, Resource*

Belinda Bozzoli

There are some settings in which space is central to the control of subordinate or distinct populations. What is the effect of this upon the nature of social movements and collective action when they occur?[1] To Foucault the meaning of space in modern societies is almost entirely to do with its capacity to control us rather than our ability to resist such control.[2] The panoptikon is, in his view, almost unchallengeable - and for good reason. When our daily lives are imbued with spatially structured forms of power, with its obvious physical immovability, and have been for many years, we do not rise to a consciousness of their meaning automatically. We tend to take them as 'reality', and to incorporate them into our own sense of identity. Overturning these is so far from likely that we find it almost unthinkable. Can the "unthinkable" ever actually be contemplated?

Of course the broad system of power of rulers is secured because of such factors as the poverty, belief systems and ignorance of the ruled, as well as the law, government and economy. But most rulers with a disproportionate amount of power over their subjects – such as those in colonial situations - will use space to assist in controlling them in a highly instrumental fashion. Populations are often physically controlled, and subjected to obvious and less obvious forms of surveillance; while elites who are physically close to the subordinate are often used to provide legitimacy and assist in control. All of these features add up to form a system in which subordinate populations find it difficult (but not impossible) to visualise alternatives, and in which they are confined to act within private spaces rather than the public domain.[3]

Thus space is important, although power cannot be reduced to it. Space is merely the physical terrain and symbolic expanse over which contestations of power take place. However it is the contention of this paper that the terrain matters, not only to the nature of rule, but to the nature of resistance. To Marx the "sack of potatoes" which was the peasantry was distinct from the more militant proletariat by virtue of its relative spatial dispersion. Workers were "brought together" within the factory and so their consciousness would be different from those who hardly ever met to exchange views and experiences, let alone organise into a coherent mass.

This paper explores the relationships between space, power and rebellion in one extremely poor and spatially distinct South African township, called Alexandra, in Johannesburg. Here, remarkably, during the mid-1980s a rebellion took place whose character was so strikingly "spatial" that it provides a case study for the consideration of the issue of the relationships between space and power more broadly. The case is examined in several phases, which together, it is suggested, may provide a conceptual framework through which "space, identity and rebellion" can be better understood. The broad power of the dominant forces in South Africa during the period of "high apartheid" is explored, and its spatial manifestations demonstrated. Then the paper examines the ways in which their resulting spatial surroundings and arrangements

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* This paper is drawn from several chapters in my forthcoming book: "Space, Power and Rebellion: Collective Action in a Racial Ghetto".

came to be thought of as "normal" by the inhabitants of this township and what this meant. This is followed by a brief examination of the ways in which apartheid's power was weakened in the townships during the 1970s and early 1980s. A study of the actual rebellion, which took place during 1985-86, then follows. There was a pre-rebellious "softening up" period, during which spatial arrangements were questioned but not fundamentally challenged; this was followed by the brief but crucial period of high rebellion, known as the Six Day War, during which "normality" was fundamentally challenged. The core of the paper is a detailed study of this war.[4] The paper then briefly explores the subsequent six months during which the spatial challenge was developed much further and finally defeated. In conclusion, the paper proposes some ways in which the spatial elements of this revolt may be understood.

Space and power relations under Apartheid

The observation that apartheid was a spatially powerful system is not new, and is to some extent tautological.[5] A system that defines itself in terms of "separateness" is bound to have a spatial dimension. But we should resist the tautological and perhaps descriptive approach to space, and rather focus on the detailed ways in which this spatial authority was experienced and at times resisted, in order to develop a deeper analysis. How did a township such as Alexandra operate as a space under apartheid, and what were the main forces affecting it?

Alexandra is a product of the racial capitalism that characterised South Africa throughout the twentieth century. From the time that it was formed as a national entity in 1910 South Africa was ruled through political, legal and social means which embraced a highly 'spatialised' system of control and surveillance. Indeed, "segregation", and then "apartheid" could be said to represent extreme examples of domination through the use of space as an adjunct to power – and like all extremes, contain within them insights relevant to the less extreme examples.

For decades in South Africa the laws of strict urban segregation had determined that certain urban spaces were to be used by certain racial groups only. Furthermore the ideologies and laws of racial inferiority and control determined that black townships were those most deprived of resources. Spaces of racial separation and economic deprivation were created. The state's segregationist policy as a whole determined that this formed part of a wider system of spatial separation which designated urban dwellers as 'temporary residents' and which tolerated their presence on sufferance, thus giving them little sense of ownership of their own spaces, and perpetuating their social and economic connections with rural areas. The segregated systems of urban governance meant that the unenfranchised who lived in townships had no recourse to political sources of power outside the township and very limited ones within it.

Government policies of segregation were constantly being refined and made more sophisticated, which rendered township-dwellers' lives ever more insecure. The period of "high apartheid", the late 1960s and 70s, saw many townships, Alexandra being prime amongst them, subjected to the demolition of homes, the removal of thousands of residents elsewhere, and the building of single-sex regimented hostels. And even when people did not live in hostels, in most townships, planners and architects imposed a fairly regimented pattern. The inner space of the "ghetto" was also profoundly shaped by the role of the township as the provider of a reserve army

of cheap and insecure urban labour, and the workforce had to travel in and out of the ghetto while made subject to constant harassment for the right documents.

Townships were not socially uniform but were complex sub-societies in their own right. Although the logic of segregationism meant that different social strata could not develop a spatial distinctiveness – classes were "squashed together" – township society was riven by distinctions of age, status, gender, class, and relationship to the system of apartheid more broadly. The modest older elites which townships had developed were physically close to the poorest families, as were local police close to the most radical of youthful revolutionaries.

A series of combined and overlapping economic, physical, social, political and ideological systems thus worked together to make townships such as Alexandra into separate, racial ghettos, whose boundaries were defined physically, morally, legally and politically; and which had their own internal sub-systems of spatial organisation and control as well as clear spatial relationships to the city and country around them. There have been other systems of control elsewhere in the world which have displayed elements such as these, but in few of them have *all* of these factors and more been brought together in a modern setting.

Alexandra epitomised – even caricatured – the resulting life of South African township dwellers. Locked into the wealthy northern suburbs of the city by the legal boundaries within which only blacks (and a handful of 'coloureds' and Indians) could – indeed must - live, the space that was and is "Alex" combined the notoriety of the crime-ridden slum with the fame of the resilient and resistant community. In 1979, before the rebellion, its approximately 75000 people lived upon 358 hectares, (an area 1,7km by 2km) in about 4000 houses, innumerable shacks, some flats and three "hostels" - barracks-like single-sex housing. What made Alex so memorable was, and is, its feel of decay. Travellers by car turned into the township from the smart double-highway out of central Johannesburg, through an industrial estate, past the appallingly-conceived "buffer zone", into a tableau of deprivation. Modernist urban brightness gave way to a scene coloured in brown and grey. Untarred, treeless, dusty streets, rutted and undulating, took one past run-down, rusty-roofed old brick homes, some of them built as early as the 1910s and 20s (and quite different in architectural style from the newer "matchboxes" in Soweto) which gave the impression of being insufficient for the numbers who needed to occupy them. Tin, cardboard and wooden shacks were interspersed between the houses. People sat in doorways, meandered along the streets, congregated on the corners, hawked fruit and vegetables on what passed for pavements, and passed the time together. Many were visibly poor. Clothing was ragged. Dust was not easy to avoid. The collection of rubbish was clearly not part of life. It blew around. It piled up and stank, as did raw sewerage, uncollected by any system of piping, and in rainy times, undrained dirty water and great puddles of mud in the heavily eroded streets. Piles of rubble marked homes that had been demolished but never rebuilt. Nobody in Alexandra had their own water supply, and a handful had any electricity. It was, said one resident, "a place where pigs would live".[6]

The veneer of "Normality": Space as a repository of power

Before turning to the question of how such a system of control helped shaped the type of rebellion mounted against it, it is important to explore the responses and sense of

identity of those subjected to it in its "normal" state. What did it mean to live under such a spatialised system when rebellion was *not* occurring?

One of the defining experiences of life under apartheid was that of living within the legally, politically and socially circumscribed boundaries of a township such as Alexandra. Here community was not just "imagined" or "symbolically constructed" – it was physically constructed, and by a much-hated ruling class driven increasingly by a desire to segregate and control. Boundaries were drawn by "them"; streets within were laid out by "them"; houses, flats and hostels were designed by "them"; and the physical connections of this huddled community to all the major amenities of life, determined by 'them'. Of great significance to the residents of Alexandra was the fact that its housing, unusually amongst all of the townships in the rest of South Africa, was based upon the "yard" rather than the "matchbox". More than one family shared a square space surrounded on three, or perhaps four, sides by a series of buildings: one major house, occupied in the old days by the owner of the stand, and several smaller, often one-roomed, dwellings. This was different from the housing in other townships such as Soweto, where rows and rows of identical matchbox homes were built separately or in semi-detached form, each with its own tiny bit of land. The experience of living in the yards was less alienated because of the shared space of the yard, although relations within yards were not egalitarian by any means, but shaped by the patronage of the standholder or major tenant over the lesser occupants. Still, even this created a more organic set of relations than the individualistic ones encouraged by matchbox housing. Added to this was the fact that Alexandra was located within the northeastern suburbs of Johannesburg, an enclosed black enclave within white suburbia. This, plus its relatively small size, its relative longevity as a township, and its grid street pattern meant that people had a strong sense of place in Alexandra. They knew the streets well, by number, and they knew yards by number and location as well. The places you lived in were located within emptier spaces. Residents could easily name all roads, corners and the few squares. While in some respects living there was like living in the "classic slum"[7] this was a racial slum and not one defined by class. Teachers, town councillors, policemen, doctors and nurses lived side by side with the unemployed, domestic servants, factory workers and beggars.

A variety of common spaces such as squares, the stadium, churches, club premises and schools had over the years become repositories for collective memories, monuments to common experiences – both everyday and more notable. The stadium, for example, was a soccer ground, a place where in normal times many of the youths, later to become revolutionaries, would play, gather or meet. Over time, residents had built up a moral relationship to the spaces they lived in, moved around, travelled to and from, or stayed within while others travelled away. One memory with a spatial meaning concerned the dramatic bulldozing of hundreds of homes, the removal of tens of thousands of families to Soweto, and the building of the three looming hostels in the 1960s.[8] Those left behind were bereft of a major portion of their community, and their memories of this bore a clear relation to space – as did their memories of other uses of space, for example by gangsters who roamed the streets terrorising the population in earlier decades,[9] by squatters who occupied land after the second world war;[10] or by bus boycotters who walked miles to and from work rather than give in to price increases.[11]

Neither work nor markets were located within this space. Thus of significance to residents of this township – and all others - was the nature, experience, ease and cost of its physical connection to the wider world – the roads, buses and taxis that joined it to the Johannesburg community within which it was located. Although some jobs were available in nearby factories, bordering Alexandra, the draconian labour bureau and other laws under high apartheid meant that residents were often forced to find work many miles away (although Alexandra is much closer to central nodes of employment than, say, Soweto). And so mutual experiences of protests such as bus boycotts held a range of meanings for those encapsulated in this square mile of poverty.

And so, although the social and cultural order within townships was not caused by the spatial arrangements within them, spatial arrangements nurtured some social relationships and inhibited others. Space, in "normal" times, was a resource for the powerful and a terrain imbued with meaning to the powerless. Both daily life and infrequent protests were trapped within this space. Genres, repertoires of protest and non-conformity had taken a spatial form. Bus boycotts were the most obvious example of this, but gangsterism too had in the past transformed local spaces into somebody's "turf", while "Freedom Square" was a place with its own oppositional meaning, and the 1976 riots had briefly redefined Alexandra's territory anew, as a place where youth prevailed. Use was made of the space to apprehend, tolerate or transcend the experience of living in Alexandra. Like all aspects of hegemony, spatial arrangements are not simply controlled by those who dominate – even those who were masterfully in control of South African cities. Although the space itself might have been created in order to control (a house built, a boundary declared and so on), the actual space itself is just a vacancy. It is thus readily available, once it has been put in place, to be filled with meanings other than those intended.

Serote's poem "'Alexandra'', published in the 1970s, captures something of the harshness of, the reluctant acceptance of, and the attribution of meaning to this imposed home:

> Were it possible to say,
> Mother, I have seen more beautiful mothers,
> A most loving mother,
> And tell her there I will go,
> Alexandra, I would have long gone from you.
>
> But we have only one mother, none can replace,
> Just as we have no choice to be born,
> We can't choose mothers;
> We fall out of them like we fall out of life to death.
>
> And Alexandra,
> My beginning was knotted to you.
> Just like you knot my destiny.
> You throb in my inside silences
> You are silent in my heartbeat that's loud to me.
> Alexandra often I've cried.
> When I was thirsty my tongue tasted dust,

Dust burdening your nipples.
I cry Alexandra when I am thirsty.
Your breasts ooze the dirty waters of your dongas,[12]
Waters diluted with the blood of my brothers, your children,
Who once chose dongas for deathbeds.
Do you love me Alexandra, or what are you doing to me?

You frighten me, Mama,
You wear expressions like you would be nasty to me,
You frighten me, Mama,
When I lie on your breast to rest, something tells me,
You are bloody cruel.
Alexandra, hell,
What have you done to me?
I have seen people but I feel like I'm not one,
Alexandra what are you doing to me?
I feel I have sunk to such meekness!
I lie flat while others walk on me to far places.
I have gone from you, many times,
I come back.
Alexandra, I love you;
I know
When all these worlds became funny to me,
I silently waded back to you
And amid the rubble I lay,
Simple and black.[13]

In spite of attempts by the apartheid state to impose transience upon the settled urban community, thus, a certain 'settling in' to these spaces had taken place over the years. The older generation (by the eighties) were the ones who 'belonged', even if this belonging had been won through negotiation within spaces created by others. It was they who had built up a moral relationship to Alex..[14]

Space develops over time a 'hidden transcript' of its meaning to those who inhabit it, different from the "public transcript" of its meaning for those who rule.[15] Whereas to the outsider, a hidden dirty slum has been created, to the insider it has a moral set of boundaries to accompany the physical ones. Cultural meanings are attributed to specific parts of that space; Good spaces, like sports fields or ''squares'' contrast with bad spaces, like police stations. Identities are constructed in which space plays a part. In Alexandra, ethnic meanings were powerful. Hostels, particularly men's hostels, were "Zulu"; homes were not. Some people are thought of as "insiders" to that space and others as 'outsiders'. In Alexandra '"Coloureds"" were defined as insiders;[16] Portuguese shop owners were not. A sense of attachment emerges. Memories and patterns of protest and deference are imprinted upon peoples' minds long before any possibility of revolt develops. In many cases, township resistance takes a covert and attitudinal rather than overt and physical form.

Normality in Alexandra, although historically created, ever changing, had acquired a certain veneer by the 1980s, a veneer which individual protests had attempted to crack, but which had survived these attempts. Each protest, instead of destroying the

veneer, came to be remembered as part of the "surface" of memory concerning the township.

Softening up: 1984-5

During the 1980s certain changes in power relations in the society at large served to "soften"' the veneer. During the 1970s the state had sought to replace its old paternalistic system of control over townships with a modernised, indeed modernist, one.[17] It was out of this drive to modernity that the destruction of residents' homes in Alex, and the forced removals to Soweto were born; and the building of the huge, looming hostels within the huddled township made the brutal modernism of the state's intentions obvious to all. But in so doing, the state weakened its hold over townships, for it removed an old *marginally* legitimate system of ""native administration", which had some limited acceptance amongst the older generation, and attempted to replace it with an *entirely* illegitimate and ill-conceived system of local government, which had to be financed through increases in rents. In addition, numerous other crises, many also born of the contradictions internal to apartheid as a system, emerged as the seventies ended and the eighties began – including the world oil crisis, the rise in anti-apartheid sanction action, the fall in real wages, the development of a skills shortage; union militancy and failures in new attempts to create legitimacy on the national level. In the early 1980s, resistance grew, after a lull following the 1976 revolt, throughout the cities.[18] With rents, transport and general prices up and real wages down, the state faced, in the cities, a spontaneous and eventually strategic attack on all of these fronts. But the tactical part of it is what concerns this paper – how space was used to pursue these objectives, and how space grew to become more and more important and manipulable as time went on.

