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Cultural trends and community formation in a South African township: Sharpeville, 1943-1985.

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ordinary labourer. Like the members of the Beavers, both Macheli and Marokoane were interested in the music broadcasted by LM radio, listening together and then attempting to copy out the lyrics of songs they heard.[65] Macheli had an acoustic guitar which belonged to his uncle, and he and Marakoane used to take it to members of the Beavers to tune.[66] They would listen to the music on the radio, then attempt to play it by ear. As with the members of the Beavers, they were inspired by groups such as the Beatles and the Rolling Stones.[67] It was Macheli's idea to form the band:

> The guy [Macheli] wanted to form a band. He was very intelligent. He was a little bit older than me ... They [Macheli's parents] were rich at that place; they were owning kombis and everything, and they were just buying everything for him. People were poor, poor. I was poor, but I was talented and he just fetched me. Then I went along with him.[68]

Next, Macheli enlisted three school friends at Lekoa Shandu High School who had similar interests in music, Stephen Molefe, Abram Modisakeng and Stanley Thipe.[69] As with the Beavers, the Hurricanes did not have much experience in the way of playing instruments: "We [Macheli and Marokoane] had an acoustic guitar and we were playing together ... The other guys ... couldn't play either. We started from scratch."[70] Unlike the Beavers, however, the Hurricanes did not have to wait until they could afford to buy instruments before they began to play. The Beavers let them borrow their instruments to practise with until they were able to purchase their own. And when it came to purchasing

instruments, the Beavers were able to assist as well. Jonas Chaka from the Beavers explains:

> That's why I am saying it was a family of different groups. Anyone who starts to mushroom, they just come to us, "can you help us, we've got to get an instrument?" We say "Okay fine, what type of instrument do you need?" Now with our experience as far as instruments are concerned, we say "Okay fine, how much can you afford?" We would then go into town, a whole bunch of us, something like twenty or fifteen guys, going there to help one guy select a guitar. And then from there when they have their instruments ready, even if the whole set is not complete we would just sacrifice a practice session, and so whenever we had a practice, we would say "come on, chaps, play", and then we help them shape up their music. That was the trend and we were pleased, because in actual fact, these guys were following us.[71]

This act of groups aiding and supporting one another is similar to the way the football team, the Vaal Professionals, was formed. Both musicians and football players, and, indeed, boxers and dressers, had to team together in order to achieve a measure of success outside of Sharpeville. But, along with support for each other was the need for support from the local community and, as with the bands before them, the Hurricanes began by playing at weddings and other social events in Sharpeville in order to generate this support. Like previous bands, they too placed the money they earned from these events toward buying better instruments:

> We were playing at weddings and earning money from playing at these weddings, and putting it towards buying instruments. We also used to play at beauty contests and all that ... [We received] R75, it was quite a lot of money at that time.[72]

They also joined the pilgrimage of musicians to the recording studios in the hope of securing a recording contract. Unlike the Beavers, however, here the Hurricanes were successful:

> ... we went to studios ourselves, studios like Gallo, Trutone, and the RPM was the third studio. So we went there and they used to have a black talent scout and record producer, Thomas Masingi. So Thomas Masingi auditioned us. So when we were in the studio, Mr Dan Hill, he was a talent scout and record producer for white bands, but he became interested in us. So we entered the studio and he told Thomas that he must give us a contract, so that's how it all started.[73]

The fact that, despite not playing mbaqanqa music, their music was recorded reflected not a changing attitude on the part of the SABC but a boom in the recording industry. In the late 1960s, a number of new recording companies were set up, such as RPM, David Gresham's recording company, later Clive Calder's Promotions (CCP), WEA (Warner, Elektra, Atlanta), Entertainment Distributors and Reveille Music.[74] According to Lunn, the emergence of these companies:

> ... followed a pattern typical of the industry. Whenever the big companies are doing well and there is a plethora of music, much of which the big companies resist recording, small companies emerge, grow on the more specialised market ...[75]

Initially these companies concentrated on only white pop music, but soon turned to the black market. The result was that while mbaqanqa remained their major focus, other forms of music began to be considered, particularly, because of its popularity, that of soul.

In 1972, "Khutlela Ho Nna", composed by Jacob Macheli, was the Hurricanes' first recording, followed by "Misery." The two most successful compositions were "I can feel it" and "Expression of Love". The record, "I can feel it" (RPM 926) became an instant hit and became the first record by a group in the Vaal Triangle to receive a gold disc for sales in excess of 25 000. Released in 1972, it remained on the The World newspaper's "Top Ten" hits until 1974, eventually winning, in all, three gold discs.[76] "I can feel it" was followed with a string of hits. "Expressions of Love" (RPM 965), released in 1973, received two gold discs, and while "Say it" (RPM 998), also released in 1973, received one. Ironically, it was a member of the never-to-be recorded Beavers, Peter Modisakeng, who wrote both "Expressions of Love" and "I can feel it." This was evidence of the extent to which the music groups in Sharpeville were supportive of each other, as Beavers' member Jonas Chaka explains:

> ... we used to help each other, we were just a family of groups together. We'd go there and help the others, try to shape their music. Mainly we would play the major role in shaping their music because some of our compositions, we felt that they weren't exactly our direction or style and then just give it to them.[77]

That the Hurricanes reaped most of the reward did not appear to be a problem for the members of the Beavers:

> ... we were the influence and people were seeing that the Beavers were the pioneers. That was more to our advantage than it was to them. Everybody would say, hell, we have the Hurricanes, but, boy, watch the Beavers.[78]

By being involved in the success of the Hurricanes, the Beavers were proving that they, the music groups from Sharpeville, were a force to be reckoned with. But, taken alone, because they were not known outside of Sharpeville, they had only their local audience in which to enjoy this accomplishment. For the Hurricanes, however, success meant having to rely less upon the local support-base.

Masingi saw in the Hurricanes the potential to sell a good deal of records not only in South Africa, but across the border as well. Masingi organised for them to perform concerts in Malawi, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana. Masingi played an important role for the Hurricanes, although he too benefited from their success:

> Thomas Masingi was like a manager to us. He was helping us with everything. He was like a father to us. He would leave South Africa and go to Zimbabwe to see how our records were selling and all that. When he came back he would tell us to go there and play there. We would go there and find everybody waiting for us. He was also benefiting from that, he was getting royalties as well from our record sales.[79]

Masingi was clearly performing the role of a patron for the Hurricanes and was the band's link to national, and indeed international (of a sort), success. But he was not a patron of the kind focused upon thus far in the thesis - that is, his influence on Sharpeville itself was minimal.

From the moment they cut their first record, the Hurricanes began to receive a sizeable income. With their first royalty cheque - a sum of R3 000 - and with a advance of R2 000, they bought the rest of their instruments. After their first tour to Zimbabwe, in 1973, they had earned enough to buy a Volkswagen Kombi for touring. But, despite sizeable record sales, the Hurricanes received the bulk of their income from live performances both within and without South Africa. Royalties from recordings were a mere five cents per record sold - 2 1/2c was the artist's royalty and 2 1/2c went to the composer. For live performances, after they had recorded their first single, they received an amount of R750 per show. After a year of performing for R750, they realised they could earn even more if they organised their own shows. This was indeed the case and their earnings increased substantially, reaching up to R9 000. The tours themselves were exhausting. They would last between three and nine weeks, and the band would perform up to five shows per week:

> ... we were on the road every month, every month we were on the road. We used to go for about six weeks, be at home for about a week, and then go on tour again for about nine weeks.[80]

As the group became more successful, so their need for local community support diminished, and they began to play less and less in the Vaal Triangle. Because they, like other groups, defined success in terms of that

achieved outside of the community, once this was attained it lessened the importance of their local support-base. Indeed, while Macheli claimed that "the Sharpeville fans were the loudest at our shows and festivals," he recalled that the group's most memorable concert occurred in 1976 at the Gwanzura Stadium in Highfield, Harare, Zimbabwe.[81] In 1977 the group disbanded, not through lack of support from the community, but because their popularity outside of the country was waning and they were not earning quite the amount of money they had become accustomed to.[82]

The Hurricanes were followed by the Black Five who were also successful in attaining recording contracts, and were also characterised by achieving success outside of the community. But the Black Five differed from previous bands in Sharpeville in that they were controlled by a patron-manager, the process of which eventually lead to their controversial disbanding in 1985.

The Black Five and "Hippie Style"

The Black Five formed in 1971 and, like their predecessors, had to wait nearly as long as the Hurricanes before attaining a measure of success. According to ex-drummer, Moses "Shakes" Radebe, they were successful because they were among the first bands to

perform "Hippie Style": "We were the first band to play that type of music. It was called "Hippie Style". It was very popular."[83] According to Lunn, "hippies" were not at all prevalent in the Soweto during the early 1970s, and at most, numbered about two to three hundred.[84] According to Lunn, this group:

> ... were like white hippies in their message of peace and love, "happenings", dagga smoking and psychedelic clothing and music ... the black hippies are the only example of a subcultural grouping in South Africa that crossed the racial Maginot line.[85]

For Lunn, the style black hippies portrayed did not extend to the rest of their peer group, who, in particular, scorned their manner of dressing.[86] In the Vaal Triangle, however, it appears that the hippie movement was popular, if only in its overt features - particularly in the realm of attire. Further, according to this newspaper report, the region was following the example of Soweto:

> The Vaal Complex will have their first hippie "happening" at the new Sebokeng stadium on Saturday afternoon to choose "Mr and Miss Hippie". The hippie craze has become an "in" thing and the Vaal does not want to be left behind. In Soweto, hippies seem to grow in numbers like mushrooms.[87]

Philip Marakoane maintains that "hippie style" was particularly popular in Sharpeville:

> ... it [hippie style] was popular. Everybody would say "HIPPIEEE"! But people are clever. They can't just call anybody hippie, I mean, you must have that full uniform of it, so you can be called hippie, especially the "bell-bottom". It must be larger and you must wear it "internationally". When you stand the trouser must reach exactly, you must go to a tailor who can tell you it fits you, and you must exercise for the body to have that figure to fit the uniform.[88]

Whether the hippies in Sharpeville adhered closely to the style of the hippie movement at large is unclear, but it seems that it was primarily the movement's novelty that sustained interest. Indeed, the fact that Marakoane insisted on being clothed at a tailor was totally at odds with the original "hippie" style, which featured loose-fitting clothes, hand-made garments, beads and sandals.