Alexandra was not a particularly rebellious township in the very early 1980s. The removals, it was said, had got rid of all those with a history and understanding of its past tradition of resistance. It was relatively calm by comparison with other places. However, during 1984 and 1985 township protest, here and elsewhere, began to take a new stridency. The United Democratic Front (UDF) was launched nationwide in 1983 upon the crest of a wave of township resistance. Following national or regional campaigns in most cases, four "official" protests characterised this period in Alex, all of them boycotts. Schools, shops, buses and rents were all boycotted at different times and for different periods during 1984 and 1985. A boycott of Putco buses when fares went up in January 1984 lasted for a month.[19] A rise in rents announced in March 1984 and profoundly linked to the change in township funding mentioned above, was followed by a rent boycott which won partial and short term victories a few weeks later, but which continued sporadically for many months, and which indeed continues in parts of Alexandra till this day. Militant school pupils wanted their representative councils recognised and boycotted schools for this and other reasons in May, August and October of 1984, as well as April and May of 1985. And finally towards the end of 1985, a consumer boycott was called. Residents were asked to boycott shops deemed undesirable collaborators with apartheid, or with non-black owners. A 'black Christmas" was called as part of a national campaign, co-ordinated by the UDF.

By comparison with later times this period reflected how powerful the repertoire of non-violence was as a form of protest in African politics. Decisions were made at relatively orderly meetings or gatherings. Petitions were got up. Leaders were

formally requested to act upon the problems of the people. The Alexandra Youth Congress (AYCO), the leading, ANC-influenced force within the township at this time, was itself an impressively organised and disciplined movement, particularly given the tendency to indiscipline amongst its young constituency.[20] But two signs of a comparatively new and very different type of protest marked these twenty four months: the prevalence of the youth as the leaders and shock troops of protest; and the shattering of the non-violent mode at times by periodic violent but short-lived "eruptions", almost entirely led by the youth.

In each of the boycotts, thus, the peaceful spilled over into the violent. Buses were stoned, set alight, or petrol bombed; the Bus Company withdrew its services from the township for large parts of the period. Classrooms were burnt to the ground. Marches and meetings were accompanied by looting and stoning. There were reports of "enraged crowds", or "mobs". And all the boycotts soon came to be sometimes brutally enforced by violent youths impatient with the non-compliance of their elders.

The resort to a more violent repertoire was, when considered over a period of two years, sporadic, although through the month of April 1985 a sustained period of stoning, marching, looting and mass meetings took place, mainly over the issue of schooling, but entering into a new area of protest which was to have considerable significance for the later rebellion – attacks on the houses and families of the black, Alex-resident Town Councillors – Sam Buti, Arthur Magermann and others - who increasingly ineffectually "governed" the township at the time.

The youth came to prevail as the leaders of resistance. But they were not a single group by any means, and the pressures upon them and tensions within them were considerable.[21] A complex series of factors were at play: the response of the state to their activities: their relationship to their elders; the tensions within the youth between the "true comrades" and the more lumpen elements who attached themselves to and in many cases diverted the politically educated; and the beginnings of a spatial consciousness amongst them.

Responses by the state ranged from formal arrests and charges, through detentions of key youths, house searches, teargassing and sjambokking of crowds, and, towards the end of this period, the actual shooting and killing of activists.[22] But while the harshness of police promoted an atmosphere of solidarity within the township, Alexandra's adults were ambiguous about what was happening. While supportive of their children's courage and sympathetic to their suffering, they were not entirely at ease with the changes that had taken place in their children. "The youth are out of control" said those who complained of being intimidated in the consumer and bus boycotts, by those young enough to be their own children. In a society where age hierarchies were of great importance, this was of particular concern to older people. Attempts were made to harness their anger at school meetings with parents. Politically sophisticated youths were also worried about the situation and began to think of ways in which the explosive energy of the masses of unemployed young people could be channeled. Spatial consciousness provided an answer:

Already this period had seen the beginnings of a symbolic and physical possession of the streets by the youth. A change from passivity to activity in relation to space took place. As early as 1984 this had taken the very clearly spatial form of the actual

renaming of certain streets, and by 1985 the consciousness of space had grown significantly. The youth organised themselves into "youth groups", each of which had a clear headquarters at a well-known address, and a "territory" over which to preside. A notion that the "space" of Alexandra could and should be "different" from what it was had developed to relatively sophisticated levels. But if the 'received' spaces of the township were to acquire different meanings, a change in the moral order established over the years was required. In this case, the potential for a moral overturning lay in the unprecedented assertiveness of the youth over their elders – whether they be parents, teachers, or community leaders. A romantic, almost millenarian, vision began to emerge. Alexandra would be better, cleaner, less crime-ridden. People would behave better towards one another - particularly the adults, whose ways of living were the subject of harsh implicit criticism. Husbands would no longer stray from or beat up their wives; adults would no longer abandon or harshly discipline their children; drunkenness would be eliminated. A new "cleanup" campaign sought to clean the streets and re-design the parks. Youths responded with enthusiasm to this project and a whole range of rather humble "peoples parks" were created, landscaped and named.[23]

The "anti-crime" campaign" – launched in November 1985 - sought to clear Alexandra of criminals by mobilising youths to disarm gangsters. Any possible confusion between "lumpen" and "political" youths was to be clarified. Criminal behaviour was not acceptable in the new vision, and the role of youths would be to inculcate new values in those who strayed. The question of discipline and judgment upon criminal behaviour would – like the question of social misbehaviour as well (husbands straying, wives drinking) be handled through "peoples courts."

During this pre-rebellious phase the vision was never fully realised. The emergence of the 'crowd' in different forms: gangs; youth groupings; processions; funeral gatherings, was important, as were the beginnings of the physical possession of the streets by these new forces, the conscious replacement of the old by the new, and the rejection of state, even in its rather tame local form. And these events did eat away at the social fabric of the township. But they did not destroy it. Rather than a place which had been revolutionised, Alex was thought, by the end of 1985, to be a place with "revolutionary potential". To some, indeed, it was still "backward" compared to what was happening elsewhere. This was because, said one observer, of "reluctant parents".[24] But the atmosphere was still extremely tense, and some thought of the township as an "unexploded bomb" waiting to go off. [25]

At the risk of teleology, it does appear that the events of this period functioned to help "soften up" the hard veneer of normality. Alexandra was awash with organisations and movements –
each with its own acronym - a confusing, bubbling place. 1985 ended with a great sense of an emerging crisis in the township. The new year was to bring this crisis to fruition.

Cracking the veneer: Space as target in the six day war

Four overlapping elements characterised early 1986: the eruption of a new kind of *violence*; the concomitant emergence of the *crowd*; the articulation of new *visions*, by local adult thinkers and leaders, of the way in which the township could be organised and transformed – these differed from the existing visions of the youth; and the

emergence of *public space* as a crucial part of mobilisation and communication. All of these had spatial dimensions, and together they meant that what had earlier been defined as "normality" no longer existed.

On the eve of the new year well-known activist Richard Padi was shot dead by Municipal Police.[26] His death was followed by the by now ritualised night vigil, funeral and standoff between crowd and police that had come to characterise such deaths in Alexandra and elsewhere. Exactly a month later, Michael Diradeng, also a well-known activist, was shot dead by a security guard amidst controversial circumstances. A much more turbulent time was to follow. In the subsequent few weeks, indeed, the "unexploded bomb" could be said to have exploded.

Dramatic words were used to describe the period. "From 15 February, the people of Alexandra began to revolt in a manner unprecedented in our history," said one resident.[27] The Sunday Star said Michael Diradeng's death was the event which had "sparked off the violence".[28] "Almost all agree that even if Mr Diradingwe (sic) had not been shot, sooner or later something else would have touched off the explosion that rocked Alexandra".[29] Ashwell Zwane, an activist at the time, was poetic about the beginnings of a new phase, saying that the death of Diradeng was "the last straw"; it was followed by what he called a "magical time", full of "unity and extraordinary cooperation".[30] Alex was never the same again.

However the explosion was not entirely spontaneous. Not only did it result from the processes of change that had preceded it during 1984-5. It also occurred partly because of the beginnings of the institutionalisation of the adults' interests in a new organisation, the Alexandra Action Committee. (AAC) This was unusual in township politics. Adults began to compete vigorously with the youth for control of the township, and started to put forward a sustained, spatially sophisticated, means of mobilisation and transformation of the people and spaces of the township. These were influenced by similar events in the Eastern Cape, by the experience of Moses Mayekiso, the AAC leader, as a trade unionist, and by the calls by the ANC in exile for "ungovernability" and for townships to be systematically organised.[31]

The first meeting of what was to become the AAC took place the day after Diradeng's death. Three days later, the committee called a general meeting of all Alexandra Residents, in "Freedom Park", one of the Peoples' Parks. It was the first mass meeting of its kind in the township. Mayekiso drew up the agenda and the record of the meeting. Alexandra was, it was proposed, to be divided up and organised by committees, each with its own set of duties, based upon the yards, blocks and streets in which people lived. Marshals would be appointed. Peoples' problems would be listened to and acted upon. Alexandra would be united, regardless of beliefs, colour, age and religion; it would be conscientised and disciplined as a result of the new structure, which would ensure mass control of the struggle and proper democracy.

Like the trade unions in which Mayekiso had been politically educated,[32] the committees were to be based on the material conditions and experiences of ordinary people, but contained within them a clear vision of alternatives, echoing the youth's ambitions for a "new" space.

Figure 1: Functions of Yard, Block and Street Committees as envisaged by the AAC[33]

YARD COMMITTEES	*BLOCK COMMITTEES*	*STREET AND AVENUE COMMITTEES*	*THE ALEXANDRA ACTION COMMITTEE (AAC)*
To promote peace and discipline in the Yard	To do all that is mentioned as the duties of the Yard Committee in a broader scale for the block	To deal with matters not dealt with at block and yard committees	To deal with matters not dealt with at Yard Committees.
To unite the people in the yard.	To tackle unsolved problems from the yard Committees of that block.	To deal with all matters that affect the Street people	To solve matters/problems not solved at Street Committees
-To encourage comradeship/brotherhood and working together as family of the people in the yard	To discuss residents problems needs and requirements - family, interfamily, house to house, hooliganism, crime, hazards, crisis unemployment, rent etc	To deal with matters referred to it by Block Committees	To deal with matters dealt with at Yard, Block and Street Committees on a broader scale
To defend each other when there is a need – against any enemy attacks	To introduce harmonious relationships amongst residents through discipline and working together	Street marshalls are responsible to this committee	To coordinate all committees
To look to the cleanliness – clean the yard of dirt and crime	To promote family life, accommodation and food for all.	To deal with matters dealt with at yard and street committees on a broader scale	To coordinate all activities, in relation to problems in the township - eg Education, unemployment, welfare, cultural, unity, comradeship, solidarity, political and social
For people to help each financial, physically, morally and otherwise	To deal with matters mentioned at Yard, Block and Street committees in a broadened way for the whole township		To deal with outside bodies
To look to the welfare of the people in the yard			

A number of further general meetings - after the 7th Avenue one – were held to plan the launching of "street committees" in Alexandra. Here people expressed their dissatisfactions, and Mayekiso recorded them:

The mechanisms of electing representatives, of holding meetings for ordinary residents, of hearing their grievances at the "grass roots" and of passing them through hierarchically organised structures in order to find solutions were new. They were not derived from what had been happening in the township for the preceding two years, but came rather from the trade union experience of Moses Mayekiso, much admired

activist, older resident, and chief organiser and Chairman of the AAC. They embodied an entirely different discourse from that which had prevailed under the hegemony of the youth, whose methods were far more "vanguardist", imperious and even despotic. During the extraordinary days that were to follow, these two discourses competed for domination over township politics, as we shall see.

Day one: Friday 14th February: the night vigil

The beginnings of serious adult-youth cooperation began here, The embryonic AAC organised the Diradeng night vigil and funeral, for Friday 14th and Saturday 15th February respectively; but the youth were also very active in mobilising (a word which sometimes hid a thousand things) supporters to attend. They went "from yard to yard" to get people to come.[34] The youths supplied marshalls appointed to direct people – who arrived in numbers not really seen before in Alexandra - to and from the vigil. A tent was erected in the Dirading yard in Third Avenue.[35]

The police attacked the night vigil after first couple of hours of singing and praying on the Friday evening. They used teargas and the mourners fled. They regrouped. More teargas was used. This was the beginning of the revolt – the war. From midnight onwards, groups of youths rampaged through the township. Three shops were damaged just after midnight. Jazz Stores, where Diradeng had died, was petrol bombed and virtually destroyed at 2.10 am. Cars were stoned, further supermarkets bombed as the night ended. By 5am the police had fully mobilised. It became a war between residents and local and national policemen. A Lieutenant Zeelie remembered it well

> on my arrival at Alexandra police station I was informed that Jazz Stores had been set alight. It was observed that groups of youths in Alexandra township had formed groups, and were running up and down the streets, and that they had begun to set more houses alight.

This time, he said, the houses were those of the black South African policemen themselves.[36] The mobs continued, stoning the beerhall, burning more shops and their delivery vehicles and stoning cars and buildings. The police fought them in turn. They fired bullets at activists. The crowd's activities reached a gruesome climax when at 8 in the morning they stabbed a policeman and set him alight in Third Avenue. And at 8.20 a second policeman was found burnt to death in 13th Avenue.[37] The state's authority over the township was under threat.

Day Two: Saturday 15th February: the funeral

Michael Diradeng's funeral began in the tense atmosphere that had spilt over from the events of the previous night. When Moses Mayekiso arrived at the Dirading house that morning, "I found a big crowd of police there and there was teargas in that area". Police and youths were sporadically fighting; police fired some birdshot, and "some children came in injured in that yard".[38] The funeral procession left for the stadium. It was large. Thousands of people had been mobilised - by the events of the night before, by the zealous marshalls and by their sense that something of great import was happening. Mayekiso prepared for his role as Master of Ceremonies. The funeral was

held in the stadium which was, said Albert Sebola, because it was regarded in the township as something of importance.[39] The private had truly become public in this case.

Youth activists took the opportunity to propagate their ideas, drafted in consultation with Mayekiso,[40] for how to solve the problems of Alexandra. Their plan resembled closely that which the embryonic AAC had envisaged. They too advocated the formation of a widely based system of Yard, Block and Street Committees. The funeral programme introduced the idea in writing: UNBAN COSAS, BAN APARTHEID EDUCATION, it ran, with the TRASCO[41] logo - a map of Africa with an open book superimposed on it, and two fists emerging from the book each holding a pen. The other side said:[42]

Figure 2: Diradeng Funeral Pamphlet

Street Committees:
PEOPLE! WE HAVE GOT TWO PROBLEMS IN ALEXANDRA: DISUNITY AND PROBLEMS NOT SOLVED. TO SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS THE ALEX PEOPLE HAVE DECIDE TO FORM STRUCTURES THAT WILL ENCOURAGE UNITY. COMRADESHIP AND ACTION- STREET COMMITTEES (AVENUE COMMITTES). WE WANT PEOPLE TO HAVE GENERAL MEETINGS IN THEIR YARDS TO ELECT YARD COMMITTEES TO UNITE PEOPLE IN THE YARD. THE YARD COMMITTEE THROUGH ITS GENERAL MEETING SHOULD ELECT THE CHAIRMAN, SECRETARY AND TWO REPRESENTATIVES TO THE BLOCK COMMITTEE. THE TWO OFFICE BEARERS AND TWO REPS COMPIRSE THE YARD COMMITTE. THERE SHALL BE WEEKLY GENERAL MEETING FO YARDS.SOLVED AMTTERS/PROBLEMS WILL BE REFERED TO BLOCK COMMITTEES.