For the Black Five, this "hippie style" became the basis for their first single. "Sammy's Mood", released in 1974, which eventually received a super disc for sales in excess of 75 000 copies. Their music was, however, soul orientated and certainly did not represent the types of psychedelic music youth across the globe were listening to, such as that of Pink Floyd, Jethro Tull and Jimi Hendrix.

The Black Five had a very strong local following among the youth and young adults in Sharpeville. While the Black Five members consider their best concerts to have occurred in locations such as Gaborone, Botswana and

Swaziland, their fans recall the concerts they performed at the local communal hall:

> The show that you won't forget in your life was held at the Sharpeville communal hall, where the Black Five was performing with Babsy Mhlangeni. Babsy Mhlangeni and his group they were very weak for the Black Five. We nearly turned the hall upside down![89]

Many of the supporters of the Black Five in Sharpeville refer to the fact that they were proud of the Black Five: "... you were born in Sharpeville and so you were proud of the Black Five ..."[90] This, then, is a clear example of the tension between local support and outside accomplishment. For the Black Five, it did not matter how successful they were at home or what the size was of their local support-base, because they sought success more widely - in the national or even the international arena. Nevertheless, it was local supporters who provided the initial impetus for this success and set them on the road to stardom.

Ultimately, however, allegiance to local groups in Sharpeville was replaced with support for national and international artists. The 1980s saw the advent of open air concerts at the Vaal showgrounds, next to Sharpeville, as well as at the George Thabe Stadium, featuring top national groups such as Harari, Malopoets, Yvonne Chaka Chaka and Brenda Fassie. Young people interviewed (under the age of thirty years) specified artists such as Michael Jackson, Quincy Jones and even Chris de Burgh as favourites and only if prompted,

mentioned local groups or singers. As with the example of football and, indeed, other cultural activities as well, such as the gang sub-culture, this would also reflect a trend away from parochialism.

Despite the success of the Black Five, however which made the group highly visible in the public eye, its history has been extremely difficult to uncover. This was due largely to the controlling influence over the band by its manager, Solly Khoali. Khoali's management of the Black Five has close similarities with the patron-manager theme associated with football. Indeed, as with football teams, music groups required the financial means to acquire the necessary equipment, in this case, instruments. The groups discussed thus far were able to secure instruments through their own means. The Black Five, however, were unable to, and, from 1975, by supplying them with their instruments, Khoali ma ged, or, more accurately, "owned", the band.

Patronage and musical performance

The exploitation of artists has been a common feature of black music in South Africa. David Thekwane's mismanagement of the Soweto-based group, the Movers, is a particularly revealing example. In 1969, Thekwane bought the Movers new instruments and registered its name under

his own. He then began to hire and fire musicians for the band, introducing contracts for members to sign, while not permitting them to read the small print.[91] Despite their success, members received little remuneration, while Thekwane maintained his authority by force, as leader of the group, Oupa Hlangwane describes:

> ... when we were playing in Pietermaritzburg, I asked Thekwane why we never got royalties although we had more than 16 gold discs. Before I could even complete what I was saying, I ended up with a broken arm and a swollen face.[92]

Thekwane was not the only known case of a manager/promoter who exploited his clients. Elliot Makhaya, writing for the Post, noted that:

> Promoters and producers have become people out to make a fortune without caring for the welfare of musicians. The fat become fatter and musicians are driven into a reluctant diet programme.[93]

Lunn has observed the role managers of music groups have assumed:

> Managers ... are middlemen who control a performer or group's finances, and, in some instances, offer capital to a group so that they can establish themselves.[94]

It is this offer of capital that leads to control and exploitation, and many groups prefer if possible to do without a manager. In Sharpeville, the Sharpetown Swingsters, the Beavers and the Hurricanes are examples of such groups. Before they formed, members of the Sharpetown Swingsters had experienced the control of a manager when they played for His Majesty's Band in the early 1950s.[95]

Aspiring to become the manager of a music group, Khoali[96] bought instruments for an unnamed mbaqanga group in Sharpeville in the early 1970s. Its lack of success saw Khoali repossess his instruments which resulted in the collapse of the band.[97] Next, Khoali approached the Hurricanes, who rejected his offer of management and, finally, he signed a contract with the members of the Black Five. In so doing, he assumed complete control over the band. Philip Marakoane, whose younger brother played for the band, related his knowledge of Khoali's relationship with the band:

> He [Khoali] was using something like "I bought your instruments, guys" to control them. Well, he did buy them instruments ... [but] ... he gave them papers to sign under him for the rest of their lives. The guys [Black Five] couldn't see because they were so excited. They were not interested to know about music contracts and so on. He [Khoali] would make them practise from 6am until ten in the night, giving them scrap food like bread and tea. I mean, that was not how to handle the people.[98]

Ten years later, the group split over disagreement with Khoali regarding the payment of royalties to band members:

> ... they [the Black Five] were angry over the royalties for double-albums that the manager [Khoali] had collected from Johannesburg with their concern.[99]

During interviews, its members were unwilling to discuss the group's controversial 1985 split over disagreements concerning the distribution of royalty payments by Khoali. This was as much as I was able to ascertain about

the reasons for the group's disbanding in 1985. Furthermore, the members of the Black Five whom I interviewed were reluctant to discuss any issue pertaining to Khoali, no matter how uncontroversial. Ex-drummer, Moses "Shakes" Radebe, was extremely reluctant to grant me an interview. He agreed to answer only certain questions. When I asked him how the members of the group had obtained their instruments, he would not respond. All the members I spoke to expressed the desire to re-group, but seemed unable to do so as a result of the controversy resulting from the split in 1985.

Thus, as in the example of football patron-managers, the control and power generated by the patrons seemed to persist even after the relationship with their clients has ended. Conversely, as the example of the Black Five seems to indicate, while the overt signs of the relationship disappeared there was still a level of covert control although the exact reason for this is not clear. Still, both the examples of football and music patrons indicate the divisiveness and disruptiveness these relationships involve.

Just as in football, where, since the early 1980s, individual players in Sharpeville have started focusing on the bigger teams and by the late 1980s preferred to

leave Sharpeville rather than remaining with any of the local teams, so there was an exodus of Sharpeville musicians:

> What happens now is that if we have a talented guy, he would leave here and join other bands in Johannesburg, like Vernon Molefe. Oupa Poho went. Nana Modijwe, "Coyote", left here and joined the guys out there in Johannesburg.[100]

Some of the musicians who began with the Black Five attained a measure of success outside of Sharpeville. Nana "Coyote" Modijwe recorded with the now internationally renown group, Stimela, and was voted the best South African male vocalist in 1988. Oupa Poho sided with one of well-known singer Steve Kekana's backing musicians, Paul Ndlovu, to form The Street Kids, in 1984. Finally, Thami Sobekoa, also known as the "Rainbow Man", pursued a successful solo career and produced a series of successful recordings.

As in football, the ability on the part of Sharpeville to provide a firm support base for its musicians gradually petered out and, ultimately, the lure of the big city proved too powerful. Community support proved to be simply not enough to provide the nuts and bolts of a successful career, defined in financial terms.

Conclusion

In sum, it was the organic relationship between musicians and the community of Sharpeville, as well as the unique relationship amongst the musicians themselves, which ensured the survival of music groups in Sharpeville up until the early 1980s. Both of these relationships were a result of the need for success outside of the community, an achievement which demonstrated to the outside world that Sharpeville was a force to be reckoned with. However, the lure of "big city" success, once attained, outweighed the importance of the "organic relationship" between the music band and its community. This fact was reflected in the difference between groups in Sharpeville which remained active - and the groups which did not - such as the Hurricanes. Once jazz had lost its popularity, the Sharpetown Swingsters accepted the importance of the community for their survival, a point which was made in Chapter Three. The Beavers and the Hurricanes, however, did not, and eventually disbanded as success in a wider arena than the community became impossible. Local support for local bands also diminished as younger residents began to express their preference for national and international groups.

Finally, the cultural identity which Sharpeville fought to maintain over the decades from 1960 to 1985 dissipated and, by the later 1980s - as the examples of individual football players and musicians indicate - successful cultural proponents were more likely to leave the township than to assert themselves. Indeed, the struggle between the magnet of the big city and the local identity of a small country town was, for the moment, been won by the former.

CONCLUSION

Through examining a number of cultural forms in Sharpeville an attempt has been made in this thesis to understand and explain the process of community formation, identity and unity in the township. It has been argued that, conceptually, "community" is never static; rather, it is a state of existence, a perception, for a grouping of people. At a given time they may consider themselves to collectively be part of or constitute a community; at another, their attachments may be to a different entity - the local neighbourhood, for example. Essential to the argument has been the insistence upon the subject's perception of belonging and the way it is transmitted to those outside of it. But it does not ignore the structural factors which - whether they desire it or not - draw groupings of people together, thereby providing the foundation for communal expression.

Most approaches to conceptualising both "culture" and "community" have emphasized either the structural features or the role of human agency. The concern in

Chapter One then, was to establish how to treat culture analytically conjoint with that of community. At the outset it was suggested that the two concepts are vague and difficult to utilise and therefore required careful consideration. In approaching culture it was argued that cultural analysis must be addressed both from the point of view of emphasising the role and importance of the actor (Geertz) as well as the structural features - the material conditions of existence (Structuralism). A further criterion for cultural analysis was that it should stress the relations of domination and subordination. Here the Gramscian-developed concept of "hegemony" was introduced: "hegemony" articulates the process or the struggle whereby dominant groups attempt to impose their cultural "way of thinking" upon dominated groupings.