THE BLOCK COMMITTEES MUST BE FORMED OUT OF TWO REPS FROM YARDS IN THAT BLOCK B\PLUS FOUR REPRESENTATIVES ELELCTED FROM THE BLOCK COMMITE TO REPRESENT THOSE PEOPLE TO THE STREET COMM. THERE SHALL BE FORTNIGHTLY GENERAL MEETINGS TO DISCUSS UNITY AND TO SOLVE PROBLEMS. UNSOLVED MATTERS OR PROBLEMS WILL BE REFERED TO THE ALEX STREETS COMMITTEES.

THE "STREET COMMITTEES" WILL BE FORMED OUT OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM BLOCK COMMITTEES, TWO STREET COMMITTEE REPRESENTATIVES TO ALEX ACTION COUNCIL AND OFFICE BEARERS CHAIRMAN AND SECRETARY THERE WILL BE MONTHLY GENERAL MEETINGS TO DISCUSS AND SOLVE THE PEOPLES' PROBLEMS ALL UNSOLVED PROBLEMS HERE ARE SENT TO ALEXANDRA ACTION COUNCIL.THE ALEXANDRA ACTION COUNCIL WILL COMPRISE OF TWO REPRESENTATIVES FROM ALL ALEXANDRA STREETS (AVENUES) FROM 1st TO 22nd AVENUE. WILL ELECT ITS CHAIRMAN AND SECRETARY. WILL HAVENUENUE ITS GENERAL MEETING QUARTELY AND ALEXANDRA ACTION COUNCIL MONTHLY MEETINGS TO DEAL WITH MATTERS/PROBLEMS FROM STREET COMMITTEES AND TO ENCOURAGE COMRADESHIP. THIS COUNCIL SHALL HAVE LINKS WITH THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE GENERALLY IN SOUTH AFRICA".

STUDENT-WORKER ALLIANCE FOR PEOPLES POWER

UNBAN COSAS
BAN APARTHEID EDUCATION
TRASCO

The funeral itself started at about 11 am. The spate of violent attacks that had occurred in the hours from midnight to 8 am had become a little more sporadic; but at least two deaths were to occur before the funeral was over. One of the first things

remembered by Mr Micah Nxumalo, then of the Alexandra Town Council is that the Municipal Police Offices were again attacked:

> There came a group of people. They were throwing stones, as well as petrol bombs, saying the police must get away from there.

Later, he said that these people were of mixed ages. "Those who were in front of the group were children of about 10 to 15 years of age, but at the back there were adults" - between 20 and 30 years old". He continued:

> The police were on duty that day, frightened off these people by shooting in front of them. They were shooting plastic pellets in front of them. This caused dust and stones were sent flying. When this happened, one of the people in the crowd said: "We are not fighting. We only ask permission to pass". I was present on that day and I was in the office. I then said in reply "If you are not fighting, you can go past in peace. We are also not fighting you. We are only protecting our police." They went past and went to the Indian shopping centre, where they broke one of the shops and removed everything from inside the shop. From there they proceeded to the corner of Selborne and First Avenue, got to another shop, broke it down, took some of the items from the shop and burnt the rest. Again on the same morning of the 15th some members of the group came to my house and attacked my house with stones and petrol bombs. The police scared them off. The municipality police scared them off with plastic pellets. They then left, but on the same day again there was also a report that many (inaudible) were passing between Third and Fourth Avenue, along Selborne. They were also throwed at with petrol bombs.[43]

The attacks on space and place continued. Police homes continued to be attacked. The police countered the assault on their colleagues and homes by shooting two dead.

Figure 3: The War on Day Two

10H00:	a car was stoned at 134 Fifteenth Avenue
10H00	police shot N Ledwaba, a young girl, dead while she was standing at the gate of her home.[44]
10h00:	a fire engine had to be escorted to a fire in Second Avenue.
10h30	a casspir had been petrol bombed, and a policeman injured.
11h15:	another petrol bomb was thrown at the corner of Selborne and Third Avenues.
13h05:	a private car was stoned, at the corner of Selborne and Thirteenth Avenues.
14h00:	a petrol bomb was thrown at a car on the corner of Selborne and Eighth Avenue[45]
In the afternoon:	an "unknown black male" was shot dead by police, after throwing a petrol bomb at the corner of Selborne and Eighth Avenues.
In the afternoon:	municipal police offices at 95 Second Avenue were attacked
In the afternoon:	another municipal policeman's house was attacked - that of Warrant Office Edward Moikanyane[46]

The attack on police was severe enough to cause them to flee. Municipal police left their homes. Some moved to 95 Fifth Avenue. Others actually moved to be accommodated in cells at the Wynberg Police Station or the Technical Depot in the neighbouring suburb of Kew

In the meantime, about 10 000 people[47] had gathered to attend the funeral in the Alexandra Stadium. It was an emotional affair, at which their vision of the new Alexandra was passionately put forward by a range of speakers. The symbols of resistance, in the form of flags, songs and slogans, were omnipresent.[48] After all the speakers had finished, at about 2.30 pm, a hearse drove the coffin to the Jukskei Cemetery, and mourners followed on foot. No police or army presence was apparent. There the burial took place with prayers from a priest .[49] It was here that one mourner remembers that he first smelt teargas. Afterwards, a procession[50] assembled to walk back to the Dirading house for the traditional "washing of the hands". For those who did not wish to return to the home, buckets of water had been placed in the streets.[51] This ceremony was illegal under the State of Emergency. The war re-started.

According to Richard Mdakane, who was there, the procession divided into three groups, and they walked separately up Selborne Road, the main road in the township, singing. According to The Star newspaper, however, the situation looked more sinister: about 6000 "youths gathered in large groups in the streets". When they got to Fifth Avenue, two casspirs and several other vehicles blocked their way, "stopping the people not to go to the place where they were supposed to go and wash their hands".[52]

> Whilst people were still surprised at that there was teargas thrown. It came out from the casspir)...from the riot police.[53]

Another source:

> people then ran in all directions as they tried to escape the billowing smoke. The majority of the people hid themselves inside neighbouring houses, because some were elderly people and could not run fast.[54]

One observer spotted a line of municipal ("Peri-Urban") police near the Nederlandse Gereformeerde Church in "Phase 2", standing behind the houses. They fired on the crowd with birdshot. Many were injured – one participant estimated about 15.[55] Some started throwing stones in retaliation. Paul Tshabalala said that:

> It was in the afternoon whilst I was at Fourteenth Avenue, there came a group of people running. They were saying that the police were shooting at them. ...It was tense in Alexandra on that day.[56]

A newspaper report under the pseudonym Mrs Jane Mabala, a "typical Alexandra mother" with "four daughters aged 20, 18, 16 and eight" described one person's experiences of that day:

> ..when I returned home (from work) at about 3.30 pm, I saw heavy smoke and teargas all over the township and people were screaming. I saw several cars burning and youths and adults bleeding. Police and army vehicles were patrolling the streets. I had to find a safe way home, but it was virtually impossible to avoid the situation as youths had regrouped themselves in several corners of the township(s) (sic) and police were everywhere. I was soon caught up in the chaos, coughing and crying like the rest of the youths

and adults who were in the street. Just then I saw a group of youths armed with stones, approach a police Casspir. There were several shots from the Casspir and I saw two youths collapse and those around them run for their lives. This happened 20m from me and I thought I would be caught in the shooting. The two boys who were lying in a pool of blood were aged between 12 and 14 years.

"Jane Mabala" was terrified:

> I feared for my life as I was not very far from the line of fire. I do not remember how many times I prayed to God to prevent the bullets from hitting me. All I wanted was to reach my children at home. It seemed He was watching over me. I saw several bodies and much blood all over the streets. Youths in particular seemed more militant. Groups were picking up stones and hurling them at the Casspirs. But each time they tried that, more were shot.

Her home had been used as a refuge for the youth:

> I finally reached home and was surprised to find the door open. Earlier I had seen all the doors in the township opened and I wondered why. Only when I got home did I find out the reason. My daughters told me they had been told by other "comrades" - a term used by township youths these days when referring to each other - not to close the door as they could be used for shelter when police gave chase. Residents should open their doors as the youths were fighting for their liberation.[57]

Between about 3pm and 10pm a whole series of eruptions took place:[58]

Figure 4: The War on Day 2 (continued)

15H05:	two motor vehicles were stoned at 1081 1st Avenue
16h00:	a human being was set alight by a petrol bomb, at 45 14th Avenue
16h20:	a petrol bomb was thrown in 2nd Avenue
16.30:	there was a stoning at 106 "Phase One"
17h39:	a Casspir was attacked in 2nd Avenue
17h45:	incidences of public violence were reported in Selborne St
18h00:	a car was stoned along 1st Avenue
18h00:	a petrol bomb was thrown in 3rd Avenue
18h00:	Reuben Mosaka was shot dead by police "tydens oproer".
18h30:	a car was stoned along 1st Avenue
18h45:	a motor vehicle was petrol bombed corner London and Cumming Street
18h45:	a police vehicle was stoned corner London St and 2nd Avenue
19h00:	house was petrol bombed at 16 6th Avenue
19h05:	a motor vehicle was petrol bombed corner Selborne and 3rd Avenues
22h00	a car was hijacked along Vasco da Gama St

A police bus travelling down 7th Street was attacked with stones and petrol bombs as it crossed 4th Avenue. "The driver momentarily lost control of the bus as a petrol bomb hit it on the side and set part of the vehicle alight".[59] The bus careered down the street under a hail of stones.

Fighting spread across all 20 Avenues, which made up the township. Roaming mobs each attacked a whole series of targets, while security forces replied with increasing force. "A five hour running battle between mourners and the police" was how one paper described the main action of the day.[60]

Figure 5: The War on Day 2: Continued

A crowd attacked a bottle store The West Rand Development Board's security men ran for cover as they saw the crowd. They looted it while others stood guard outside One woman was killed [61]
An information centre was set alight [62]
Groups of people clashed, and estimates varied widely as to how many were actually killed. Some said at least four, others possibly as many as 11.
A three-year old was wounded in the head by a stray bullet when a truck driver fired into a crowd closing on him at 4th Avenue
Police used teargas to disperse the mob, but failed
The mob gathered stones and moved towards the Town Councillor Reverend Sam Buti's house, which they did not attack - indeed it was guarded by scores of council policemen for 24 hours a day
"Terrified" Indian shopkeepers closed their businesses and gathered in a group.[63]
Police vehicles were petrol bombed, and company vehicles were set alight .[64]
Rioters turned parts of Alexandra into a "battle zone", erecting barricades of burning tyres and overturned cars. Wearing hankerchiefs to cover their faces, youths, wielding stones and petrol bombs, barricaded streets and taunted the police to come after them.[65]
The entrance to the township was blocked by two burning cars.[66]
12 further people were injured, including 5 policemen.

Clouds of dark smoke were to be seen from afar. "Alexandra was besieged by so many policemen and flown over by so many helicopters that some people thought the end of the world had come".[67] Police reacted by bringing in more Casspirs; firing more teargas and rubber and live bullets: and ordering reporters to leave the township. In the evening the army arrived. Troops carrying R-1 semi automatic rifles and gas masks lined the perimeter roads of Alex, creating a barrier between the township and the white suburbs. War had been declared, effectively, between police and residents, with the army as the buffer between the township and the surrounding areas.

An ambulance driver, with severe burns found one policeman, a Constable Mashile. A tyre was next to him. He was, said the papers, taken to hospital with burns "after he had been set alight by rioters".[68] Micah Nxumalo, a Municipal Policeman, described this latter event as follows:

> He (Detective Constable Mashile)...was burnt with petrol on that day (15th February). In the morning, at the corner of Roosevelt and Thirteenth Avenues.... The report was that the comrades burned him.

Lieutenant Gert Petrus Zeelie, of the SAP, added his description:

> The black detective (Mashile) had to report for duty at 8am. On the way to the

> Alexandra police station he was attacked by a group of youths. The black detective fled to a shop...but was told he must leave the shop or it would be burnt. He left the shop. About 20 or 30 metres from the shop he was attacked by the black youths, and set alight. He was taken to hospital with very serious burn wounds...I visited him in hospital soon afterwards. He was in a very bad state of shock...his whole body was full of burn wounds.[69]

He had been taken to the Hillbrow hospital. He remained there for two or three months, after which he died of his wounds

Newspaper reports of the day were vivid:

> parts of the township looked like a battle zone as police Casspirs nosed through barricades of burning tyres and cars turned over by rioters. At the entrance of the township, a Sunday Times team found two burning cars which formed a blockade. Several burning tyres were spread around. Security forces and police had difficulty getting past the blockade of burning cars and tyres. An ambulance could not gain entry.[70]

Later, Mzwanele Mayekiso, activist brother of Moses, described how this day seemed to him:

> As a crowd of 40 000 was returning from the cemetery to Michael's home for a traditional hand-washing ceremony, they came under teargas attack by provocateur police. The youth responded with a barrage of stones, petrol bombs and so forth. A dozen white and Indian owned shops on the outskirts of Alexandra were the subject of looting that night, as the anger bubbled to the surface. In fear, the police left the township, and instead guarded the outskirts. Every weapon at the community's disposal was gathered. Trenches were dug to prevent police infiltration. A war had truly begun .[71]

Later records were to show that by the end of this, the second day of the War, four residents had been shot dead by police,[72] seven injured and twelve arrested. One policeman was to die from burns inflicted today, and several police homes had been destroyed.

Day Three: Sunday 16th February: the war develops.

The war continued the next day. "Jane Mabala" returned from Soweto at 6am. Even at that hour of the day there was protest

> I was surprised to hear freedom songs from the stadium. It turned out to be the youths, including girls, who had stayed at the stadium all night singing freedom songs and reciting poetry. There was an eerie hush over the township that day as people licked their wounds and counted their dead. God was still with me. All my children were safe. Other parents were not so lucky. By this time some families had run out of food. Shops were closed. The situation was terrible. In the evening, the gunfire started up again.[73]

That morning rumours began to spread. Some now claimed that about 27 people had died.[74]

Like Jane, people tried to continue with normal life, but found this difficult. Paul Tshabalala - an accused in the Mayekiso trial, and well-known soccer referee - arranged a party for that night, inviting all his soccer friends. Albert Sebola, a soccer player, and later an accused in one of the treason trials, arrived for his Sunday game at the stadium at midday, but it was disrupted by "unknown" young people. Later, when he returned to the stadium he found broken bottles on the field, from a nearby liquor store, "Square One Bottle Store", owned by the Town Council - which was being looted. There were many drunken people about. On his way back from the stadium to his clubhouse, he saw a bus, probably hijacked, being driven by a "young boy". Later a Casspir appeared, and fired a teargas canister at him and his soccer friends. He hid in the clubhouse the whole day and only ventured home at 7pm. He heard gunshots, was aware of heavy police presence, and indeed feared for his life were he to venture out.