These insights, it was argued, are not new to South African studies. But it was suggested that those analyses which have utilised them have, in many instances, been flawed by either over-emphasising class at the expense of other pertinent factors, such as race and community - as, for example, in the work of Koch - or by underplaying

class - as was evident in that of Lunn. Studies which do take cognizance of these factors, such as that of Coplan, are undermined by an inconsistent examination: factors such as class disappear when new ones, such as community are introduced. It was argued that even the more rigorous analyses, such as that of la Hausse, have ignored the context in which the European (and American) theoretical contributions were developed. Thus, it was argued that Gramsci's concept of hegemony is often more applicable to analyses of the parliamentary process and that under apartheid the South African state was not involved in a struggle to maintain hegemonic control in the townships. Rather it was in a struggle to maintain - in Gramscian terms - direct rule. But it was conceded that, in the realm of cultural studies, the concept of hegemony facilitates an understanding of how subordinate groupings live, interpret their conditions of existence and, at certain moments, challenge their dominance.

In considering community, it was argued that anthropological contributions, specifically that of the concept of "networks," were useful as methods of research but not as theoretical constructs. In adequately

theorising community, the importance of the community's links with the society at large were stressed, and that the nature of these links are crucial in understanding a community's responses. In examining these links, the study considered Suttles' concept of the "defended neighbourhood" which, it was suggested, was constructive for community analysis, but flawed because it failed to both adequately explain the relations of domination between the community and wider society, as well as consider the internal stratifications. Class is extremely important here, as are the divisions both within and without the community. Finally, the image of the community in the minds of those who inhabit it is essential for community analyses. By considering the symbolic meaning of community for the human agents themselves, community becomes a cultural construct, a part of how people make sense of their material conditions of existence. It is thus the interplay between the structural factors and the responses and reactions of a community's residents which necessarily shape its development and identity.

In examining the formation and development of Sharpeville it was attempted to utilise the theoretical insights developed in Chapter One and thus, to consider the interaction between its structural features and the role of the residents in responding and reacting to them. In Chapter Two then, it was shown how many of the social patterns which existed in Top Location, the original black settlement area of Vereeniging, were replicated to some extent in the new township of Sharpeville. However, the over-riding influence was the removal of Top Location which, the chapter showed, was to some extent different to the explicitly forced removals which followed in other parts of South Africa. Indeed, because the first two phases of the removal were voluntary, there developed a rift between those people who chose to move and those who remained. Further, because these two phases were not forced, those who chose to move were able to maintain intact the original networks and neighbourhoods which had existed in Top Location. However, not all managed to survive unscathed as the last phase of the removal saw the remaining dwellers in Top Location moved with brutal swiftness to unknown locations in Sharpeville. It was argued that because the removal was effected in three

phases coupled with the way in which the residents of Top Location responded to it, there resulted in Sharpeville a situation of neighbourhood or area rivalry which was dramatically to influence the township's subsequent social and cultural development.

How this "lack of community" was expressed in cultural activities was the focus of both Chapters Three and Four. Here youth gangs, boxing and football, and styles of dress were considered. In each of these areas rivalry was evident although the intensity was dependent upon the nature of the activity: in gangs and in boxing - which are intrinsically aggressive - the rivalry was fierce and deeply-felt, while in styles of dress, it was moderate and subdued.

Youth gangs in Sharpeville expressed the area rivalry in the township most clearly. The majority of the gangs formed to "protect" their territory which, as was the case for the gang "Bafana ba Kioko", also included protecting "their" women. While the Vereeniging Town Council was successful in curbing the proliferation of youth gangs in the mid-1950s, it did not entirely

indicate them: the formation of gangs such as the "Berlins" and the "Cocktails" was evidence of this. These gangs drew their inspiration from the various cinematic villains they saw in films screened at the Sharpeville communal hall. The hall itself was very much part of the trends of area rivalry and its interior was divided along area lines to enable unimpeded viewing. Another remarkable aspect of these youth gangs was their style of confrontation: it emulated in the streets what boxers were enacting in the gymnasiums and was an indication of the importance of boxing during this time period.

Thus, in addition to the theme of rivalry, African interest in boxing on the Reef was considered. This, it was argued, is a badly neglected area of study given that boxing was perhaps as popular as performance music during the 1940s and 1950s, which has been more widely researched. Indeed, African interest in both boxing and music was the result of their identifying with successful black American performers and pugilists in the USA. The achievements of performers such as Duke Ellington and Count Basie, along with boxers such as Jack Johnson, were inspiration for Africans in South Africa: they provided

evidence of the "myth of white superiority". Boxing transformed the skills learned in township street battles into a formalised pastime which brought with it the added attraction of a chance of fame and success. White rule offered Africans little opportunity for accomplishment in any sphere. Boxing, while separated along racial lines within South Africa, knew no colour barriers at the highest - international - levels. The successes of boxers such as Jake Tuli proved to local Africans that, when permitted fair play, they could achieve the highest rewards. The accomplishments of Sharpeville boxers John Mthimkulu, Sexton Mabena and Carlton Monnakgotla saw boxing become enormously popular in the township, but clearly divided along area lines. Area rivalry saw the development of two fiercely opposed boxing clubs in the township: Central Boys - which had been established in Top Location - and Ferreira. The fact that the two rival boxing clubs in the township were firmly divided along area lines resulted in a standard of boxing in the township which saw Sharpeville become the centre of boxing on the Witwatersrand. This, in turn, was a factor

for unity between areas in later times as boxers sought to defend the status of the township in the African world of boxing.

Football was the final cultural form examined in Chapter Three. It was argued that, during the 1940s and 1950s, the sport was parochial and locally based: teams were the product of street sides and remained firmly rooted in the areas from which they developed. Those which had formed in Top Location - such as the Transvaal Jumpers - were disrupted by removal to Sharpeville: players were scattered throughout the township and those - such as Elliot Mpepo - who lived outside of the team's area base (Vukazenzele) became the exceptional players who played for sides in different areas. Like the previous cultural forms, football was also embroiled in the trends of area rivalry - as was evidenced by the formation of the Sharpeville Fast XI.

In Chapter Four it was demonstrated how, along with American cult-heroes, American consumer culture in general, developed into a fascination among Africans which reached cult proportions - as evidenced by the

gangs of "Americans" in both Sophiatown and Sharpeville. But while the "Americans" in Sophiatown were dependent upon illegal activities for a living, those in Sharpeville were drawn from its working class and were not linked to Sharpeville's gang subculture. In Sharpeville, the "cult fascination" with American consumer culture articulated with patterns of rivalry, as the dress competitions between the different groups of "Americans" at the popular shebeen, Maduna's Place, illustrated.

In Chapter Four it was shown that area rivalry was not the only division in Sharpeville. Class was another and patterns of class differentiation were evident in a number of leisure activities as well as styles of dress. Shebeens were divided more along class lines than upon area lines although it was suggested that residents in an area would more likely frequent local shebeens than venture outside of their areas. Musical performance was instrumental in drawing the different classes together, to, most frequently, "Two-Band Stage" competitions. Here the Sharpetown Swingsters were pitted against popular

bands from outside of Sharpeville, the most common being those from the Johannesburg area, setting in motion the process for a united Sharpeville community.

In Chapter Five the factors which altered the original structural composition of Sharpeville were examined: that is, how the township, divided as it had been, was transformed into a united "community under threat". The chapter argued that the circumstances which lead up to the Sharpeville shooting in 1960 along with the ensuing threat of removal to Sebokeng resulted in a situation of "community under threat." The result of this was that Sharpeville was in the process of evolving from a series of disunited groupings which had developed out of the nature of the removal from Top Location, into a community uniting in coping with both the effects of the shooting as well as the threat of removal.

In Chapters Six and Seven this "state of community" was considered in terms of its manifestation in the different cultural activities which had already been examined. It was shown how, despite becoming a "political symbol" as a result of the shooting, in the sphere of cultural

activity, Sharpeville had a position of cultural inferiority in relation to Soweto. This perception, it was argued, appears to have been based upon a disregard by urban dwellers, particularly those in Johannesburg's townships, for rural inhabitants. The chapter argued that the rivalry within Sharpeville became a rivalry with Soweto. Here, once firmly divided boxers now sought to defeat their Sowetan counterparts. The same trend occurred amongst the "Americans" and, in the 1970s, in football.

A second theme in Chapter Six was the lessening of parochialism which characterised cultural activities in Sharpeville from the 1960s. The gang-subculture in the township became more involved in the national prison culture. In football, this involved a transition to professionalism which, the chapter demonstrated, brought with it a greater unity and a lessening, though not disappearance of area rivalry, and the emergence of patron-managers. The formation of Sharpeville's first professional side, the Vaal Professionals, saw the township recoup the success their boxers had achieved a decade previously. But the success which saw Sharpeville

supporters transcend narrow area rivalries and express a sense of solidarity in the face of competition from other - mostly Soweto-based - professional sides, also witnessed a marked increase in football hooliganism. This, it was argued, was a result of the importance of success for Sharpeville players and supporters; without it they were relegated to the obscurity of "moegoes" or country bumpkins.

The second factor which accompanied the development of professional soccer was the emergence of soccer patrons or patron-managers. There were those, such as Ngwenya of the Transvaal Jumpers, who provided the necessary financial assistance for the development of football teams, or those who from their mastery of the rules and regulations, controlled the different sporting associations. Patrons provided funds or assumed control in the associations for status and prestige and became known as "men of means". Many utilised their prestige for political ends. In Sharpeville, this was most clearly evidenced by the example of George Thabe, who was able to

exercise his status in the football world for a position of political prominence in Sharpeville, and whose subsequent demise divided its football community.

The final chapter argued that the focus on Soweto by Sharpeville inhabitants reflected a tension between the need to embrace national cultural trends but, at the same time, maintain their identity. This was articulated in the idea of the "lure of the big city," and examined in the realm of musical performance. The chapter illustrated how the successive music groups in Sharpeville relied upon local community support to establish themselves, but, by defining success in terms of national and even international standards, sought to prove themselves beyond simply the local community. This, the chapter argued, resulted in a situation where music bands, such as the Beavers and the Hurricanes, disbanded because they found themselves in-between success within the local community and success beyond that. Other groups, such as the Sharpetown Swingsters, accepted their inability to go beyond the local community and have utilised it to their advantage to become what is arguably the longest surviving music band in South Africa.

It was concluded by suggesting that this tension between the lure of the big city and the local identity of Sharpeville, as a small country town, was being "won" by the former, as successful cultural proponents from Sharpeville - such as footballers, Augustine Makalakalane and Love Monnakgotla, and musicians, Nana "Coyote" Modijwe and Thami Sobekoa - were now more likely to abandon Sharpeville for Johannesburg, than attempt to assert the identity of Sharpeville - as the boxers in the early 1960s had done.

Sharpeville's history in the political sphere has been well-documented in both academic scholarship as well as in popular writing. In general, it could be argued that most histories of black communities in South Africa have been considered in either political or social terms as part of the unfolding of their struggle to deal with and react against the system of apartheid. This study has demonstrated the importance of cultural expression in the creation of community identity, which has an important bearing on its political identity. Indeed, cultural expression is often overlooked in political analyses.

Thus, the various writings which have sought to explain the 1984 upheavals and subsequent rent boycott in the Vaal Triangle have commented on the extent of the solidarity among the residents in supporting the boycott but consider the causes in terms of only the economic and political factors.[1] But the community unity which characterised the rent crisis in Sharpeville could perhaps also be seen as representing both a response to an outside threat as well as a re-surfacing of the political identity which developed following the shooting in the township in 1960. This identity was also a result of the cultural development in the township which, because of its position in relation to Soweto, found itself having to defend its cultural identity in the wake of a cultural model defined in terms of the "lure of the big city".

Finally, the thesis has argued that the concept of community should not be discarded as analytically worthless because it is impossible to define in ideal terms. It should be utilised to understand the response of a grouping of people who at particular moments consider themselves to constitute a community. By

considering cultural responses in terms of community, it has been attempted to illustrate the extent to which responses are or are not communal and why, and how these have affected cultural development and indeed the identity of a South African township which, it was argued, was both a product of the structural features which inform, influence and even dictate its direction as well as the responses and actions of the residents themselves, in shaping its outcome.

SOURCE NOTES INTRODUCTION

1. Pauw, in an examination of the black townships of East London, has noted how Johannesburg was looked upon as the centre of cultural activity: "Generally, Johannesburg is looked upon as the ideal in the field of entertainment, with East London as something of a backwater. One person was of the opinion that 'East London lags behind by a hundred years' in comparison with Johannesburg." (B.A. Pauw, The Second Generation, OUP, Cape Town, 1962, pp.45-46)

2. E.E. Evans-Pritchard, "The Nuer of the Southern Sudan," in M. Fortes and E.E. Evans-Pritchard (eds.) African Political Systems, OUP, London, 1970, pp.278-284.

3. See Pauw op.cit. p.28.

4. H. Mashabela, Townships of the PWV, SAIRR, Johannesburg, 1988, p.137.

5. Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, in Hansard (R) 15 cols 156-8, 25 September 1987, in Mashabela op.cit. p.135.

6. 5466 dwellings were erected in 1942, and in 1987, the minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, stated that the township consisted of 5946 houses. (Mashabela op. cit. p.135)

7. According to the official census in 1950, Sharpeville's population was 36 361. In 1987 Heunis stated that it was 46 143. (Mashabela op.cit. p.135)

8. See below Chapter Five.

9. "UBC may now be established," World, 16/8/1968, p.6.

10. See P. Bonner "Siyawugopha, Siyawugebhula Umhlaba Ka Maspala ["We are digging, We are seizing great chunks of the municipalities land] Popular Struggles in Benoni, 1944-1952," African Studies Institute, seminar paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1985.

11. See for example, G. Maasdorp and N. Pillay, Urban relocation and racial segregation: The case of Indian South Africans, University of Natal, 1977; M. Festenstein and C. Pickard-Cambridge, Land and Race: South Africa's Group and Land Acts, South African

Institute of Race Relations, 1987; and D. Pinnock, "Breaking the web: gangs and family structure in Cape Town," in D. Davis and M. Slabbert (eds.), Crime and Power in South Africa, Claremont, 1985.

12. See D. Coplan, In Township tonight, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1985, pp.92-93 and pp.102-103.

13. M. Chaskalson, "The Road to Sharpeville," African Studies Institute, seminar paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1986, p.1.

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1. R.G. Burgess, In the Field: An Introduction to Field Research, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1983, p.3.

2. Ibid. p.11.

3. A. Kuper, South Africa and the Anthropologist, RKP, London, 1987, p.1.

4. J.Y. Kramer, Self-help in Soweto Mutual Aid Societies in a South African City, M.A. dissertation, University of Bergen, Norway, 1975, p.vii.

5. Ibid. p.viii.

6. See C. Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures, Hutchinson, London, 1975.

7. It was unbanned in 1990.

SOURCE NOTES CHAPTER ONE

1. D. Hebdige, Subculture: The meaning of style, Metheun, London, 1979 p.5.

2. R. Williams, Marxism and Literature, OUP, Oxford, 1977, p.1.

3. S.B. Ortner, "Theory in Anthopology since the Sixties," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 19(1), 1984, p.131.

4. J. Beattie, Other Cultures: Aims, Methods and Achievements in Social Anthropology, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1964, p.20.

5. R. Johnson, "Three problematics: elements of a theory of working-class culture" in J. Clarke, C. Critcher, and R. Johnson, (eds.) Working Class Culture: Studies in history and theory, Hutchinson, London, 1979, pp.212-213.

6. D.F. Stoffberg, Introduction to Anthropology, Macmillan, Johannesburg, 1982, p.1, in R. Thornton, "Culture: A contemporary definition," in E. Boonzaier and J. Sharp (eds.) South African Keywords: The uses and abuses of political concepts, David Philip, Cape Town, 1988, p.18.

7. R.J. Thornton, "On Pig's Wings: The Reality of "Community"," Department of Anthropology, University of Cape Town, 1986, p.3.

8. Ibid. p.2.

9. R. Williams, Keywords, Fontana, Glasgow, 1976, p.42, 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, Johannesburg, 1987, p.5.

10. Bozzoli op.cit. p.6.

11. Here I am not referring to Sahlins' cultural ecology theory but rather to his more recent work encapsulated in his Islands of History, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1985.

12. This is not entirely true: see Jean Comaroff's Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South Africa people, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1985.

13. E.B. Tylor, Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom, Brentano's, New York, 1924, p.10.

14. A.L. Kroeber and C. Kluckhohn "Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions," Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology,

Vol. 47, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, 1952, p.2. in M. Brake, The Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Subcultures: Sex and drugs and rock 'n' roll?, RKP, London, 1980, p.6. By emphasising the importance of the actor (ie. in referring to the transference of ideas), this definition in fact approaches that which is proposed by this study.

15. Beattie op.cit. p.20.

16. See her Continuities in Cultural Evolution, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1964.

17. See Kroeber and Kluckhohn op.cit.

18. Douglas argued that one of the functions of culture is to compartmentalise the symbolic universe into socially recognised patterns, demonstrating, for example, how natural, organic processes are socialised, that socialisation teaches children to bring organic processes under social control. (See M. Douglas, Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology, Penguin, London, 1973.)

19. C. Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures, Hutchinson, London, 1975, p.5. See also his essays contained in his book Local Knowledge: Further essays in interpretive Anthropology, Basic Books, New York, 1983. These include his most significant contributions since The Interpretation of Cultures.

20. Ibid.

21. See his The Forest of Symbols, Cornell University Press, New York, 1967.

22. Geertz op.cit. p.27.

23. Ortner op.cit. p.132.

24. C. Lévi-Strauss, "La Geste d'Asdiwal," in E. Leach (ed.) The Structural Study of Myth and Totemism, Tavistock, London, 1967, p.1.

25. S. Hall, "The Hinterland of Science: Ideology and the "Sociology of Knowledge"," in Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (eds.) On Ideology, Hutchinson, London, 1978, p.26. If the contribution and lineage of the structuralist approach was pursued in full, then the efforts of Foucault and Lacan would be necessary inclusions. They are excluded because only the gist of the structuralist argument is considered necessary for the current discussion. For a summary of their work see Hall "The Hinterland of Science ..." pp.23-28.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. For the sake of brevity the full parameters of the debate are not presented. For a comprehensive presentation of it see the essays contained in On Ideology edited by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.

29. Hall op.cit. p.26.

30. L. Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in Lenin and Philosophy, New Left Books, London, 1971, p.135. Following the impetus of Althusser (and Balibar), French anthropologists, such as Meillassoux, Godelier and Terray, applied the concepts of mode of production, articulation, and social formation, to pre-capitalist modes of production. This was followed by attempts to direct these arguments to southern African communities. (See B. Bozzoli and P. Delius, "Radical History and South African Society," Radical History Review, 1990, pp.25-26 and p.40, fn.50.)

31. Ibid. p.160.

32. Ibid.

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34. R. Johnson, "Three problematics: elements of a theory of working-class culture," p.224. For a critique of structural Marxism see K. Mcdonnell and K. Robins, "Marxist cultural theory: the Althusserian smokescreen" in Clarke et al (eds.) One Dimensional Marxism, Allison and Busby, London, 1980, pp.160-2.