The attacks by rebels and police continued:

Figure 6: the War on Day 3

11h00:	a house was attacked at 25 ,14th Avenue
12h00:	A Toyota Hiace was stoned, on the corner of 10th Rd and 3rd Avenue
12h00:	A bus was stoned between 13th and 14th Avenues
12h00:	A Putco bus was stoned along 15th Avenue
12h20:	Another Putco bus was stoned on 15th Avenue
12h30:	Another Putco bus was stoned on the corner of 15th Avenue and Selborne Rd
12h30:	There was stoning on 1st St Marlborough, the adjacent suburb
12h30:	A petrol bomb was thrown in 15th Avenue
13h30:	A Volkswagen Combi was threatened on the corner of 6th Avenue and Vasco da Gama
13h45:	There was stoning on 14th Avenue
14h00:	A house was petrol bombed at 1018 2nd St Marlborough
14h00	A motor vehicle was hijacked along 6th Avenue
14h45:	A factory was petrol bombed at 1121 2nd At Marlborough
15h00:	There was stoning on the corner of Hofmeyr and 2nd Avenue
15h30:	A petrol bomb was thrown on the corner of Selborne and 3rd Avenue
15h40:	There was an "incident"" on the corner of 9th Avenue and Selborne
16h00:	An "unknown black male" died of bullet wounds on the corner of 12th Avenue and Rooseveldt.
16h00:	A motor vehicle was burnt at 1067 1st Avenue Marlborough
16h15:	A Datsun was stoned on the corner of London Rd and 13th Avenue
16h30:	A motor vehicle was stoned on the corner of 13th Avenue and Wynberg Rd
16h35:	A Casspir was stoned in 15th Avenue
16.35	A "black female" was burned on 15th Avenue
?	A firebomb was thrown on the corner of 1st Avenue and Hofmeyr
17h00:	A motor vehicle was stoned along 11th Avenue
17h20:	A motor vehicle was stoned along London Rd
17h30:	A motor vehicle was stoned on the corner of London and 4th Avenue

17h30:	Damage was done to the building of "Marlborough panel beaters".
18h30:	Youths were found making petrol bombs along 1st Avenue
19h25:	A policeman's house was petrol bombed at 16 6th Avenue.
19h30:	A building and cars were stoned at Marlboro Panel Beaters. 21. 1st St
19h30:	A motor vehicle was stoned in "Phase 1"
20h00:	A motor vehicle was stoned on 4th Avenue
20h00:	Windows were broken and a petrol bomb thrown on the corner of 2nd Avenue and 2nd St
20h00:	A construction company building was petrol bombed at 80 Wynberg Rd
21h00:	A petrol bomb was thrown on the corner of Selborne and 12th Avenue
21h30	Ephraim Mambono took the corpse of an "unknown black male" who had been shot, from the corner of Selborne Rd and 12th Avenue to the Alexandra Clinic .[75]
22h25:	A building was petrol bombed on the corner of 2nd Avenue and 6th St
22h25:	police shot An "unknown black male" on the corner of Vasco da Gama and 15th Avenue.
22h25:	A second "unknown black male" was shot by police on the corner of Vasco da Gama and 15th Avenue
23h30:	A motor vehicle was stoned near the Alexandra Flats, "phase 1"
Several further shops and a bus were petrol-bombed during the night.	

That night a woman suspected to be a "witch" was seriously burnt when set alight after petrol had been thrown all over her in 15th Avenue. A friend who had a tyre placed around her neck escaped when police came to her rescue.[76]

As the table shows, the viciousness of the war had grown. The police had stepped up their retaliation. Youths had continued to burn, stone and even necklace. According to Mzwanele Mayekiso, "The killings became frequent, as the police began making raids into Alex. Their R1 rifles peeked out of hippo portholes. People were armed only with stones"[77]. And late that night, Paul Tshabalala's friend Stephen Sithole left a party and was not seen alive again. About an hour afterwards, said Paul, "I was made to understand that he had been shot at 4 Fourteenth Avenue. People came and asked me transport him to the clinic. I went out to go and see. I found there were other people who had been shot there. Some were lying down along in 2 Fourteenth Avenue and some were in number 4" *"...did Stephen Sithole subsequently die from his shotgun injury?"* "Yes, he ended up dead". *"Who did you understand had shot him?"* "It was said it was the police."[78] Paul went on:

> His story frightened the people, because he was a child who was not involved in the unrest activities, as well as any organisation, because he stays at number 3, whilst I stay in number 5. We were all shocked to hear that he had been shot without provocation

That day, that weekend, said Paul, "there was no freedom in the location" - people "came together and realised that these people wanted to kill them". By the afternoon "people kept indoors and were scared of walking the streets".[79]

Later records were to show that on that day five residents had been shot dead by police and an unknown number injured. One woman had been burnt.[80]

Day 4: Monday 17th February: Adult-youth tensions arise

At first, Day 4 seemed simply a continuation of the conflict between youth and police. Soon after midnight, the first petrol bomb of the day was thrown. The attacks continued. Shops and factories were an early target:

Figure 7: the War on Day 4

00h07:	"Rosi's Wholesale Store" was burnt out on the corner of 4th Avenue and John Brand
00h49:	"Ace Fast Foods" was petrol bombed, on the corner of London Rd and 3rd Avenue
05h00:	a factory was petrol bombed at 1129 Second Street, Marlboro
05h15:	2 were injured for disobeying a roadblock on the corner of London and First Avenue
05h45:	A casspir was petrol bombed on 13th Avenue

But soon a division between youth and adults, present in all protest periods since 1976, began to consolidate. Mzwanele Mayekiso describes his attempt to curb youth excess:

> One morning at the height of the six day war, I ran into a crowd of young comrades. Singing revolutionary songs about how the police are sell-outs, they were leading a black policeman who was clearly about to be necklaced. ...I requested that the comrades consider asking the policeman whether he is prepared to resign from this job. They did, and he responded enthusiastically: yes, as from now I am resigning. The comrades replied: if you have resigned, we want all of your police kit, including gun and uniform. The policeman readily agreed.....everything that was connected to the police was turned over to the comrades.... They.. wanted to exorcise the police part of the ex-policeman, so they took the uniform and kit, doused them with petrol, set a bonfire, and began to toyi-toyi.

"The comrades celebrated the winning of one of the police over to their side" continued Mayekiso, but, not surprisingly, the policeman thanked him profusely, and he never saw him again.[81]

Paul Tshabalala said that "people decided" to hold a stayaway from work that day. ". They were scared that should they go to work on Monday, those that will remain and the children at home, they might find them dead". This talk of a stayaway spread, and when Monday dawned, many people did not go to work.[82] However the 'people' who had decided did not include everyone. "Jane Mabala", like many less politically involved residents, did not know of the stayaway:

> I thought the rioting would come to an end as people returned to work. But I was wrong. I left the house at 6am looking for the usual taxi or bus, but there were none. Instead I saw several youths carrying sjamboks and shouting that no one was going to work. I thought of my job and the problems facing me. I ran as fast as I could towards the outskirts of the township. The less fortunate

ones were sjambokked by youths and turned back home. I was lucky to get a lift to work.[83]

While she was gone, the attacks on cars, factories and houses. and the retaliatory and sometimes pre-emptive shootings of activists and others went on:

Figure 8: the War on Day 4 (continued)

06h13:	The police fired 10 teargas canisters at a group on the corner of Selborne and Tenth Avenue
06h45:	A motor vehicle was hijacked on the corner of Twelfth Avenue and London Rd
07h00:	A motor vehicle was stoned along First Avenue
07h00:	There was a stoning on the corner of Pretoria Rd and Vasco da Gama
07h00:	WRA police houses were attacked at 42 Fourteenth Avenue
07h00:	One Meisie Tshabalala was shot dead by West Rand Development Board police, who had, it was said, been attacked with petrol bombs
07h15:	A motor vehicle was stoned on the corner of London Rd and Eleventh Avenue
07h30:	A factory was petrol bombed on Old Pretoria Rd, Wynberg
07h30	An "Incident" took place on the corner of Main Pretoria Rd and First Avenue
07h30:	A building was stoned and looted on the corner of First Avenue and Vasco da Gama
?	A house was burnt out, 19 Tenth Avenue
07h45:	A stoning took place on Louis Botha Avenue
08h00:	A single room was petrol bombed at 195 "phase 2"
08h00:	A Casspir on Seventh Avenue was surrounded and petrol bombed. The police shot back.

Albert Sebola was still trying to get a football game going. He went to his clubhouse at 8 am. On the way he saw a house burning down - the house of a policeman. Forty-five minutes later he heard shots. He went out and saw that police were firing on a group of people watching the house burning.[84] The police "were on their casspirs". This may be what Constable Zeelie was referring to when he talked of his experiences on this Monday with Detective-Sergeant Tsipa:

> We received a message to go out to his (the policeman's) home in Alexandra township, because his home was being burnt and during the burning of the house he was also being killed by black youths....I personally went to the scene. [85]

The situation struck adults such as those attempting to form the AAC as urgent. Sometime that morning, three delegates from the embryonic Alexandra Action Committee went to the South African Council of Churches in Johannesburg. They told their story, and five eminent churchmen were elected to attempt to put a stop to the war.[86]

But in the meantime, the war continued:

Figure 9: the War on Day 4 (continued)

09H00:	A motor vehicle was hit by a bottle on the corner of Fourth Avenue and London Rd
?time unknown:	A " forearm" was found in 16 Eighth Avenue
09h00:	A petrol bomb was thrown at the corner of Fourteenth Avenue and London Rd
09h20:	An "unknown black male" died at the corner of Vasco da Gama and Second Avenue.
09h45:	A person was found in possession of a petrol bomb on Fourteenth Avenue
10h00:	A motor vehicle was stoned in Selborne St
10h00:	A Constable Mamabolo was "involved in a shooting incident" at 50 Thirteenth Avenue
10h20:	A government vehicle was attacked on John Brand St
10h30:	A Councillor Mashile was shot in the stomach at 132 Nineteenth Avenue
10h30:	A business was stoned at 57 First St
10h30:	A factory was stoned at 9 First Avenue
10h45:	A motor vehicle was stoned on Wynberg Rd
10h45:	A motor vehicle was burnt at 43 Eighth Avenue
time unspecified:	A shop was burnt (place unspecified)
time uncertain:	A bottle store was broken into on Second Avenue
10h55:	A person was found in possession of a petrol bomb on Fourteenth Avenue
11h00:	A Constable Senoamadi's house was attacked at 43 Eighth Avenue. He shot back. One person was wounded.
11h00:	A house burnt down at 57 Fourteenth Avenue
11h00:	A house was petrol bombed at 53 Ninth Avenue
11h15:	A "riot bus" was petrol bombed and stoned on John Brand St
11h15:	A policeman was attacked and an "unknown black man" was shot and killed on the corner of John Brand and Fifth Avenue
12h00:	A petrol bomb was thrown at 57 Fourteenth Avenue
12h00:	A Sergeant Tsipa was found dead at 50 Thirteenth Avenue. He had been burnt to death.
12h15:	A petrol bomb was found on the corner of First Avenue and Hofmeyr
12h30:	A bus was stoned and burnt on the corner of Fifteenth Avenue and Selborne
12h30:	Stoning took place on the corner of Selborne and First Avenue
12h30:	A petrol bomb was thrown in 13th Avenue
12h30:	Another petrol bomb was thrown in Thirteenth Avenue

In this atmosphere of ongoing violence and uncertainty, the Alexandra Action Committee-in-waiting continued to develop its strategy for a less anarchistic method of resistance. The youth's impetuosity and violence worried its members. Since its first meeting, it had held several "street meetings", at which the grievances of residents were gathered. Now, at 13h00 on this fourth day of the war, the precursor to the AAC organised an executive meeting.[87] Ten people attended. Moses Mayekiso had prepared the agenda, and Richard Mdakane took the minutes. These were later submitted in court as evidence in *favour* of the treason trial accused. They revealed an emerging organisation concerned with grassroots grievances, which they saw as the underlying cause of the problems in Alex, and with developing organised and systematic, rather than spontaneous and less controllable structures to help solve these. They seem to have struck the right chord with residents, whose grievances, as summed up in the minutes, are here reproduced in tabular form:

Figure 10: Grievances of Residents expressed at General Street Meetings, February 1986

TRANSPORT		*HOUSING*	*STANDARD OF LIVING*	*EDUCATION*	*POLITICAL*
Putco Bus Co:	*Taxis:* .	High rental especially new houses	Unemployment	Poor education	Police and army occupation
High fees	High fees	No Services	Retrenchments	Students' demands not met	Liaison Committee and peri-urban police
Broken win-dows	Poor service	Poor houses	No new jobs created	Police occupation of schools	Councillors' impimpis
dirty buses	No coopera tion	Overcrowding	No income to families	Some teachers and principals not cooperative	Influx control – hostels etc
Stop-ping at Pan	Poor roads	No sewerage system	Standard of living very low		Apartheid as a whole
	Dongas (pot-holes)	Bucket system	Prices very high		Murder of resident youth by police and army
		Demolition of houses and shacks	Starvation		
		Presence of Shacks			

The minutes recorded that people at the general meetings wanted a 'proper structure', 'another organisation', which would unite and organise people from the Yard, Block and Street Committees. The solution to this lay, agreed the executive meeting, in the idea that the "people should build the structures of their organisation in order to solve some of them (ie the problems outlined above)". An acting executive committee was elected to this end.[88] The committee, it was agreed, would from then on, until its "inauguration". be called the "Alexandra Action Committee" - a name which was to remain. Its tasks would be:

> i) To organise the community into yard, block and street committees
> ii) To help the community to solve their own community problems
> iii) To represent the community to other organisations and the authorities
> iv) To unite people regardless of their race, colour, beliefs - creed and tribe.[89]

Frequent meetings, and the drafting of a constitution were to take place in the future. They then postponed the rest of the meeting

> because there were too many police, especially in that yard. They were coming in and out and we thought we might be arrested, because it was during the time of the six day war. People were getting arrested even in the streets once they are in a crowd. That is why we postponed the meeting. The condition was not allowing it.[90]

While this meeting was going on, the war continued. "Jane Mabala's" experience of the day continued to be traumatic:

Fortunately my employer sympathised with my problem and let me go at 1pm. Before I left the city I filled my bag with food for my family. On my arrival at Alex, I found several groups of youths with sjamboks beating up those who had gone to work. These adults had defied the threats of the morning. I saw elderly men run for their lives with children sjambokking them as they ran. The youths invariably ran faster than their elders - many of whom were soundly flogged before being allowed to go their way. I sneaked into my eldest daughter's house near the entrance of the township. There I cooled off for a few hours in the hope that the youths would be tired, but instead they were getting more vicious. I knew my children were very hungry and were waiting anxiously for my return.

Attacks in the township as a whole were legion:

Figure 11: the War on Day 4 (continued)

13h30:	A petrol bomb was thrown (unspecified where)
13h00:	A Sergeant Andries Ngange was shot in Fourth Avenue
13h30:	A Councillor Magerman's house in "Phase 2" was attacked
13h35:	There was a "public violence" incident on the corner of Third Avenue and Jan Hofmeyr
13h35:	A petrol bomb was thrown from a blue car at a police vehicle on patrol on the corner of Hofmeyr and Third Avenue. Police fired back. One "black male" was killed.
13h43:	A Sergeant Mehale's house was burnt down, at 63 Ninth Avenue
13h55:	A motor vehicle was stoned in Wynberg Rd
14h00:	A house was attacked and shooting followed, at 43, Ninth Avenue
14h00:	One Johanna Hlubi was accused of being a witch, and burnt in a house at 152 Thirteenth Avenue. She died later in hospital.

Paul Tshabalala saw the burning of Johanna Hlubi happen:

> *The allegation of witchcraft: is that a serious allegation or is it or no importance*?... In 1986 it was very serious, especially with the youth. I remembered they burnt a certain old lady who stayed at Thirteenth Avenue, by the name of Johanna Hlobo (Hlube) was burnt. If one talks about witchcraft, those children just go straight there. It was the first time I saw a person being burnt in Alexandra. Now, the allegation of witchcraft is very serious.
> *Did you actually see the burning of this lady*?... I saw it.[91]

After two more hours of shooting, bombing and stoning the AAC Executive, as it now was, met again, at 4 pm, this time at 8 Seventh Avenue. Desperate to calm the situation they found there was little they could do in the short term.