35. Williams, Marxism and Literature, op.cit. p.78.

36. E.P. Thompson, The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1978, p.79, quoted in Ortner op.cit. p.145.

37. Ibid.

38. Johnson, "Culture and the Historians," op.cit. p.10.

39. Johnson, "Three problematices," op.cit. p.220.

40. Johnson, "Culture and the Historians," op.cit. p.70. In later works, for example, The Poverty of Theory, Thompson has attempted to address some of the criticisms leveled at him, such as broadening his definition of "experience" to include what he terms "lived experience" and "perceived experience" or social consciousness.

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44. E. Koch, Doornfontein and its African Working Class, 1914 to 1935: A Study of Popular Culture in Johannesburg, M.A. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1983, p.26.

45. Williams, Marxism and Literature, op.cit. p.110.

46. J. Clarke, "Subcultures, Cultures and Class", in Hall, S. and Jefferson, T. Resistance Through Rituals, Hutchinson, 1978, p.12.

47. Ibid. p.12.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

50. Koch op.cit. p.25.

51. Ibid.

52. Quoted in Koch op.cit. p.25.

53. Williams, Marxism and Literature, op.cit. p.122 and p.123.

54. R. Williams, Problems in Materialism and Culture, p.43 quoted in P. la Hausse, "The Struggle for the City: Alcohol, the Ematsheni and Popular Culture in Durban, 1902-1936," M.A. dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1984, p.5.

55. Williams, Marxism and Literature, op.cit. p.114.

56. See inter alia D. Hebdige Subculture. The meaning of style, Metheun, London, 1979; J. Clarke, C. Critcher, and R. Johnson, (eds.) Working Class Culture. Studies in history and theory, Hutchinson, London, 1979; S. Hall, D. Hobson, A. Lowe, and P. Willis, (eds.) Culture, Media, Language, Hutchingson, London, 1980; S. Hall, and T. Jefferson, Resistance Through Rituals, Hutchinson, 1978.

57. Bozzoli and Delius op.cit. p.29 and p.39. fn 41.

58. E. Hellman, Rooiyard: a sociological study of an urban slum yard, Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1948, p.110.

59. J.C. Mitchell, "Theoretical Orientations in African Urban Studies. Methodological approaches," in M. Banton (ed.) The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies, Tavistock, London, 1966, p.47-48.

60. D. Coplan In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1985, p.230.

61. A.A. Dubb, "The Impact of the City," in W.D. Hammond-Tooke (ed.) The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa, RKP, London, 1974, p.454.

62. B.A. Pauw, The Second Generation, OUP, Cape Town, 1962, p.28, in Dubb op cit p.454.

63. Koch, for example, has made extensive use of Hellman's ethnographic material in his examination of the slumyards of Johannesburg of the 1920s and 1930s. (See Koch op.cit.)

64. Bozzoli and Delius op.cit. pp.28-29.

65. B. Bozzoli, "Introduction," in B. Bozzoli (ed.) Labour, Townships and Protest, Studies in the Social History of the Witwatersrand, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1979, p.5.

66. S. Marks and R. Rathbone, "Introduction," in S. Marks and R. Rathbone (eds) Industrialisation and social change in South Africa African class formation, culture, and consciousness, 1870-1930, Longman, Essex, 1982, pp.26-27.

67. Ibid. p.9.

68. Bozzoli and Delius op.cit. p.29 and p.41, fn.64. See P Tourikis, The Political Economy of Alexandra Township, B.A. Honours dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, nd.; A. Proctor, "Class Struggle, Segregation and the City: a History of Sophiatown 1905-1940," in Bozzoli Labour, Townships and Protest op.cit.; and T. Shakinovsky , The Local State in Crisis: The Shaping of the Black Working Class, Vereeniging 1939-1949, B.A. Honours dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1984.

69. Koch op.cit. p.3.

70. H. Lunn, Antecedents of the music and popular culture of the African post-1976 generation, M.A. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1986.

71. Ibid. p.18, p.19, p.20.

72. See Lunn op.cit. p.284.

73. Ibid. p.31.

74. Ibid. p.29.

75. Coplan op.cit.

76. See for example H. Dugmore, "'Becoming a Somebody' - Fraternal Lodges and the Coloured Middle Class in Johannesburg 1918 - 1938," paper presented to the History Workshop, University of the Witwatersrand, February, 1990. and Malesela S. Lebelo, "Sophiatown removals, relocation and political quiescence in the Rand Townships, 1950 - 1965," B.A. Honours dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1988.

77. Bozzoli and Delius op.cit. p.30.

78. La Hausse op.cit.

79. J. Muller, K. Tomaselli and R. Tomaselli, "The Lineage of Contemporary Cultural Studies: a Brief Historical Examination," in K. Tomaselli (ed.) Rethinking Culture, Anthropos, Bellville, 1988, p.24.

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81. Williams rxism and Literacure op.cit. p.108.

82. Of this process Gramsci argues: "The 'normal' exercise of hegemony on the now classical terrain of the parliamentary regime is characterised by the combination of force and consent. Indeed, the attempt is always made to ensure that force will appear to be based on the consent of the majority, expressed by the so-called organs of public opinion - newspapers and associations - which, therefore, in certain situations, are artificially multiplied." (Gramsci op.cit. Fn.49, p.80 quoted in Tomaselli op.cit p.26.) In South Africa, therefore, the "hegemonic struggle" took place between the groupings involved within the parliamentary process as the South African government sought to gain the consent of its electorate.

83. La Hausse op.cit. pp.2-3.

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85. Ibid. p.111.

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87. A.L. Epstein, "The Network and Urban Social Organisation," Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, 29, 1961, p.31.

88. Ibid. p.57.

89. Pauw op.cit. pp.45-46 and M. Wilson and A. Mafeje, Langa, OUP, Cape Town, 1963, pp.138-141.

90. C. Critcher, "Sociology, cultural studies and the post-war working class," in J. Clarke, C. Critcher and R. Johnson (eds.) Working-Class Culture, Studies in history and theory, Hutchinson, London, 1979, p.21.

91. B. Jackson, Working Class Community, RKP, London, 1972, pp.39-40.

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105. Ibid. p.10, 30. Cooper, applying this argument to urban society in colonial Africa, has defined these areas in terms of the division between legal and illegal space. (F. Cooper, "Urban Space, Industrial Time, and Wage Labor in Africa," in P. Adams and F. K. Helleiner (eds.) The Struggle for the City, Sage, California, p.26, in L.E. Risi, "'We have eaten that money', an overview of the 1986 Soweto Rent Boycott," B.A. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of the Witwatersrand, 1985, p.18.)

106. J. Seekings, "Urban space and township politics in the PWV," in P. Frankel, N. Pines, and M. Swilling (eds.) State, Resistance and Change, Croom Helm, London, 1987 in Risi op.cit. p.25.

107. Tourikis op.cit. p.113.

108. Ibid.

109. La Hausse op.cit. p.4.

110. Ibid. pp.5-6.

111. Ibid. p.6.

112. Brake op.cit. p.35.

113. A.P. Cohen, The Symbolic Construction of the Community, Ellis Horwood, Sussex, 1985, p.98.

114. 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, Johannesburg, 1987, pp.2-3.

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4. Top Location was known by residents as "Topville". Informants could not recall why this was so.

5. Shakinovsky op.cit. p.19.

6. Ibid. p.4.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid. p.4 and p.19. For other examples, see A. Proctor, "Class Struggle, Segregation and the City: a history of Sophiatown 1905 - 40," in B. Bozzoli (ed.) Labour, Townships and Protest, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1979; P.N. Tourikis, "The 'Political Economy' of Alexandra Township: 1905 - 1958," B.A. Honours dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, nd.; and M. Sarakinsky From "Freehold Township" to "Model Township" - A Political History of Alexandra: 1905-1983, Development Studies Group, University of the Witwatersrand, 1984.

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11. Advisory Boards were introduced through the (Cape) Native Reserves Location Act of 1905 and extended to the rest of the country in terms of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923. The function of the boards was to provide an avenue for African residents of urban locations to voice their grievances to the controlling white authority. In terms of the 1923 Act, the local authority could not make or withdraw regulations for the particular location without consulting the board. (See G. Baines, "The New Brighton Advisory Board c.1923 - 1952: Its legitimacy and legacy," paper presented to the History Workshop, University of the Witwatersrand, February, 1990)

12. Shakinovsky op.cit. p.4. This was also the case in other freehold townships. See M. Dikobe, "Class, Community and Conflict," paper presented to the History Workshop, University of the Witwatersrand, 1984, p.5.

13. J.C. Collings and partner, "Survey of Native Families Living in the Duncanville Location July 1949 as well as Certain Other Information Pertaining to Natives Living in the Municipal Areas of Vereeniging," p.17 quoted in Shakinovsky op.cit. p.22. (The ordering of the sources in this dissertation appears to be muddled. The above quote is attributed to the Commission of Enquiry of 1937 which chronologically is impossible. I have therefore taken the liberty of correcting it)

14. Lodge op.cit. p.97.

15. P.L. Bonner, "The Politics of Black Squatter Movements on the Rand, 1944-1952," unpublished paper, mimeo, p.4.

16. R. Bloch p.14 in Shakinovsky op.cit. p.25.

17. Bonner op.cit. pp.3-4.

18. Interview with Peter Mathibela, Sharpeville, 2 September, 1986.

19. Interview with Chris Jana, Sharpeville, 1 March, 1990.

20. Interview with Joe Mabena, Sharpeville, 13 May, 1989.

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31. Ibid.

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34. Bonner "Desirable or Undesirable Basotho Women?" op.cit. p.1.

35. Ibid p.2 and Shakenovsky op.cit. p.42.

36. SA, Vereeniging Native Riots Commission of Enquiry, 1937, p.24, quoted in Shakinovsky op.cit. p.30.

37. Leigh op.cit. p.99.

38. Ibid.

39. Interview with Petrus Tom, Sharpeville, May, 1989. Conducted by T. Koebe, A. Radebe, M. Mokoena, T. Motloung.

40. See Malesela S. Lebelo, "Sophiatown removals, relocation and political quiescence in the Rand Townships, 1950 - 1965," B.A. Honours dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1988.