Figure 12: the War on Day 4 (continued)

14h30:	a petrol bomb was thrown (unspecified where)
14h30:	a Sergeant Ngange was reported again as having been attacked at 43 Ninth Avenue
14h34:	police again reported to be shooting at Magerman's place: 20 rounds
14h46:	police reported to be shooting at the corner of Second Avenue and Jan Hofmeyr
15h00:	stoning took place in Louis Botha Avenue
15h00:	a house was set alight at 74 Fifteenth Avenue
15h05:	municipal police at Sam Buti's house were fired on by an AK 47
15h30:	a firearm was taken from a truck at 40 Twelfth Avenue
15h45:	A car was shot at (by police?) on the corner of Fourth Avenue and Jan Hofmeyr One Solomon Moshina died; two others - Prins Ngadi and ? Mpongose - were injured.
16h00:	a motor vehicle was stoned along Hofmeyr
16h00:	an incident of public violence took place on Second Avenue
16h00:	a Neil Williams was shot dead by a black policeman in the street outside 21 Second Avenue.[92]
16h40:	a bus was stoned on the corner of First Avenue and Louis Botha
16h50:	an Alfred Motemba was shot at 31 Seventh Avenue
16h50:	an Alfred Hadebe was shot in the stomach at 50 Seventh Avenue and died
16h55:	two were wounded in an attack on a police vehicle at 48 Seventh Avenue
17h00:	a vehicle was petrol bombed on the corner of First Avenue and Second St
17h45:	a petrol bomb was thrown at Seventh Avenue
time unspecified:	a motor vehicle was stoned in Pretoria Main Rd
18h35:	an "unknown black male" was shot and wounded on the corner of Hofmeyr and Fourth Avenue[th]
19h00:	a butchery was plundered on the corner of Second Avenue and Vasco da Gama. Police fired shots. One "unknown Black Male" was shot, and a Sina Mopane of 9 Fourteenth Avenue was shot in the hip
19h30:	a house was petrol bombed at 114 Sixteenth Avenue
21h00	a car was hijacked on the corner of Rooth and Thirteenth Avenue

"Jane Mabala" had to survive:

> Finally I devised a scheme which, thank God, worked. My daughter lent me a blanket in which I placed the food. I put this on my back in the manner that most black women carry their babies, and picked a route home. I was petrified that the food would fall out the back of the blanket and my ruse would be discovered. In the township the youths had manned several roadblocks and they searched whoever passed them. Fortunately I found routes where no roadblocks had been set up. Finally I reached home and that is how we managed to have our first decent meal in three days. Other families had nothing but water. In the evening I could still hear gunfire. The youths warned everyone not to report for work the next day.

All policemen resident in Alexandra were withdrawn at the end of that day. In spite of their severe and growing losses, the rebels felt they had won a major victory. If so, it was a very shot-term one indeed. Later records were to show that deaths had peaked on this day. Eight residents had been shot dead, and again an unknown number injured.[93] Rebels had burned three, two of them to death, and shot one policeman.

Day Five: Tuesday 18th February: Mass Meeting

The events of the first four days of the war had shocked residents and the general South African public to the core. The authorities believed that Mayekiso was, in fact, behind the revolt and: "At midnight on the night of 17 February a convoy of security police came to 27 Seventh Avenue, the Mayekiso household. They searched the place and took some books...they led Moss away for a three week lockup."[94] The township was under siege, surrounded by the army and patrolled by Casspirs. Albert Sebola's mother did not go to work because "she could not walk clearly on the streets because due to the presence of police".[95] In fact everyone stayed at home. The shops were closed, and some families were now hungry.[96]

Throughout this day, too, attacks continued:

Figure 13: The War on Day 5

06h45:	a car was hijacked on First Avenue
07h00:	a house was stoned at 129 Fourth Avenue
07h00:	there was a "public violence incident" on the corner of Eleventh Avenue and Jan Hofmeyr
07h30:	a shop was looted at 1 Second Avenue
07h30:	there was a "public violence incident" on the corner of Twelfth Avenue and Jan Hofmeyr. Police said they were attacked with a petrol bomb. One Elias Nkosi was shot dead.
07h30:	police said they were attacked with a petrol bomb on the corner of Jan Hofmeyr and Seventeenth Avenue. One Jabulani Mkele was shot dead; two others were shot and injured. [97]
08h00:	a petrol bomb was thrown on the corner of Nineteenth Avenue and London
08h00:	one Owen Hlopolosa was shot by police on the corner of Nineteenth Avenue and London [98]
08h30:	one Elias Mahlaba was shot by police on the corner of Eleventh Avenue and Hofmeyr [99]
09h00:	a motor vehicle was stoned in Wynberg Rd
09h15:	a motor vehicle was stoned on the corner of First Avenue and London
10h15:	a motor vehicle was stoned on the corner of First Avenue and London
14h40:	a motor vehicle was stoned and then taken on the corner of Tenth Avenue and London
16h30:	a motor vehicle was stoned on the corner of Eleventh Avenue and Wynberg Rd

That morning a delegation from Alex went to speak to the clerics they had approached earlier about the problems in Alexandra.[100] Several clerics, appalled by the situation, including Bishops Tutu and Buthelezi planned to address a Mass Meeting of the township as a whole.[101] The youth backed the idea strongly. The early part of the day was spent mobilising residents to attend. Cars with loudhailers went up and down the streets, calling the people of Alexandra to gather at the stadium. At about 9 am Paul Tshabalala was disturbed at home:

> there came boys with sjamboks. They knocked on the door. I was sitting inside and I said, I responded by telling them to come in. They came in and greeted. They told me that there is a big meeting at the stadium and all people are required at the stadium. I told them that I would follow but I was afraid.... as I went out the gate I saw the police, there were many police outside. I got a fright to get to the stadium and thought we might be shot at the stadium, but as I saw the people going towards the stadium I decided it is better for me to go. There will be many of us to die. I then went to the stadium.[102]

Within a few hours, tens of thousands of people had gathered at the stadium. Albert was there with this mother and three younger sisters. When he arrived there were "plenty" people there. According to Paul Tshabalala: My estimation is 40 000, between 40 000 and 45 000." There were speakers there, who were difficult to hear because of the poor sound system.

In the meantime, it was proving difficult to get the church leaders access to the township. It was sealed off - surrounded by the army. Nobody could get in or out. And the police did not believe a mass meeting addressed by clerics whom they perceived to be part of the problem rather than the solution, was a good idea. A local liberal politician, Ricky Valente, negotiated their entry:

> the whole of Alexandra was surrounded by army but there were a lot of people around and there was a lot of, also a tremendous amount of press and television cameras and this type of thing..... I said you can't go into Alexandra and this was in a situation of talking to people in front of international press cameras and they said they were... I said let me go and speak to the police and I ran up the road to the police station and went to see the .. colonel..... The police quite obviously said there was no ways that they were going to allow this delegation to into Alexandra because don't forget there were, by conservative estimates there were 30 000 odd people in the soccer stadium. ...it was a very very tense situation. And I ran back down to the delegation from the churches and said no the police didn't want them to go in and they said they were going to go in and they started walking down this way here towards the barricade ... said hang on a second and I ran back (to the colonel in charge who) had been on the radio and on the telephone to various people.[103]

Eventually Bishops Tutu and Buthelezi, but not Alan Boesak and Beyers Naude, were allowed in. Local people and the clerics made a series of speeches, themselves. A march was demanded:

> They said there must be a march to the Wynberg police station. They were saying that at the Wynberg police station their demand was the release of the people who were arrested during that week, as well as getting the number of people shot and the injured. The troops and the police must also get out of the township."[104]

People were concerned about children whom, they said, they could not trace. The Bishops did not discourage the march, but attempted to ensure that it was calm:

> They said as we march ... when the police come we should not flee. No person should carry a stick or any dangerous thing. No person should carry stones. When the police attack we must all sit down.

And when the meeting was over, the huge crowd left the stadium and marched through the Township towards the police station:

> As we marched, when we got to between Fourth and Third Avenue, we were going up Selborne Road, and we saw policemen full there. When we got there

> the police started using a loud hailer and told us to turn back and go back. People proceeded on. They did not go back. The police retreated up to Second Avenue and they said should a person pass Second Avenue they would act. There was a request that a delegation be sent to discuss with them.

The crowd sat down, as they had been instructed to do. A standoff developed:

> What frightened me was that the police, the soldiers came. They made a wall between phase 2 and phase 1 near Buti's church and stood ready with guns for shooting....

Bishop Tutu discussed the situation with the police and returned to the crowd. He told them that the churchmen would see the Minister of Law and Order to put their requests to him.[105]
In the meantime they must:

> behave themselves. They must not confront the police and (he) requested the children to return to school and requested the adults to go back to work, and he further said whoever had a problem or whoever has lost someone or lost his next of kin, must go and report to Mike Beea at Eleventh Avenue. There would be people there.

The crowd was not entirely pleased with this admonition:

> *Was there satisfaction at this report?*...People were not satisfied, especially the youth. he was talking there were grumbling and the people were also not satisfied with his report. They were expecting the Wynberg police to give them a positive response.

Soon afterwards, the army moved from the perimeter of the township, right inside. That night several attacks of various kinds occurred; and six people were shot at the corner of 12th Avenue and Hofmeyr Road at 8pm. Three died.[106] There were six arrests during the night.

At 6pm the Alexandra Action Committee held its second formal meeting of the day, again at 31 Seventh Avenue. Only 8 people attended - two had been detained - Mayekiso and John Grant. The minutes record their formal protest at what was happening in the township, and their responses to the situation. They decided to contact other organisations, to demand the release of their colleagues, and to look to their own strategy. They cancelled all further street meetings, and tried to forge a clearer township identity through the development of their own logo, t-shirts and slogans. They would have a red flag, they said, since "the township is basically a working class place". And their slogan would be "The Struggle must Continue."[107]

By the end of the day of the 18th of February there had been 85 arrests and 21 detentions.[108] Later records were to show that five people had been shot dead on that day: Mabulani Mkele, Samuel Sithole, Samuel Chauke, Elias Nkosi and Owen Hlopolosa. Two additional deaths had occurred since Friday: Steven Stolt and Osborne Matelong – but no inquest records were ever found, and no date of death firmly established.[109]

Day Six and after

By Sunday 23rd February 1986 the war was over. It had continued less vigorously for a few more days. What Ashwell Zwane thought of as "magical" and what others thought of as "chaos" had indeed prevailed. At least 24, perhaps as many as 27 people had died at the hands of police. Several had died at the hands of the youth. In the next few days, the South African Council of Churches delegation met the Deputy Minister of Law and Order and Defence, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and an accompanying delegation, at the State President's residence.[110] After they had presented the "specific grievances of the people of Alexandra", the Deputy Minister undertook to make it possible for a "report back meeting" by the churchmen to be held; for one or more funerals to be organised; for the release of detainees to be looked into; and for the possibilities of the lifting of the State of Emergency and the withdrawal of the army from the township to be looked at.[111] And on 21st February a "report back" meeting was indeed held. Tutu told the crowd that assembled that day that he had made a little progress with the government, and urged calm. He was booed by the youth for this.

In this short period one can detect the main motifs of revolt and reaction which were to characterise the rest of the period of rebellion in the township. Against the background of youth revolutionary passion and violence, the AAC had begun to evolve its more ordered ideology. Both approaches to the revolt were spatial. In the youth's case, old definitions of space were radically disrupted by the use of fire, bombs, stones, whistles, crowd energy, the moving of gangs up and down the streets, and the introduction of random violence, which made the previously predictable street life of residents into the disturbingly unpredictable, unforgettable days of the six day war. The outside borders of the township were sealed, with police and army controlling exits and entrances. Inside, some trenches and barricades were used, but the youth in the six day war seemed mainly to rely on randomness and their own physical assertiveness in the streets. Public space in the broader sense of the term was also transformed. The stadium was no longer a place of leisure. It was where the "mass" – the very large crowd – gathered. And private space began to change - homes began to become places of meeting and of retreat where active rebels could gather, or be harboured by adults.

The emerging adult ideology sought to capture space in a different way – through committees, bureaucracy, plans and systems. By doing so, it set out to capture both the youth and the adults together. The youth would be captivated by the way in which the use of spaces such as streets, yards and block could promote their ideals of self-government and transformation in the township; and the adults by putting in place systems, based upon the physical spaces in which they lived, through which their real grievances could be met. Through this, the AAC believed, the youth would be tamed, and the adults mobilised. The next part of this paper examines how these different forces evolved after the war – or perhaps this should merely be seen as a battle within a greater war -- had ended.

Consolidation and counter revolution: Space in the war of the streets

To activists and their leaders, the six-day war was merely the beginning of something greater. Local governance had been challenged and it seemed to them that if further challenges were successful, local organisations might have the potential to substitute for it. Although fiery revolt was spreading throughout the townships of the country as a whole in these months, only in very few places did it appear that there were viable alternatives to the local authorities which were being discredited and destroyed. This belief did not stem simply (as the state in the subsequent treason trial was to argue) from a top-down instruction from the resistance movements in exile.[112] The capacity of this particular township to make such visions happen also emerged organically from conditions within Alexandra. Old definitions of space had been challenged. New ones could emerge.

Alexandra's compactness, its existing spatial manageability, its clear-cut borders, its emerging sense of a commonality of suffering, and an increasingly vivid sense of who belonged and who did not, all contributed to the belief that here, of all places, an alternative system of government could be installed. A period of several months followed during which a more sophisticated and evolving "war of the streets" took place. The war ebbed and flowed. The youth and the adults – AYCO and the AAC – existed in an uncomfortable alliance, and it is moot which of them prevailed at particular periods of time. Periods of mass mourning when deaths had occurred, were followed by periods of consolidation of power in the streets, and then further defeats and attacks as the police, both local and national, and in the end, the army, sought reciprocally, to seize the streets for themselves. Various spatial processes characterised this period.

Instead of a chronological depiction of this period, I have chosen to portray it briefly[113] in thematic terms. The four features that had characterised the six-day war persisted. *Violence* persisted, in periods of concentrated bursts, and in spectacular form at times. The *crowd* evolved into a vital force. Throughout the period, intellectuals and leaders continued to put forward their *visions* - the AAC and AYCO in particular, which together with numerous other organisation held meetings, workshops and planning sessions. Pamphlets were put out. Ideas for how to further the envisaged revolution flourished. On the *spatial* level, just as in the six-day war, spaces continued to be violated; and mass meetings not only continued but also grew in size and significance.

But the spatial attack on Alexandra was now more sophisticated. At least six types of spatial behaviour evolved further during this period: the use of public space; the demarcation of the township into "zones"; the patrolling of the township, (inside and upon the borders); the identification of significant landmarks as either "good" or "bad" spaces; the giving of new names to specific spaces; and the act of defending space.

The use of public space

Unlike most of the six-day war the "war of the streets" involved huge numbers of Alex residents, and the concomitant use of space in a much more flowing and public way. The ritualised and newly used spaces evolved during the six-day war were

consolidated as such. New ideas as to how to handle and control space were developed, and the AAC spatial strategy outlined above was mobilised to an extraordinary extent, not only consciously "from above", but also as a result of more spontaneous expressions of anger by the general population. A new type of crowd emerged – a larger one, more subject to ritualised control, and more predictable in its behaviour. The interplay between this crowd and the media stimulated it to develop and behave in ways designed to communicate to a wider public, outside Alexandra, as well as to its own constituency.

At first, this period was characterised by the continuing visibility of the youth. "They were everywhere" in the period immediately following the six-day war, said one source. On 7th March the national state of emergency was lifted, making even more possible the sorts of public behaviour engaged in earlier. The atmosphere was extremely tense, with police and youths treating each other as enemies, the central protagonists in the emerging drama.[114] As more youngsters and activists were killed, the emerging sense of a commonality of suffering, located within the compact "space" of Alex, and mobilised through the use of that space, contributed greatly to the period of consolidation.

The ritual of the funeral grew in scale and meaning. Massive spaces came to be used to hold enormous funeral ceremonies. On 4th and 5th March the night vigil and "Mass Funeral" respectively of residents killed in the six day war were held in the actual and symbolic centre-point of the township – a place with a clear role in "normality" in the township, but one which, as it had in February, became a venue for the abnormal - Alexandra Stadium. 25 000 attended the night vigil for what was known as the first 'Mass Funeral' at the stadium, and other churches also used; no fewer than 40 000 attended the funeral itself, a substantial proportion of the entire population of the township. These occasions marked the beginnings of community mobilisation on a scale never seen before. Marshalls, who were youths wearing AYCO or the new AAC T-shirts, moved up and down the streets with loud hailers, announcing the venues and calling on people to attend. Again, there were reports that the more zealous of these marshalls carried sjamboks and attempted to force people to attend. They controlled and directed the crowds.[115] The streets and the stadium itself again became redefined, with use of oppositional flags and symbols, freedom songs, poetry, speeches, music and symbolically important figures within them – and this time with the passion that came of public and widespread grief at the murders of activists. Each funeral would be accompanied, as was this one, by a preceding march through the streets, from church to stadium; and, after an impassioned and highly politically charged and deeply symbolic ceremony in the stadium, a subsequent march to the cemetery. The movement from stadium to streets could have signified the transition of the crowd from controllability to uncontrollability, but the first mass funeral was relatively peaceful. Its symbolic meaning was tied up with its size and demonstration of mass mobilisation, rather than with its capacity to mobilise violence.

A second major funeral followed ten days later, at which those not buried at the first one were laid to rest; and a third on the 5th of April, for a young victim shot by police on 23rd March. Although these were smaller occasions, they consolidated the role of the stadium as a central rallying point for the township and as a venue for a different kind of collective action, so that by the time the next crisis hit the township, when police attacked the homes of activists and shot and killed several, it seemed logical for

the crowd to make the stadium the point at which they held their meeting of protest. 45 000 attended this; and a similarly huge crowd made its appearance at the Mass Funeral which followed on 17th May.[116]

Between funerals, the stadium also became the space within which senior African politicians and churchmen and women addressed the community, with the intention of "calming things down" – as they had done in the first stadium meeting during the six-day-war. They did so by offering to mediate between the community and the authorities, or by attempting to alleviate the behaviour of the police or army. They were, it seems, attempting to capture the local rebellion for the broader nationalism for which many of them stood.

Although the "massified crowd" which would meet at the stadium added a new dimension to the mobilisation of the township, the streets themselves continued to be "abnormal" places as a result of the shattering events of early February. Their bizarre abnormality was reinforced in this period of consolidation by sudden and brutal mob actions, epitomised by one major necklacing and burning which followed the many that had already taken place.

On 12 April one Teresa Maseko, the same young woman who had led some of the singing at Michael Diradeng's funeral, was dragged from her home and necklaced by a mob of youths who accused her (correctly, as it turned out) of being a police informer. J M Phosa, a policeman, saw it happen:

> I heard a noise in the street... I saw many people in the street. There was a Renault vehicle in the midst of these people... this car went and stopped in front of number 31..I saw some people of the car driving a girl out of the car. They went with her into number 31...after about five minutes, I saw this girl coming out running and she did not have clothes on. While she was fleeing a group chased her and they got hold of her. I heard one of the people of the group talking loud. He was talking about petrol and a tyre. Some of them had tomahawks and pangas. They were striking at her at that time. ...I saw one person of the group coming with a tyre and put it over the girl.

He drove to the police station to get help, but "she had already been killed". The crowd, he said, was about 100. Their ages were mixed. There were, he said, some old ladies in the crowd.[117] Another spectacular necklacing took place on 5 June. Shadrack Lebusa, a motor mechanic, was also suspected of being an informer and a tyre was placed around his neck by a group of angry youths, and he was burnt to death.[118] These are events that have never been forgotten by residents of Alexandra. Teresa's death in particular is emblematic to many of the events of 1986 – or at least of those aspects that involved youth political passion and public brutality.

Patrolling, landmarking and naming

This continuing abnormality of the spaces of Alexandra made it psychically and morally possible for them to be remapped. We have already seen some of this occurring in earlier times with the formation of people's parks. But now the reconstruction of the township in a new image proceeded apace. It took a peculiar,

double-sided form, with the youth and the adults each seeking to impose a different map upon the place.

Most striking amongst these was the dividing up, by the youth, of the township into sections. Sebola actually uses the word "demarcation".[119] There had been earlier attempts at this in late 1985, as we have seen.[120] The youth groups then had been independent of any organisations. But after the six day war, and as the period of consolidation evolved, they took on a new significance and rigour, and the section-based "youth groups" were incorporated by the more formal youth organisations. Thus in April the Alexandra Youth Congress (AYCO) minuted in its meeting that the township would be divided into zones, each "belonging" to a different Youth Group. Each zone had its own "headquarters" – addresses that were subsequently to become the Peoples Courts; and renamed.

At the same time as the youth recast Alexandra's geography, the yard, block and street committees continued to impose a different grid upon the township, one drawn from the rhetoric of both the ANC and the adult AAC. These committees were, in some cases, active and working well – particularly at the yard level, not surprisingly considering that the yard was the space most organically linked to the everyday lives and needs of ordinary residents.[121] Elections of representatives took place, and meetings to discuss and handle grievances were held.[122] This double remapping, combined with the persistence of old conceptions of space and place lent an extraordinary spatial complexity to the period. The demarcation of zones was tenuous and it required constant patrolling – as if to reinforce its abnormality. This patrolling took place internally as well as externally, and it took place physically as well as symbolically.

An unusually widespread "crime spree" took place in Alexandra in March and a new anticrime campaign was begun, a far better organised one, with roots in the zones identified and named by the "Youth Groups", and with much clearer objectives. Albert Sebola described in his trial for treason how the comrades would patrol the streets in "their" zone, and how they would enter shebeens, order the music to be turned down, and then remove all guns, knives and screwdrivers.[123] Crime was actually reduced at first. The comrades came to regard themselves as the moral protectors of the community.

The outside borders of Alexandra had always been significant – they had of course marked off the black and poor from the white and well off in a more than usually vivid sense. During these months, the rebels attempted to create symbolic markers of their own, which reversed the meaning of the borders, so that they no longer meant that the poor and black were "kept in" but came to mean that those who were *not* poor and black or who were in other ways not symbolic of "those belonging to Alex" were to be "kept out". Furthermore, they were used to attack the power of the resident elites (policemen and councillors) who were the local face of government. The six-day war had already begun this process when policemen and their homes and families were attacked, killed and burnt. They fled to the borders of the township, and camped or found makeshift accommodation there. Further attacks on policemen were made, and in addition local councillors were now targetted, and forced to resign their posts. Alexandra was now one of four town councils nationwide that had collapsed.[124] A township administrator was appointed in May.

The police and the army continued to patrol Alexandra as well, and to attack its residents from time to time. The spaces controlled by the rebels could not survive unless they, too, were physically defended. Systems of defence had already emerged in the six-day war and continued in this period too. Trenches were built and "tank traps" dug between February and August.[125] This definition of symbolic and actual borders and defences was reinforced by the revival of the Consumer Boycott. Originally started with the "Black Christmas" campaign of the previous December (and also following a long tradition of African resistance genres) the boycott in these months targetted those shopkeepers of Alex who were physically or metaphorically outsiders. Jazz Stores was burnt down during the Six-Day War because it was there that Michael Diradeng had been shot. Anyway, said Ashwell Zwane, Jazz Stores was "not part of Alex".[126] Benny Goldberg's liquor store would not donate money to the fund for victims, and so, said Albert Sebola, must be boycotted.[127] Numerous Portuguese owned shops, many of them actually on the physical borders of Alexandra anyway, were deemed to be "other", and boycotted or in some cases attacked. They were, it was said, dirty, racist or too expensive.[128] Local shops, inside Alex, owned or run by residents, were acceptable and their use was encouraged, although housewives found them very expensive. In fact residents' participation in the consumer boycott was uneven. Many said they were forced to participate and there are harrowing reports of women being forced to drink cooking oil or other consumables that they had brought into the township, to destroy their groceries and being generally harassed by youths enforcing the ban on shopping "outside". Not all of these are urban legends.[129]

Belonging to the township meant committing oneself to its struggle. Parents who sent their children out of Alexandra to boarding school, to schools in rural areas, or even to the few private schools that in those times would accept black pupils, were told to bring them back. They must, said Albert Sebola, commit themselves to improving education for everyone, not simply selfishly improve their own education.[130]

All of these together constituted an attempt to actually and symbolically "construct" Alexandra as a resistant, united and enclosed community[131] - although to construct in this image a space as diverse and complex as Alexandra township was perhaps an impossible task – hence the resort to force on the part of the rebels.

Over these months it became progressively clearer to all that certain spaces in the township had been "marked" in ways relevant to the struggle for control. Some of these were meant to epitomise all that was good and idealistic about the struggle, and others to represent the evils being purged. The youth in particular identified certain addresses as landmarks – their youth-group headquarters. These, in most cases, became gathering spaces for large numbers of youths at crucial points. More significantly, they came to be designated as "peoples courts" – venues within which hearings flowing not only from the anti-crime campaign, but from the campaign to "cleanse" the township of moral decay and wrongdoing, were held by self-appointed officials. Each one heard cases in a formal setting.[132] Here too, the split between youths and adults did persist. The youths tended to be those who operated the Peoples Courts, the adults those who were brought to be heard or prosecuted in them. Adults were, thus, considered by the youth to be less morally acceptable than the youth would have liked them to be. Cases of child abuse or neglect, of desertion of wives by

wayward husbands, of wife beating and of other social and personal transgressions were brought to the court, in an attempt to bring adults to a more ethical standard. Not only were the Peoples' Courts named as such, but the whole of Alexandra began to be renamed during this period, following upon the transformation of the Peoples Parks in the earlier phase:

Figure 14: Renaming of Zones, Streets and Schools in Alexandra 1986[133]

ZONE, STREET OR SCHOOL	HEADQUARTERS OF YOUTH GROUP AT:	PEOPLES COURT AT:	RENAMED AS:
1st – 4th Avenue Zone	86 3rd Avenue	86 3rd Avenue	
3rd Avenue			MK Street
5th – 7th Avenue Zone	31 7th Avenue	31 7th Avenue	**Mayekiso**
5th Avenue			Mandela Street
8 – 10th Avenue Zone	8th Avenue		**Mdakane Camp**
7th Avenue			Dos Santos Street
8th Avenue			Abion Makhaythini,
9th Avenue			Jabulane Mkhele
10th Avenue			Joe Skosana
11th – 13th Avenue Zone	10th Avenue and/or 12th Avenue		**Joe Modise Section/ Libya Block**
11th Avenue			ANC or Lusaka St
12th Avenue			Katrida Street
13th Avenue			Mabhida or Slovo Street
14th – 16th Avenue Zone	63 15th Avenue	63 15th Avenue	**VincentTshabalala/Lusaka/Amanda Kwadi**
14th Avenue			Handgrenade/Mbeki St;
15th Avenue			AK47
16th Avenue			Bazooka/ Sobukwe
17th – 22nd Ave zone	55 19th Avenue	16 and 55 19th Ave	**Freedom Charter**
17th Avenue			Amandla; Oliver St
18th Avenue			Moses Kotane
19th Avenue			Arthur Goldricks
21st Avenue			Mother Mphosho
22nd Avenue			Winnie Mandela
Selborne Rd			ANC Street; Vincent St
Rooth St			"Soviet St" or "PW Botha Soviet"
Rooseveldt St			Mark St (Marx?)
"TB Area"			**Elijah Barayi**
School at cnr John Brand and 12th Ave			Katrida LP School
School at 92 3rd Avenue			Lusaka HP School
Bovet School			Solomon Mahlangu
Ithate School			Oscar Mpetha
Realogile School			Tambo High

Streets, schools and landmarks were given new names: 'The names of Streets and schools in Alexandra were last week replaced with those of black political leaders and activists in a massive renaming campaign covering the whole township....groups of youths in the township were busy writing the new names on the walls and boards of some of the renamed roads and schools on Tuesday amid intensive SADF patrols'. The report continued:

> The main road leading into the township, Selborne Road, has been renamed after the African National Congress, ANC Street. A community school, Ovet, has been named after an ANC cadre who was hanged, Solomon Mahlangu. It is now Mahlangu Higher Primary School. Halls, streets and schools have been renamed after black leaders, among them ANC leaders Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Govin Mbeki, Walter Sisulu and Moses Mabida. An ANC Cadre who killed himself in a shoot out with police in the township, Vincent Tshabalala (see above) has also been honoured by renaming a street after him at the new phase 1 and 2 complex.[134]

These street and other names were actually used at times in AYCO discourse; the minutes of Peoples Court meetings, for example, give the addresses of the accused as "Grenade St", "AK47 Street" and so on.[135]

The state's control over the space which was Alexandra had been weakened, both as a result of the complex changes taking place over the previous years, but now as a result of the rebellion itself. Attempts, with varying degrees of success, at police and military control replaced the political control, which had in many ways (but not all) prevailed until then. There were two broad interpretations of this that the rebels put forward. The first was the youth's, which was that Alexandra was now, in accordance with the calls made by the exile movements, "ungovernable". It was a period of the "rule of the comrades" said one participant.[136] Councillors had resigned en masse and no form of even vaguely legitimate governance was actually in place.[137] The place was administered, not governed, by an appointed administrator. And, they argued, the state had not successfully replaced by force the legitimacy that had been lost. The police station itself was rendered ineffective and police would tell complainants who approached them to "go to the comrades". The police themselves experienced this as a period during which they were harassed, marginalised and weakened. They could not, said one policeman, even stop in the township to talk to a friend. The police in this period, says Botha ,[138] were termed sell outs, could not buy goods at shops, use roads in township, and their children could not attend schools. Residents "subjected themselves to the authority of the comrades".

The other was the interpretation of the AAC, the more adult organisation, which was that the township was governing itself. They did not like, they said, the term "ungovernability.[139] They worked hard towards this end, holding a workshop in April attended by all the key players, including the previously wilful youth groups;[140] on 29th April the AAC claimed, in an extraordinary press conference, that it had achieved "grass roots control" of the township. A month later, on 23 May, various organisations began to plan together to set up a liaison committee, which would seek to establish their own democratically elected local government. In addition, on 8th June a meeting of a huge range of organisations was held to plan to form "one civic" organisation, with the same purpose.[141] These meetings and committees demonstrated a solid commitment on the part of the AAC to rejecting the more anarchistic approach of the youth, and to drawing all organisations together into a more systematised, bureaucratised approach to alternative governance.

Counterattack

In spite of these claims, the hold that the rebels had over the space of the township was tenuous. This was partly for internal reasons. The uniformity, even purity of purpose that they sought could not be sustained beyond the period of actual mass meetings, marches or funerals. At AYCO and AAC meetings activists complained of passivity, "neutrality" amongst the general township population, and constantly attempted to find ways of persuading people to join their cause. While leaders were restrained in this, their followers were sometimes less so, and there are again numerous reports of youths "disciplining" adults, forcing them to attend meetings, to boycott stores, or to participate in other events – too many for such reports to be dismissed or ignored. Ordinary adult residents found themselves torn between their basic sympathy for the cause, and their anger at what seemed to be a total loss of adult control over youth behaviour.

The public and symbolic nature of spatial power lent itself to similarly public and symbolic parody, a profoundly undermining occurrence. Thus, it was not long before the anti-crime campaign deteriorated. Criminals themselves started patrolling the streets, dressed as comrades, mimicking the comrades' songs, slogans and clothing; but instead of disarming the population, they robbed and attacked them. "True comrades"[142] as well as AAC adults were deeply disturbed by this. "Comrades" and "Tsotsis" began to become indistinguishable and the sinister "com-tsotsi" (comrade-gangster) became a bizarre feature of life in the township.[143] Peoples' Courts too slid into becoming kangaroo courts. Overzealous comrades were reported to have beaten, sjambokked, the "guilty". The youth, many of whom were already thought of by adults as wild, as prone to drunkenness, uncontrolled behaviour and violence, appeared to be beyond reform, worrying the older generation, themselves the product of deeply hierarchical generational values, immensely. Constant attempts were made by youth organisations and the AAC to draw all the disparate elements together, at Workshops and meetings, to harness these out-of-control forces. Some were more successful than others were.