41. Interview with Petrus Tom, Sharpeville, 9 May, 1989, conducted by T. Koebe, A. Radebe, M. Mokoena, T. Motloung.

42. Chaskalson op.cit. p.11.

43. Interview with Petrus Tom, Sharpeville, 12 March, 1990.

44. Interview with Chris Jana, Sharpeville, 1 March, 1990.

45. Interview with Petrus Tom, Sharpevillle, 12 March, 1990.

46. Ibid.

47. Interview with Joe Mabena, Sharpeville, 13 May, 1989.

48. Chaskalson op.cit. p.10.

49. Interview with Petrus Tom, Sharpeville, 12 March, 1990.

50. Chaskalson op.cit. p.14.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

54. The role of the "Russians" in Sharpeville will be explored in detail in Chapter Five.

55. Shakinovsky op.cit. p.56.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid. p.27. Top Location had a population of around 15 000 in 1947.

60. Ibid. p.57.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Chaskalson op.cit. p.11.

65. Interview with Tsepo Koebe, Durban, 12 January, 1990.

66. Interview with Masanka Mokoena, Sharpeville, 9 March, 1990.

67. Chaskalson op.cit. p.25.

68. Information discerned from interviews.

69. Interview with Sam Ntje, Sharpeville, 19 August, 1986.

70. G. Maasdorp and N. Pillay, Urban relocation and racial segregation: The case of Indian South Africans, University of Natal, 1977, in M. Festenstein and C. Pickard-Cambridge, Land and Race: South Africa's Group and Land Acts, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1987, p.21.

71. D. Pinnock, "Breaking the web: gangs and family structure in Cape Town", in D. Davis and M. Slabbert (eds.), Crime and Power in South Africa, Claremont, 1985, in Festenstein et al. op.cit. p.21.

72. Ibid.

73. By the 1950s it became clear to the remaining Top Location residents that they would have to move, so there was little choice in the matter.

74. Tom op.cit. p.21.

75. In Chapter Five it will be seen how the brutal manner in which the last group of Top Location residents was moved was one of the causes of the 1960 Sharpeville shooting.

76. Tom op.cit. p.22.

77. Interview with Petrus Tom, Sharpeville, 12 March, 1990.

78. In that year the Vereeniging Town Council spent over R80 000 constructing "Rust-ter-Vaal" for "coloureds" and "Roshnee" for Indians. (The World 21/9/1967, p.2.)

79. Interview with Tsietsi Motloung, Sharpeville, 27 May, 1989.

80. Interview with Sam Ntje, Sharpeville, 19 August, 1986.

81. Interview with Tsietsi Motloung, Sharpeville, 27 May, 1989.

82. Interview with Petrus Tom, Sharpeville, 12 March, 1990.

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1. W.F. Whyte, Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1943, p.11.

2. Ibid.

3. G.D. Suttles, The Social Order of the Slum, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1969.

4. B. Nasson, "'She preferred living in a cave with Harry the snake-catcher': Towards an Oral History of Popular Leisure and Class Expression in District Six, Cape Town, c. 1920s-1950s" paper presented to the History Workshop, University of the Witwatersrand, February, 1987, p.18. Now published in P. Bonner et.al., Holding their Ground, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1989.

5. Interview with Mr W.S. Conducted by the Western Cape Oral History Project. In Nasson op.cit. p.17.

6. J. White, "Campbell Bunk, a Lumpen Community in London between the Wars," History Workshop Journal, 8, 1979, p.25, in Nasson op.cit. pp.17-18.

7. Their name presumably came from the unit of Korean soldiers, known as the "Gurkas," who fought against the Japanese during the Second World War.

8. M. Chaskalson, "The road to Sharpeville", African Studies Institute, seminar paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1986, p.17.

9. Ibid. p.6.

10. Ibid. pp.5-6.

11. Ibid. p.19 & p.8. For a detailed account of youth unemployment and the programme the Vereeniging Town Council introduced to offset it, see Ibid. pp.8-9 and 17-19.

12. Ibid. p.8. There are no figures available which substantiate the extent of the unemployment. The problem is made clear by VTC concern and newspaper reports at the time.

13. Interview with Bra-Bozi and Bra-Choekie, ex-Berlin gang members, Sharpeville, 6 March, 1990. Conducted by Nathaniel Lenke. Translated by Masanka Mokoena.

14. Interview with Sam Ntje, Sharpeville, 19 August, 1986.

15. Interview with Chris Jana, Sharpeville, 1 March, 1990.

16. Ibid.

17. Minutes of the Sharpeville Advisory Board meeting held on 15 September, 1952, in Chaskalson op.cit. p.18.

18. Chaskalson op.cit. p.49.

19. Interview with Sam Ntje, Sharpeville, 19 August, 1986.

20. While 1960 is designated as the cutoff point for this chapter, much of the cultural expression cannot be easily slotted into the defined time-periods.

21. Interview with Bra-Choekie, Sharpeville, 5 March, 1990.

22. Ibid.

23. Interview with "Bozi" Sikaledi, Sharpeville, 29 May, 1989. Translated by A. Radebe, T. Koebe, M. Mokoena and T. Motloung.

24. Interview with Chris Jana, Sharpeville, 1 March, 1990.

25. T. Lodge, Black Politics in South Africa since 1945, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1983, p.101. See also H. Lunn, Antecedents of the music and popular culture of the African post-1976 generation, M.A. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1986, pp.108-9; D. Coplan, In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1985, p.146; Nasson op.cit. passim.

26. Interview with Sam Ntje, Sharpeville, 19 August, 1986.

27. Interview with Chris Jana, Sharpeville, 1 March, 1990.

28. Interview with Bra-Choekie, Sharpeville, 5 March, 1990.

29. Nasson op.cit. p.12.

30. Interview with Bra-Choekie, Sharpeville, 5 March, 1990.

31. Interview with Masanka Mokoena, Sharpeville, 8 March, 1990.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Interview with Bra-Bozi and Bra-Choekie, ex-Berlin gang members, Sharpeville, 6 March, 1990. Conducted by Nathaniel Lenke. Translated by Masanka Mokoena.

35. See pp.71-3.

36. It is quite remarkable that there is no substantial examination of boxing among Africans during the 1940s and 1950s, despite it being a particularly popular period among researchers. Sports journalist C. Greyvenstein has compiled a pictorial history of boxing in South Africa, while the Human Sciences Research Council has produced a volume on boxing in South Africa which formed part of its general investigation into sport in South Africa in 1982. The overall dearth of sport study in South Africa is even more perturbing given its importance in African working-class society. (C. Greyvenstein, The fighters: a pictorial history of S.A. boxing from 1881, Don Nelson, Cape Town, 1981 and Human Sciences Research Council Sports in the Republic of South Africa, Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria, 1982)

37. Greyvenstein op.cit, p.10.

38. Ibid. pp.10-11. Boxing was illegal in the Cape and Natal until 1910.

39. HSRC op.cit. pp.31-32.

40. "Slug and Slaughter", Zonk, May, 1962, p.10.

41. For accounts of the Amalaita, see C. van Onselen, The Small Matter of a Horse: The Life of 'Nongoloza' Mathebula 1867 - 1948, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1984, and Coplan op.cit.

42. Z. Mphahlele, Down Second Avenue, Faber and Faber, London, 1959, p.101.

43. Lunn op.cit. p.129.

44. Annual Report of the Johannesburg Joint Council for 1934, quoted in R.E. Philips, The Bantu in the City, Lovedale Press, London, 1938, p.348.

45. Second Annual Report of the S.A.I.R.R., 1931, quoted in R. Archer and A. Bouillon, The South African Game: Sport and Racism, Zed Press, London, 1982, p.119.

46. Phillips, 1930; p.58 quoted in T. Couzens, "An Introduction to the History of Football in South Africa", in B. Bozzoli (ed.) Town and Countryside in the Transvaal, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1983, p.32.

47. Archer and Bouillon op.cit. p.119.

48. C.M. Badenhorst and C.M. Rogerson, "'Teach the Native to Play': Social Control and Organized Black Sport on the Witwatersrand, 1920-1939", GeoJournal, 12.2, 197-202, 1986, p.199.

49. Ibid. p.200.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

52. Couzens op.cit. p.206.

53. Umteteli wa Bantu 9/5/1931 in Badenhorst and Rogerson op.cit. p.200.

54. Philips op.cit. p.353.

55. Ibid.

56. Jake Tuli "My belief in God was the basis of my fighting career", The World, 29/5/1956, p.9.

57. Ibid.

58. In J. Sugden, "The exploitation of disadvantage: the occupational sub-culture of the boxer", in J. Horne, D. Jary, and A. Tomlinson, Sport, Leisure and Social Relations, Sociological Review Monograph 33, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1987, p.195.

59. Ibid.

60. S.A.B. Umlaw, The emergence of an urban morality: The concept of Ama-Authi, B.A. Honours dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1989, p.30.

61. B. Modisane, Blame me on History, AD. Donker, Johannesburg, 1986, p.67.

62. Interview with Nathaniel Lenke, Sharpeville, 4 May, 1989.

63. Sugden op.cit. pp.196-197.

64. Ibid. p.197.

65. Ibid.

66. Elijah Mokone, "Fighting "toughs" each day turned my mind to the ring," The World, March 10, 1956, p.9.

67. Vuka was known as "Beirut" during the 1984 unrest.

68. Interview with Carlton Monnakgotla, Sharpeville, 26 May, 1989.

69. Ibid.

70. T. Couzens, The New African: Herbert Dhlomo and Black South African Literature in English, 1857 to 1956, Ph.D. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1980, p.354.

71. Coplan op.cit. p.147.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid. p.148.

74. I.S. Manoim, The Black Press 1945-1963: The growth of the Black mass media and their role as ideological disseminators, M.A. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1983, p.26.