Important as these internal tensions were, particularly for the long-term, they were as nothing when compared to the main bitter and vicious counterattack by the police and their vigilantes. This, too, parodied the "spatial" motif, but much more cruelly. During the night of April 22nd a mysterious group of heavily armed white and black men – carrying teargas canisters, pangas, stones, iron bars, knobkerries, petrol cans, pickaxes, sjamboks and/or guns - dressed in the distinctive blue of the police, but also wearing masks or trying to imitate or parody "comrades", launched a major offensive upon the places, people and spaces which had been central to the revolt. They were assisted by men in Casspirs and vans. Observers estimated there were 200 – 400 of them. Some shouted "Bopha comrade" -"comrade, come out" - as they attacked. Others said "we are the Kabasas, and we have come to fight". Some whites had their faces painted black and wore balaclavas. At times during the attack they would gather and sing freedom songs.[144]

It was a night of widespread murder, destruction and terror. They would target a particular home, circle it and attack. Seven activists were shot dead, two at the

Peoples' Court at 31 7th Avenue, which was itself destroyed. 47 were injured through assault, gunshots or beating. Specific addresses were targetted: 55 2nd Avenue (Ace Hlongwane); 20 6th Avenue (Florence Mseleku); 31 7th Avenue (Peoples court); 11 8th Avenue (Mike Beea) 35 and 37 10th Avenue; 61 17th Avenue (6 houses in that yard burnt, and two attacked) (Tax Zwane, Linda Twala, Albert Chauke and others). Most of these were totally destroyed by fire. Others were damaged by stones, bricks and sticks. Dozens of cars were attacked, burnt or smashed. Taxis and fruitsellers' stalls were destroyed. The next day Alexandra was sealed off, as it had been in February, by the army.[145] Some additional attacks followed: amongst others, the 3rd Avenue Peoples Court were destroyed

Although Mayekiso made his brave statement that its people controlled Alexandra *after* the vigilante attack had taken place, on 29th April, in fact this attack marked the beginning of the end of the revolt. A spate of detentions of activists followed, as did increased presence by police and army. The mass protests and huge mass funeral that once more followed the vigilante attack took the old pattern, the army continued to attempt to control things, further barricades were built,[146] and the Peoples Courts, Yard Committees and other entities continued for a while. But overall the spatial revolt did not last much longer. By August, one observer noted, while Alexandra was not completely 'normal', the township was relatively stable.[147]

The state believed that the behaviour of the rebels constituted High Treason and/or sedition. The 'legitimate' courts of the land, they claimed, were being undermined and replaced by Peoples Courts; the 'legitimate' local police and government had been driven out and were being replaced by local committee structures, and all of this, they believed, was a direct result of the policies and strategies devised by the banned, illegal ANC and Communist Party in exile.[148] While arrests and detentions had been common throughout the preceding three to four years, now a new assault upon the activists and leaders of Alexandra was made in the form of two trials for sedition/treason. One trial, the internationally famous Mayekiso trial, was of the key members of the AAC. They were acquitted. The other, the Zwane trial, was of a much less well-known group of youths deeply involved in Peoples' Courts. By contrast, they were found guilty and served several years in prison before the amnesty following Mandela's release. The split between adults and youth persisted even into the courts.

The rebellion has never been forgotten in Alexandra. Together with a hundred other uprisings in town and countryside it contributed to the eventual demise of apartheid, because it made clear that the establishment of legitimate authority was not feasible. Power had to rest with the army and the police, a situation which was impossible to sustain as a long-term form of governance.

However, memories of it are ambiguous. One survey, done in 1997, shows that of the dates that Alexandrans thought should be commemorated, the six day war and the massacre together were the number one choice of almost 20% of respondents, and the number 2 choice of a further 17%.[149] The rebellion left a legacy of pride and a memory of tragedy. A sense of ownership of the space had for a brief moment been born, and this was indeed a matter for pride for residents. The rebellion, however, in its "turning upside down" of many of the features of normality, has also left a heritage of normlessness which adults still to some extent regret. Youth are said to still be out

of control – even more so now that the "new South Africa" has come into being and the more noble cause for which the youth of the 1980s fought has given way to crime and social decay. The older generation feel a sense of anomie particularly strongly now that Alexandra has become a centre for vast immigration by rural-dwellers, who have built shacks in every minute space that was vacant; and "foreigners" who have created their own little ethnic spaces, and who have been the target of vicious, sometimes murderous, xenophobic attacks by residents. In the Truth Commission hearings on the rebellion some older residents even expressed a certain nostalgia for the pre-rebellious days, when, they felt, youths were better behaved, adult authority was not questioned, and the aims of the struggle were clearer. [150]

Conclusion

Sometimes the places in which the poor and oppressed live start off as bounded and prison-like stalags. But there are times when rebellious inhabitants seek to transform the stalag into a space of their own upon which their meanings are imprinted and whose boundaries become the defiant barricades which keep the authorities out, rather than the symbolic walls which keep the persecuted in.

Too often we take for granted that this overturning of spatial "normality" by those who rebel is to be expected. Once the overturning has been achieved, it seems so logical that one is led to ask why it has never happened before, or at least to assume it to be a natural outcome of the configuration of power that preceded it. But in fact, "normality" is far stronger than this argument assumes it to be. We need to ask how it is that people think the 'unthinkable'? What social, moral and personal changes have to take place in order for the oppressed to pose fundamental questions about the real and symbolic spatial arrangements within which they live? Moreover, lest the argument become too voluntaristic, what are the structural underpinnings of spatial power whose weakening must surely precede or accompany any challenges to it?

First is the paradox of the space itself. A small, compact, densely populated space may hold the key to social control, but it also has the unintended consequence of permitting many of the ingredients for revolt to develop. These include the presence of social networks and physical landmarks, the sense of social exclusion and physical boundedness, and the development of a certain local knowledge and sedimented memory of space and place which can be turned into a resource. Some spaces encourage these things more than others do. Second, there is the historical configuration of systems and ideologies of legitimacy. Legitimation must take something of a spatial form – government must be physically located somewhere; power needs to be seen; authority needs to be felt. Third, there is the particular capacity of some spaces to breed crowd-formation and power, and others to discourage it. As Hausmann knew only too well, long wide boulevards facilitated control, whereas rutted streets, small alleyways and huddled tenements did not. But crowds, in order to exert their power, also need spaces that they can occupy *as* crowds – squares, stadiums, and churches.

If these factors are configured in particular ways, then revolt is facilitated. If social networks are strong, physical spaces are huddled and close; the sense of social exclusion and physical boundedness is marked; a lively "hidden transcript" of meaning evolves which is oppositional in its essence; visible "legitimate" authority is

vulnerable; and spaces exist where crowds can form, and in which they can act, then one could argue that the nature of "space" has something of a determining, or perhaps simply permissive, role to play. If this is combined with the presence of some of the more normal attributes of collective action – a stratum of intellectuals, the presence of a tradition and memory of resistance, some sort of "crisis" – then the spaces which are used to control the population may become spaces used to attack this control. Social networks come to be used to organise rather than simply survive; local knowledge can be turned against outsider ignorance; social exclusion and boundedness come to mean internal cohesion and rejection of the outsider; physical landmarks can be re-defined; the spatial marks of poverty – rutted streets, huddled "yards" – are difficult for outsiders to control or penetrate; while the small "mob" kinds of crowds can move, attack and hide within them. Larger crowds too can claim larger spaces as theirs, but they have more difficulty in doing so. The spaces occupied by "legitimate" authority can become targets, and the boundaries, which rendered this authority so simple to exert, now become the borders over which the authorities are thrust.

An important element of the case discussed here, however, is that it suggests that very little of this is possible without the decisive shattering of "normality" – in this case by the brutality of the six-day-war. However much potential there is for the meaning of "space" to be reversed, this potential cannot be realised in the normal course of events. Fear and retreat are the first responses of "ordinary people" to attacks on the meaning of their spaces, and a great deal seems to be necessary for these responses to be overcome, if, indeed, they ever are even in extreme cases such as this one. We should not underestimate both the power of hegemony over the identity of those inhabiting a dominated space, and the extraordinary efforts involved in challenging it.

Notes

[1] See, for some suggestive answers to this question, Allen Feldman, *Formations of violence: the Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London 1991

[2] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, Harmondsworth, Penguin 1977

[3] Echoing, perhaps, the kind of situation, which gave rise to Habermas's notion of the distinction between the public and the private; or James Scott's idea of the hidden and public transcript. See J Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Cambridge, MIT Press 1989; and James Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, New Haven, Yale University Press 1990

[4] The paper attempts, in parts, to use "thick description". This is because the nature of space is so physical that in order to capture its manipulation in something as transient and fluid as a rebellion, some element of its physicality needs to be portrayed for the reader. This makes the paper long and I apologise to the reader for imposing this length upon him or her, but trust that the reader who wades through the descriptive parts will come out at the other end with a richer understanding of the ways in which space was manipulated by all parties concerned in Alexandra in the mid 1980s.

[5] See A J Christopher, *The Atlas of Apartheid*, London, Routledge 1994 for a strong argument for the importance of space; and Jennifer Robinson's *The Power of Apartheid: State, Power and Space in South African Cities*, Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford 1996, for a subtle portrayal of how spatial power worked in the case of one apartheid city, Port Elizabeth.

[6] Supreme Court of South Africa (Witwatersrand Local Division), 1987, The State vs Moses J Mayekiso, Paul N Tshabalala, Richard M Mdakane, Obed K Bapela and Mzwanele Mayekiso, before the Honourable Mr Justice van der Walt, (Case No 115/87) (hereafter known as "Mayekiso Trial"); Evidence of Moses Mayekiso, Lubbe Recordings p 2661

[7] This study has been influenced by the older literature on working class and ethnic spaces and places in Britain and the US, a literature which tends to take space for granted as a central part of the way in which the communities worked, but which does not explore it explicitly in many cases. See P Willmot and M Young, *Family and Class in East London*, Penguin, Harmondsworth 19 ; John T Cumbler, *Working Class Community in Industrial America: Work, Leisure and Struggle in Two Industrial cities 1880-1930*, Westport, Connecticut 1979; G Stedman-Jones, "Working Class Culture and Working Class Politics in London 1870-1900", *Journal of Social History* 7, 4, 1974 and many others. A South African interpretation of some of this literature appears in B Bozzoli, "Class, Community and Ideology in the Evolution of South African Society" in B Bozzoli (ed) *Class, Community and Conflict: South African Perspectives"*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg 1987

[8] See John Nauright, "The Mecca of Native Scum and a Running Sore of Evil: white Johannesburg and the Alexandra Township removal debate, 1935-1945", *Kleio* XXX, 1998 for a discussion of earlier removals in Alex, as well as a series of dissertations which cover the more recent history as well as the rebellion itself: C E Carter, "Comrades and Community: Politics and the Construction of Hegemony in Alexandra Township, South Africa 1984-7", unpublished PhD thesis, Oxford University 1991; K Jochelson, "Urban Crisis, State Reform and Popular Reaction: a Case Study of Alexandra", unpublished Honours dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand 1988; M Sarakinsky, "From Freehold Township to Model Township: a Political History of Alexandra 1905-1983", unpublished Honours dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand 1984; and Justine Lucas, "Space, Society and culture: Housing and Local Level Politics in a section of Alexandra Township 1991-1992", unpublished MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand 1995. Published works include: K Jochelson, "Reform, Repression and Resistance in South Africa: a case study of Alexandra Township 1979-89", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 16, 1, 1990

[9] See Clive Glaser, "Anti-Social Bandits, Juvenile Delinquency and the Tsotsis: Youth Gang Subculture on the Witwatersrand 1935-1960", unpublished MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand 1960, in which he names many gangs that were active in Alexandra in the period of his study, and whose influence upon the rebellion has not been explored, although it is extremely likely to have been powerful in shaping a culture of youth gang and mob behaviour which was certainly present in the 1980s. These are the gangs:

Name	*Date*	*Approx Size*	*Age Range*
Tuta Rangers	1941	150-180	15-30
Zorros' Fighting Legion	1947-53	"mob of tough youths"	"youths"
Spoilers	1952-59	250	18-21
Black Koreans	1953	?	?
"Six major gangs"	1953	about 500 combined	"youngsters"
MauMau	early 1950s	?	?
Stonebreakers	early 1950s	80+	older leadership, younger henchmen
ZP5	1950s	"little gang"	?
Benzine Boys	1958	?	?
CPZ	1959	?	?
Satan's Boys	1960	?	"youth"
Rope Gang	1961	?	13-20

[10] See, for example, AW Stadler, "Birds in the Cornfields: Squatter Movements in Johannesburg 1944-47", in B Bozzoli (ed) *Labour, Townships and Protest*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg 1979

[11] See T Lodge, and others.

[12] Ditches

[13] Wally Serote, "Alexandra" in (cd) *A Century of South African Poetry*

[14] See T M Lamont, with T Augustyn and S Marais, "Preliminary Report on a Socio-Economic Survey done in Alexandra" (unpublished, nd) a survey of 370 Heads of Households done in the 1980s, in which it is reported that 42,4% of respondents had lived there for more than 30 years, and 75% had relatives buried there.

[15] See Scott *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*.

[16] Leading to a fascinating exhibition of solidarity by Alex residents when Coloureds were forced by the state to "bus" their children to "Coloured" schools far away, when apartheid reached its height.

[17] See B Bozzoli, "Why were the 1980s 'millenarian': style, repertoire, space and authority in South Africa's black cities" *Journal of Historical Sociology* (forthcoming)
[18] There were many examples of rural resistance too, but they were rooted in different factors and followed a different trajectory and are not part of this discussion.
[19] See, for a brief insight into this boycott, E Gobey, L Guslandi and T Waspe, "Tomorrow Azikwelwa: This is your struggle, Let's work together: Alexandra Bus Boycott January – February 1984", Unpublished Third Year Research Project, University of the Witwatersrand 1984
[20] See Obed Bapela, "A short history of Ayco" unpublished ms prepared for the Mayekiso trial; see also the "Constitution of Ayco", pamphlet
[21] See Bapela history of Ayco again. See also Ayco evidence in Delmas trial, where Ayco was part of treason trial.
[22] . A bit of a power vacuum resulted towards the end of the year, which allowed space for adults to step in as we shall see (Bapela again)
Youths had been sent for training and were back infiltrating. One of them was Tshabalala.
A local trigger: the killing – accidental, when his grenade went off - of Vincent Tshabalala and subsequent funeral and crowd actions, violence, marches, and stoning of Buti's house. Any death symbolised oppression.
[23] See Mayekiso Trial, evidence of Moses Mayekiso, p 2908
[24] AAC Minutes, 2nd February 1986; exhibit at Mayekiso Trial.
[25] What exactly this metaphor means is not always clear. It is a phrase, together with words such as "rumblings" or "volcanic", are often used *ex post facto*, but I don't think this necessarily means something crucial did not exist – perhaps the shaking up of moral certainties, or the interference with sedimented memories of what spaces should be about?
[26] Two kinds of police were responsible for Alexandra – the Municipal Police, also called "Peri-urban" or "West Rand Administration Board" police by residents; and the South African Police (SAP) themselves, the national police force. Municipal police tended to live in the township, and were sometimes regarded as greater enemies than the SAP because of their role in policing rent payments and other local matters, although the SAP, too, had a fearsome reputation.
[27] Mzwanele Mayekiso, *Civic Struggles for a New South Africa: the Making of a Social Movement in Alexandra Township*, first draft of subsequently published book, unnumbered pages.
[28] *Sunday Star* 23rd February, 1986
[29] ibid
[30] Interview with Ashwell Zwane, December 1993
[30] Calls which themselves, it should be pointed out, were partly a result of township unrest in the first place. These ideas were prevalent
in both the ANC's "Radio Freedom", based in Lusaka, and its publication *Sechaba*. . Mzwanele Mayekiso's book, *Civic Struggles*, gives the best portrayal of this tension between youths and AAC . He suggests that the AAC ultimately gained the upper hand, although he perhaps underestimates the ongoing independence and spiritedness of the youth.
[32] It is important to note that these were Fosatu (later Cosatu), unions which had a strong tradition of focussing on material reality/experience, and on institutionalising democratic structures with systems of accountability and answerability.
[33] AAC Minutes of 2nd February 1986 exhibit in Mayekiso Trial.
[34] Mayekiso Trial, evidence of Richard Mdakane, p.2405).
[35] Mayekiso Trial, evidence of Lillian Nkuna, p. 451.
[36] Mayekiso Trial, evidence of MM Zeelie, pp. 519-20.
[37] Supreme Court of South Africa (Witwatersrand Local Division), 1987, The State vs Ashwell M Zwane, Vusi A Ngwenya, Andrjew Mafutha, David Mafutha, Arthur S Vilakazi, Albert A Sebola, Piet Mogano and Phillemon C Phalongwane, before the Honourable Mr Justice Grosskopf, (Case No 50/87) (hereafter known as "Zwane Trial"), Trial Exhibit XXX, mentioned in evidence by A Zwane, p. 2144, Lubbe recordings. See also Interview with Mr J van Zyl, October 1992. This particular policeman had worked in Alexandra for 20 years, and his death was mentioned by one observer as a crucial point in the evolution of the war. Zwane Trial, evidence of Colonel Dickinson, Page 1807.
[38] Mayekiso Trial, evidence of Moses Mayekiso, page 2945). The word "children" can be a mistranslation and actually refer to "youth", but some very young people were indeed involved, some as young as 8 or 10.
[39] Zwane Trial, evidence of Ashwell Zwane p. 2543
[40] Mayekiso Trial, evidence of Moses Mayekiso, p 2942
[41] Transvaal Students Congress

[42] Funeral pamphlet, exhibit from Mayekiso Trial
[43] Mayekiso Trial, evidence of MM Nxumalo, p 180-1
[44] Wynberg Police Station, Johannesburg, Incident Book, incident no. .MR 258/2/86. Her name was also reported as being Lucia Ndzondza; or Mono Lucy Ledwaba. and it was as Lucia Ledwaba that she was later buried.
[45] Wynberg Police Station, Ops Book, February 1986; Exhibit TTT, Zwane Trial.
[46] Mayekiso Trial, evidence of MM Nxumalo, p 182.
[47] Estimates ranged from 6000 people at the least, 11000 people at a middling estimate, and 13000 people at the most.
[48] The question of symbolism and ideology is so important and complex that it will be treated in a separate paper.
[49] Zwane Trial, evidence of A Sebola p. 2546
[50] This was estimated by one observer at about 5 000; see Black Lawyers' Association "Dark City: Report on Unrest in Alexandra" pamphlet, October 1986, Johannesburg.
[51] Zwane Trial, evidence of A Sebola, p. 2547
[52] Mayekiso Trial, evidence of Richard Mdakane, p 2112-3
[53] *The Star,* 16th February 1986
[54] Black Lawyers' Association, "Dark City" p 4
[55] Richard Mdakane's evidence
[56] Mayekiso Trial, evidence of Paul Tshabalala, p 3722
[57] *Sunday Times*, February 23rd 1986 (tbc)
[58] Zwane Trial, exhibit TTT
[59] *Sunday Star*, 16th February 1986.
[60] *The Star* 17th February 1986
[61] *Sunday Times* 16th February 1986
[62] *Sunday Times* 16th February 1986
[63] ibid
[64] ibid
[65] *The Star* 17th February 1986
[66] *The Sunday Star* 16th February 1986
[67] *The Sowetan*, 7th March 1986
[68] See the *Sunday Times* 16th February 1986; and *The Star* 17th February 1986
[69] Mayekiso Trial, evidence of MM Zeelie p. 520-1
[70] *Sunday Times* 16th February 1986
[71] Mzwanele Mayekiso, *Civic Struggles* p. (tbc)
[72] In addition to Lucy Ledwaba (Ndzondza), three deaths were recorded as having taken place on this day: Ruben Mohlomi: an "unknown black male" and Toy (Tony) Meyers. Mayekiso Trial, record of deaths during six-day war, compiled for the defence.
[73] *Sunday Times* 23rd February 1986
[74] This figure seems unlikely, but many Alexandra residents will claim even today that the true numbers of deaths have never been revealed.
[75] Wynberg Police Records, alex mr 255/2/86 go 31/86
[76] *The Sowetan* 17th February 1986
[77] Mzwanele Mayekiso, *Civic Struggles*

[79] Mayekiso Trial, evidence of Paul Tshabalala pp 3272-4
[80] They were: Alfred Mvandaba, Jacob Maruka, Steven Sithole, Mlungisi Mkhize and Amos Ramokhibitsane. See Mayekiso file on six-day war, list of six-day war deaths.
[81] Mzwanele Mayekiso, *Civic Struggles* tbc
[82]Mayekiso Trial, evidence of Paul Tshabalala, p 3724
[83] *Sunday Times* 23rd February 1986
[84] Mayekiso Trial, evidence of MM Zeelie, p 2555.
[85] Mayekiso Trial, evidence of MM Zeelie p 523. Photographs of the body are in the trial record, as Exhibits k and k1.
[86] According to Mdakane: "When we got there they were holding a Bishops' conference. They allowed us to present the matter about Alexandra. We explained the problem we came about to them. They listened to it and the following bishops were then elected: Bishop Tutu, Reverend Stanley Makobe, Dr Beyers Naude, Dr Alan Boesak, and the president of the SACC, Bishop Manas Buthelezi, who agreed that they would personally got to Alexandra township to go and see for themselves, in order to talk to

the people and the police, to stop the fighting that was taking place...They would also talk about the problem of the police not accepting our problems" Mayekiso Trial, evidence of Richard Mdakane, p 2193

[87] It was held at one Sarah Mthembu's house, at 31 7th Avenue which, after the killing of Sarah's son Jerry, was to become one of the most well known Peoples' Courts.

[88] The elected executive was: *Chairperson:* Moses Mayekiso, *Vice-Chairperson:* John Grant, *Secretary*: Richard Mdakane, *Treasurer*: Kola Mayekiso, *Vice-Treasurer:* Mapula Morare. It is significant that the two latter posts were held by women, and yet women did not figure in the state's (or in academic) perceptions of the powers behind the AAC. The place of gender in the rebellion deserves separate treatment.

[89] Edited AAC minutes, 18th February 1986

[90] Mayekiso Trial, evidence of Richard Mdakane, p 2136

[91] Mayekiso Trial, evidence of Paul Tshabalala, p 3773 Later in his testimony, he denies that Hlubi was burnt by a peoples' court:

You also said that the youth had taken powers into their hands. What did you mean with that?...My experience was that I said that because after seeing what I saw and for instance they burnt Johanna Hlobi. When a person does such things, it means he takes the law into his hands. *So, it was the youth and the people's court that decided to burn Johanna Hlobi?*...I am not sure if it was the people's court. I did not hear that it was the people's court and the boys concerned there, whilst we were in custody, I saw them attending that trial and they were sentenced in this building. It was not the boys who belong to the people's court. It was just youth. Mayekiso Trial, evidence of Paul Tshabalala, p 3837. See also Zwane Trial, evidence of (28) Johanna Hlubi's name appeared on the programme for the mass funeral of 5th March, but she was actually not buried with the other victims of police violence.

[92] Reports of this death vary. Unknown who shot him. "voorval was nie gerapporteer." Reported in Ops book that a black constable shot at him from a casspir. Report in GO register that he was "shot by police" on the 18th.

[93] They were: Solomon Mosue, Wilson Molepo., Neil Williams, Jerry Mthembu, Bonuyana Madalane, Alfred Radebe, Jerry Smuts and Mercy Tshabalala. See Mayekiso file on six-day war, list of people shot. Official statistics were mentioned in Parliament as well: "Confirming the unrest, Mr Vlok said it had resulted from the death of a black man caused by a night watchman in an Asian shop. " Nineteen people had been killed, 16 from gunshot wounds as a result of police action, and 37 wounded of which 27 were shot by police, since unrest had flared on Saturday. One policeman had died of panga wounds caused by rioters and two other people had died from burn wounds also caused by rioters. Of the ten people not injured by police shooting, five were policemen burnt by petrol bombs, and five were civilians injured by rioters, one of whom had been shot and four were injured by stone-throwers. 130 incidents of violence had occurred so far. (SAPA report, for 20th February 1986)

[94] Mzwanele Mayekiso, *Civic Struggles.*

[95] Zwane Trial, evidence of A Sebola, p 2557

[96] Jane Mabala's story, *Sunday Times* 23rd February 1986

[97] Alex MR 286/26 GO 41/86.

[98] GO 40/86

[99] GO 39/86

[100] Mayekiso Trial, evidence of Richard Mdakane, p 2423

[101] Jane Mabala saw it like this: "There was a mass meeting at the stadium on Tuesday, but I could not make it because I had to look after my eight year old daughter and some grandchildren while my daughters went to the stadium. Just then I saw soldiers armed with rifles going towards the stadium. As they went nearer I prayed to God that we should not have another Sharpeville. I could see it coming. But Bishop Tutu defused the situation. He pleaded with the mobs not to fight the police. He warned it would be a massacre. All the same there was still gunfire in the evening, which I can't understand as I thought Bishop Tutu had brought peace to the township", *Sunday Times* 23rd February 1986

[102] Later on, when he was cross-examined, Tshabalala explained that this means of mobilising support for meetings was new:

. *Was it in Alexandra a common thing or a general pattern that the youths came around to tell people that there was a meeting or there was a night vigil or there was a funeral?*...In the past there was no such thing. This thing started happening in 1986 during those times..... *Were you afraid of the youths?... They were armed with sjamboks.* .I was not afraid. *Not at all during, at any time during that period?...At times they were fearsome.* I think I did give evidence that they burnt Mrs Hlubi. Now at certain times one, if you saw them, you would be afraid, but not always afraid. Mayekiso Trial, evidence of Paul (Tshabalala p.3817-8

[103] Mayekiso Trial, evidence of Ricky Valente, p 4215
[104] Mayekiso Trial, evidence of Ricky Valente, p 3725
[105] Mayekiso Trial, evidence of Ricky Valente, pp: 4171-2
[106] *The Sowetan*, 7th March 1986.
[107] AAC Minutes, 18th February 1986 " The people decided to have "The struggle must continue" as their organising logo"
...Since the Township is basically a working class place, therefore the house agreed to have the red flag - to symbolise the worker's struggle - as colour of the organisation" and "It was decided that there should be flat (flag) symbolising prosperous future of the Alexandra residents in their struggle for their rights - decent life like proper housing, proper electrification etc...The house decided that the logo, emblem, flat (flag) colour should be used as an organising theme until the Augoral Congress where residents shall decide about their future logo, emblem and colour"
[108] If you were arrested you would be charged with a crime; if detained you could be kept in prison without charge for varying lengths of time, under much less controlled circumstances.
[109] Mayekiso file on six-day war.
[110] The meeting included the following people: Bishop Manas Buthelezi (President of the SACC), Bishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Beyers Naude (General Secretary SACC), Dr Allan Boesak, Rev L Louw (Western Province Council of Churches Chairman),
Mr M Beea (Chairman of Alexandra Civic Association) On the Government's side, besides Vlok: Dr Daan Prinsloo, personal adviser to state President, Colonel Cloete, SA Police, Dr DAS Herbst, and Mr Vivier: Mayekiso file on Six Day War.
[111] Press Release, General Mayekiso file
[112] Because of this paper's focus on internal systems of social existence and action, it does not contain a formal discussion of the policies and approaches of the exile movement. This is not to imply that the movement was not important – of course its directives and its training and return of young operatives profoundly shaped the ideas of some of the leading protagonists. But internal systems of power and action are no less important and at times the exile movement appeared to be reacting to what was happening on the ground rather than shaping it.
[113] This section is a summary of the argument in a separate paper to be devoted to the "War of the Streets".
[114]See the Zwane Trial, evidence of P B Botha, pp 294-301.
[115] Zwane Trial, evidence of A Sebola, p 2570
[116] For evidence of this see Mayekiso Trial, evidence of various witnesses, pp. 858, 3030; 2275-6;and others.
[117] Uncontested evidence, Mayekiso Trial, p 1765)
[118] *City Press* June 8 1986. The AAC continued with their hostility to brutal acts, and condemned the killing on 10th June 1986.
[119] Mayekiso Trial, evidence of A Sebola, p 2730.
[120] Zwane Trial, evidence of Ashwell Zwane, pp 3673-4). One activist said the original youth groups had emerged spontaneously from the actions of the youth during the crucial period over the New Year when their leaders had been in jail. This would make them a particularly interesting phenomenon to study further.
[121] Zwane Trial, evidence of A Sebole, p 2773.
[122] Zwane Trial, evidence of in camera witness 23, pp 1676-96
[123] Zwane Trial, evidence of A Sebola, pp 2681-2
[124] South African Institute of Race Relations, *Race Relations Survey, 1986*, SAIRR, Johannesburg 1987, p 119)
[125] Zwane Trial, evidence of P B Botha, p 304.
[126] Zwane Trial, evidence of A Sebola, p.3679. See also the Consumer Boycott pamphlet issued at the time, a marvel of spatial consciousness.
[127] Zwane Trial, evidence of A Sebola, p 2643
[128] Zwane Trial, evidence of A Sebola, p 3711
[129] See Lianne Barker, Anthony Swart and Grant Warren, "The effects of the unrest on the lives of workers living in Alexandra", unpublished third year Research Project, Department of Sociology University of the Witwatersrand 1986. The researchers found a considerable degree of fear by older residents of their own children, and a sense that the younger generation would discipline them if they stepped out of line.
[130] Zwane Trial, evidence of A Sebola, p 2660 and p 3716.

[131] As is so suggestively portrayed in the theory of community construction through symbolism put forward by A Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*,

[132] Serious reports in the press about the operation of Peoples' Courts started appearing in about March; in April, it was said, people started "going to Peoples' Courts formally"; some said they went to "get justice" as late as April to June, including the period after the courts had been destroyed in the Vigilante Attack. See Zwane Trial documents, cutting on Peoples Court, Exhibit in Trial (tbc); Mayekiso Trial documents, separate file on Peoples Courts; also Mayekiso Trial, evidence of Richard Mdakane, pp 2193-5, and 2511-5. Some were issuing punishment with sjamboks, according to in camera witnesses in the Zwane Trial, p. 24-5

[133] Minutes of AYCO meeting 4 July 1986; and numerous photographs in Mayekiso Trial Exhibit Y. Other names were also referred to in the AYCO minutes of 2 June 1986; these included: Steve Biko, Moses Mphita and Communist Party.

[134] *The Sowetan*, 26 May 1986 tabled in the Mayekiso Trial as Exhibit VVV7 See also Zwane Trial, evidence of in camera witness 19 pp 1738-

[135] See Mayekiso and Zwane Trials Exhibit: Peoples' Court Minutes (tbc).

[136] Zwane Trial, evidence of A Sebola, p 2305.

[137] During March and April Councillors, the Town Clerk and the Mayor all resigned.

[138] Zwane Trial, evidence of P Botha, p 301

[139] Mayekiso Trial, evidence of Paul Tshabalala, p. 3798

[140] See Mayekiso Trial, evidence of various witnesses, pp 2984; 3790; 2257

[141] See Mayekiso Trial, evidence of various witnesses, pp 3038;3896; 3899; 3801; 4093

[142] The concept of the "true comrade" is an interesting one, which many participants in the period refer to. True comrades lived by their ideals, were extremely well educated politically (usually through self-education in their own study-groups) and deeply committed to the struggle.

[143] .See Mayekiso Trial, evidence of Paul Tshabalala p 3849

144 See Zwane Trial, evidence of in camera witness, pp1298-33; and Mayekiso Trial, file on Vigilante Attack.

[145] Zwane Trial, evidence of in camera witness, p 524

[146] The SADF was called in in May/June as a result of barricades having been erected was how P Botha saw it (Zwane Trial, p 277-391)

[147] Z301-2

[148] Mayekiso has, since the release of Mandela and the unbanning of the Communist Party, said he is a member of the Communist Party. Whether he was during these years is unclear.

[149] M Isserow and D Everatt with T Yanta and M Schneider, for the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE), "Determining our Own Development: a community-based socio-economic profile of Alexandra", Case, Johannesburg 1998, p 95.

[150] See B Bozzoli, "Public Ritual and Private Transition: the Truth Commission in Alexandra Township South Africa 1996", *African Studies* 57, 2, 1998