75. Couzens op.cit. p.345 and p.372 in Manoim op.cit. p.26.

76. Manoim op.cit. p.30.

77. The World of Nat Nakasa, p.69, quoted in Manoim op.cit. p.30.

78. Tuli op.cit.

79. Zonk, October, 1952, p.41. Empire titles were contested by member countries of the British Commonwealth. South Africa was excluded from the Commonwealth when it became a republic in 1961. The last Empire title fight involving South African boxers was that in which Sharpeville boxer, John Mthimkulu, lost a controversial decision to the white South African flyweight champion, Dennis Adams, in Luanshya, in what was then known as Northern Rhodesia. Apart from being the last time South African boxers competed for an Empire title, it was also the first Empire championship between a white and a black boxer in Africa. (Zonk, April 1961, p.53 and The World, 27/5/1961, p.14)

80. Ike Magashule, "This was the 'Golden Age' of Non-White Boxing!" Zonk, April, 1963, p.23.

81. The World, 14/1/1956, p.8.

82. Interview with Betty Mkgome, Sharpeville, 28 March, 1986.

83. Interview with James Lengane, Sharpeville, 18 March, 1986. Translated by M. Ntoane.

84. Interview with Joe Mabena, Sharpeville, 13 May, 1989.

85. Larry Mcunu "The man who gave Vaal boxing its pride back", The World, 9/8/1977, supplement, p.4.

86. Interview with John Mthimkulu, Sharpeville, 20 May, 1989. In 1949, Mhlahleti, then a professional lightweight boxer, was injured in a title fight with the champion at the time, Henry "One Round Hank" Mahlo. He was partially paralysed as a result and forced to retire. (J.R. Maimane, "Too much blood?", Drum, August, 1954, p.14 and E. Mokone, "Fighting 'toughs' each day turned my mind to the ring", The World, 10/3/1956, p.9)

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid.

90. Interview with "Blue" Kholane, Sharpeville, 4 May, 1989. Conducted by Christopher Nkete.

91. Ibid.

92. Ibid.

93. Ibid.

94. Interview with John Mthimkulu, Sharpeville, 20 May, 1989.

95. The World, 14/1/1956, p.8.

96. Interview with John Mthimkulu, Sharpeville, 20 May, 1989.

97. Ibid.

98. Sugden op.cit. pp. 197-198.

99. Interview with Joe Mabena, Sharpeville, 13 May, 1989.

100. M. Phahlane, "Tsotsis Hate Pro Boxers! - Series of Vicious Assaults on Fighters," Zonk, March, 1958, p.20.

101. Ibid. p.21.

102. The World 19/11/1960, p.9.

103. Whilst Monnakgotla was a successful boxer, he was also known to be a vicious street fighter. In the mid-1960s he was charged and convicted of two assault charges.

104. Interview with Joe Mabena, Sharpeville, 13 May, 1989.

105. See above Chapter Two.

106. Ibid.

107. The construction of the school began in 1949.

108. Interview with Joe Mabena, Sharpeville, 13 May, 1989.

109. Ibid.

110. Ibid.

111. Interview with Carlton Monnakgotla, Sharpeville, 26 May, 1989.

112. Casey Motsisi, "Wonder Boy of Boxing", Drum, May, 1959, p.48.

113. Ibid.

114. Benson Dyantyi, writing for Drum magazine, reported that Mthembu had made enough money to afford "... a car every year and his house - well, you know by now what beautiful houses these rich guys have." (B. Dyantyi, "The Rand's Moneybags", Drum, May, 1959, p.65.)

115. Interview with Mr Thabane, Sharpeville, 9 May, 1989. Conducted by T. Koebe, A. Radebe, T. Motloung & M. Moekoena.

116. Interview with Joe Mabena, Sharpeville, 13 May, 1989.

117. Interview with Carlton Monnakgotla, Sharpeville, 26 May, 1989.

118. Zonk, May 1957, p.32.

119. J. Walvin, The People's Game: The Social History of British Football, Newton Abbot, Devon, 1975, p.9, quoted in T. Couzens, "An Introduction to the History of Football in South Africa," in B. Bozzoli (ed.) Town and Countryside in the Transvaal, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1983, p.205.

120. Interview with Mohale Mokopane, Sharpeville, 19 May, 1989.

121. Interview with George Thabe, Vereeniging, 4 May, 1989.

122. The team was known interchangeably as the Transvaal Fast XI and the Sharpeville Fast XI.

123. Interview with George Thabe, Vereeniging, 4 May, 1989.

124. M.V. Mzamane, The Children of Soweto, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1982.

125. Interview with George Thabe, Vereeniging, 8 May, 1989.

126. Ibid.

127. Steve Montjane, "Win or Lose", Bona, August, 1972, p.41.

128. Interview with George Thabe, Vereeniging, 8 May 1989.

129. Ibid.

130. N. Elias and E. Dunning, "Folk Football in Medieval and Early Modern Britain," in E. Dunning (ed.) The Sociology of Sport, Frank Cass, London, 1970, p.116.

131. Quoted in Elias and Dunning op.cit. pp.116-117.

132. R. Carew, "A Survey of Cornwell," quoted in Elias and Dunning op.cit. p.126.

133. Extract from diary notes, 7 March, 1990.

134. Montjane op.cit. p.41.

135. Interview with M. Molefe, Johannesburg, 26 May, 1989.

136. Interview with Patrick "Mcondo" Tlhopane, Sharpeville, 24 May, 1989.

137. See below Chapter Four.

138. Interview with Elliot Mpepo, Sharpeville, 24 May, 1989.

139. Steve Montjane, "Win or Lose", Bona, March, 1969, p.27.

140. Interview with Elliot Mpepo, Sharpeville, 24 May, 1989.

141. Interview with Patrick Tlhopane, Sharpeville, 24 May, 1989.

142. Philip Ramakhoase "Transvaal Jumpers," in G. Thabe, It's a Goal! 50 years of sweat, tears and drama in Black soccer, Skotaville, Johannesburg, 1983, p.39.

143. Ibid.

144. Interview with Patrick Tlhopane, Sharpeville, 24 May, 1989.

145. Ibid.

146. Interview with Elliot Mpepo, Sharpeville, 24 May, 1989.

147. Interview with Patrick Tlhopane, Sharpeville, 24 May, 1989.

148. Ibid.

149. Ramakhoase op.cit. p.39.

150. Interview with George Thabe, Vereeniging, 8 May, 1989.

151. Ramakhoase op.cit. p.39.

152. Interview with Joe Mabena, Sharpeville, 13 May, 1989.

153. Ibid.

154. Interview with Carlton Monnakgotla, Sharpeville, 26 May, 1989.

155. Ibid.

156. Interview with Elliot Mpepo, Sharpeville, 24 May, 1989.

SOURCE NOTES CHAPTER FOUR

1. I.S. Manoim, The Black Press 1945-1963: The growth of the Black mass media and their role as ideological disseminators, M.A. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1983, p.28.

2. M. Brake, The Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Subcultures: Sex Drugs and Rock 'n' Roll?, RKP, London, p.7.

3. J. Clarke et.al., Subcultures, Cultures and Class", in S. Hall and T. Jefferson, Resistance Through Rituals, Hutchinson, London, 1978, p.13.

4. Manoim op.cit. p.30.

5. Ibid.

6. D. Coplan, In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1985, p.144-5.

7. "The 'Americans'", Drum, September, 1954, p.19 and p.21.

8. Don Mattera, Memory is the Weapon, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1987, p.75.

9. Interview with "Bra Bozi" Sikaledi, Sharpeville, 27 May, 1989. Translated by David Aaron Radebe and Tsietsi Motloung.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Interview with Aggrey Klaaste, 23 December, 1988 Conducted by Stephen Umlaw. Quoted in S.A.B. Umlaw, The emergence of an urban morality: The concept of Ama-Authi, B.A. Honours dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1989, p.19.

14. Interview with "Bra Bozi" Sikaledi, Sharpeville, 27 May, 1989. Translated by David Aaron Radebe and Tsietsi Motloung.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. E. Krige, "The social significance of beer among the Balobedu", Bantu Studies, 7, 6, 1932, pp.347-856, in Coplan op.cit. p.92.

18. Coplan op.cit. p.92.

19. See E. Hellman, Rooiyard: a sociological study of an urban slum yard, Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1948; and E. Koch, Doornfontein and its African Working Class, 1914 to 1935: A Study of Popular Culture in Johannesburg, M.A. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1983.

20. P. la Hausse, Brewers, Beerhalls and Boycotts: A History of Liquor in South Africa, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1988, p.56.

21. Bloke Modisane, Blame Me On History, A.D. Donker, Johannesburg, 1986, in la Hausse op.cit. p.56.

22. Two of the most famous surviving shebeens in Sharpeville are Maduna's place and Ma-Bricks. I visited both during my research. At face value it is clear that Maduna's place has been a successful shebeen since its inception in the 1950s. The original house has been rebuilt and the shebeen operates from a room the size of a double garage to its side. The garden is well-kept and trucks are parked at the front of the house. Mrs Maduna declined to be interviewed by me. She explained that because of the unrest [1984 and 1985] and resulting tension in the township, the interview was not a good idea. Furthermore, she argued that there might be "certain things" that might "implicate" her once my material was published. Afterwards, locals explained that she was attempting to obtain a licence from the Lekoa Town Council to deliver coal in the township and wished to avoid anything she deemed to be controversial; this was a more likely explanation for her reluctance to grant an interview.

23. Interview with Masanka Mokoena, Sharpeville, 9 March, 1990.

24. Ibid.

25. Interview with Betty Mkgome, Sharpeville, 18 March, 1986.

26. Ibid.

27. Famo refers to a sexually provocative dance performed by Sotho women accompanied by recited songs similar to lifela, male praise songs. For a detailed description of famo, see Coplan op.cit. pp.98-101.

28. See below Chapter Five.

29. Interview with Bra-Bozi and Bra-Choekie, ex-Berlin gang members, Sharpeville, 6 March, 1990. Conducted by Nathaniel Lenko. Translated by Masanka Mokoena.

30. Coplan op.cit. p.114.

31. Interview with "Bra Bozi" Sikaledi, Sharpeville, 27 May, 1989. Translated by David Aaron Radebe and Tsietsi Motloung.

32. The World, 8/9/1956, p.11.

33. This is a reference to the Sharpetown Swingsters who were also known by this name. The band is examined further on in this chapter.

34. Interview with Betty Mkgome, Sharpeville, 18 March, 1986.

35. Interview with "Bra Bozi" Sikaledi, Sharpeville, 27 May, 1989. Translated by David Aaron Radebe and Tsietsi Motloung.

36. Coplan op.cit. p.133.

37. Interview with "Bra Bozi" Sikaledi, Sharpeville, 27 May, 1989. Translated by David Aaron Radebe and Tsietsi Motloung.

38. Interview with James Lengane, Sharpeville, 18 March 1986. Translated by Matlamola Ntoane.

39. Ibid. Sikaledi refused to offer a few phrases of this language, exclaiming "no, I am old, gentlemen, now I am old. I've got a family, I'm old. It's a tsotsi taal, but it's a slang."

40. T. Matshikiza, Drum, December, 1951. Quoted in Coplan op.cit. p.108.

41. See E. Koch, "Without Visible Means of Subsistence: Slumyard Culture in Johannesburg, 1918 - 1940," in B. Bozzoli (ed.) Town and Countryside in the Transvaal, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1983.

42. Coplan op.cit. p.95.

43. Ibid. p.95 and p.96.

44. Ibid. p.107.

45. Ibid. p.72.

46. Ibid. p.160.

47. M. Andersson, Music in the Mix: The Story of South Africa Popular Music, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1981, p.23.

48. Ibid.

49. D. Coplan, "The African Performer and the Johannesburg Entertainment Industry: the struggle for African culture on the Witwatersrand," in B. Bozzoli (ed.) Labour, Township, and Protest, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1979, p.191.

50. Ibid.

51. E. Koch "Crazy Nights in the slums with Zulu Boy and those Maniacs," SASPU National, 1(4), p.14.

52. D. Coplan The Urbanization of African Performing Arts in South Africa, Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1980, p.293.

53. "Swinging in the Slums," SASPU National, 2(6), August 1981.

54. Interview with Molefe Moshoeshoe, Sharpeville, 22 January, 1985.

55. Coplan In Township Tonight!, op.cit. p.124 and pp.126-7.

56. Coplan "The African Performer and the Johannesburg Entertainment Industry: the struggle for African culture on the Witwatersrand," op.cit. p.196.

57. Coplan The Urbanization of African Performing Arts in South Africa op.cit. p.331.

58. Ibid. p.333.

59. Coplan In Township Tonight! op.cit. p.152.

60. Ibid. p.153.

61. Ibid. p.154.

62. Ibid.

63. Coplan The Urbanization of African Performing Arts in South Africa op.cit. p.346.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

66. Interview with Joseph Molefe, Sharpeville, 22 January, 1985.

67. Zonk, November, 1958, p.47.

68. Zonk, February, 1959, p.55.

69. Interview with Joseph Molefe, Sharpeville, 22 January, 1985.

70. Interview with Stephen "Boitsie" Lepere, Sharpeville, 22 January, 1985.

71. Ibid.

72. Interview with Molefe Moshoeshoe, Sharpeville, 22 January, 1985.

73. Interview with Sam Ntje, Sharpeville, 19 August, 1986.

74. Interview with James Lengane, Sharpeville, 18 March, 1986. Translated by M. Ntoane.

75. Ibid.

76. This was established from music critics and advertisements at the time.

77. Interview with Molefe Moshoeshoe, Sharpeville, 22 January, 1985.

78. Ibid.

79. Interview with Joseph Molefe, Sharpeville, 29 January, 1985.

80. Interview with Metsing "Ike" Nteeo, Sharpeville, 22 January, 1985.

81. Interview with Stephen Lepere, Sharpeville, 22 January, 1985.

SOURCE NOTES CHAPTER FIVE

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2. T. Lodge, Black Politics in South Africa since 1945, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1983, p.205 and p.207, and M. Chaskalson, "The road to Sharpeville", African Studies Institute, seminar paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1986, p.1.

3. Chaskalson op.cit p.13.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Lodge op.cit. p.206.

7. Ibid.

8. Vereeniging and Vanderbijlpark News, 10 October 1958. In Lodge op.cit. p.207.

9. Chaskalson op.cit p.13.

10. T. Shakinovsky, The Local State in Crisis: The Shaping of the Black Working Class, Vereeniging 1939-1949, B.A. Honours dissertation, Department of History, University of the Witwatersrand, 1984, p.1.

11. Lodge op.cit. p.207; Chaskalson op.cit. p.13.

12. Interview with Clement Nkete, Sharpeville, 4 May, 1989. Conducted by Chris Nkete.

13. Ibid. Nkete would not divulge the lyrics of "Evaton" fearing that they would be "stolen" from him. (For an account of the bus boycott, see Lodge op.cit pp.171-181)

14. Chaskalson op.cit. p.15.

15. Ibid. As late as 1965 the VTC gave residents of Sharpeville until January 18 of that year to get rid of their cows. The Council argued that it was unhygienic to keep cows in the township, although residents suggested that local white farmers in the area could not stand the competition from stock owners in Sharpeville who produced their own milk and sold it to residents (Percy Qoboza, "No cows order in Sharpeville," The World, 20/1/1965, p.2.)

16. Lodge op.cit. p.207.

17. J. Guy and M. Thabane, "The Ma-Rashea: A Participant's Perspective" in B. Bozzoli (ed) Class, Community and Conflict, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1979, p.442.

18. P. Bonner, "An Evil Empire? The Russians on the Reef, 1947 - 1957," paper presented to the History Workshop, University of the Witwatersrand, February, 1990, p.2.

19. Ibid. p.4.

20. The 1960 census reveals that while 50 000 people resided in municipal townships, another 11 000 inhabited employers' compounds in the town. (Republic of South Africa, Population Census, 6 September 1960, Volume 2, number 11, Report on the Vereeniging-Vanderbijlpark Area, Bureau of Statistics, 1964, quoted in Lodge op.cit. p.206)

21. Chaskalson op.cit. p.43.

22. P. Tom, My Life Struggle, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1985, p.10. Quoted in Chaskalson op.cit. p.20.

23. Chaskalson op.cit. p.20.

24. Ibid. p.21.

25. Ibid. p.22.

26. Tom op.cit. p.10.

27. Chaskalson op.cit. p.22.

28. Ibid. p.23.

29. Ibid. p.4.

30. Ibid.

31. Tom op.cit. pp.22-3 quoted in Chaskalson op.cit. p.25.

32. Interview with Mr Zondo, Sharpeville, 8 September, 1986.

33. Interview with Chris Jana, Sharpeville, 1 March, 1990.

34. Mma Diniso, quoted in Learn and Teach, 2, 1987, p.3.

35. Interview with Chris Jana, Sharpeville, 1 March, 1990.

36. Interview with Thabita Mpolokeng Zola. Conducted by Elaine Proctor. Transcript from the film Popular Culture in Sharpeville by Elaine Proctor, 1986.

37. Chaskalson op.cit. p.25.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid. p.27.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid. p.28.

44. The authorities certainly had some basis for this: later that year, elsewhere on the Witwatersrand, no less than five people died after a bout of drinking "Sputnik," a mixture of methylated spirits and aviation fuel. It cost 2s6d for a quarter bottle, 5s less than brandy. (The World 30/7/60 and 17/9/60) However, in general, Africans were opposed to being forced into using beerhalls (The World 4/6/60).

45. Interview with Mr. Zondo, Sharpeville, 8 September, 1986.

46. Chaskalson op.cit. p.14. See above Chapter Two.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid. p.29.

49. Mma Diniso, quoted in Learn and Teach, 2, 1987, p.3.

50. Chaskalson op.cit. p.29.

51. See above Chapter Three.

52. The World, 26/3/1960, p.1.

53. Ibid.

54. Chaskalson op.cit. p.31 fn.1.

55. Ibid.

56. Lodge op.cit. p.207.

57. Interview with Mr Zondo, Sharpeville, 8 September, 1986.

58. Lodge op.cit. p.202.

59. Union of South Africa, Summary of the Commission of Inquiry into the Events which occurred in the Districts of Vereeniging and Vanderbijlpark, mimeo, 1960, p.42, p.45 and p.19. Quoted in Chaskalson op.cit. p.29.

60. Interview with Petrus Tom, Sharpeville, 9 May, 1989. Conducted by T. Koebe, A. Radebe, T. Motloung and M. Mokoena.

61. Ibid.

62. Tom op.cit. p.23.

63. Ibid. p.24.

64. Lodge op.cit. pp.201-202. Many informants were in fact more interested in the promise of "a pound a day," than in surrendering their passes, the former of which was a campaign instigated by the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) at their "National Workers Conference" in 1957 and supported by the ANC.

65. The PAC anti-pass campaign has been well-documented elsewhere. See, for example, Lodge op.cit.

66. See Lodge op.cit. p.205 and G. Carter, G. Gerhart and T. Karis, From Protest to Challenge, Volume III, Hoover, Stanford, 1975, p.332. Manoim has argued that the focus on the shooting at Sharpeville by the press, particularly the foreign media, afforded the event its subsequent status in the political annals of the fight against apartheid. See I.S. Manoim, The Black Press 1945-1963: The growth of the Black mass media and their role as ideological disseminators, M.A. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1983, p.199.

67. Tom op.cit. p.26.

68. Interview with Mr Zondo, Sharpeville, 8 September, 1986.

69. Lodge op.cit. p.211.

70. Ibid.

71. Ibid.

72. Carter, Gerhardt and Karis op.cit. p.333.

73. Interview with Joe Mabena, Sharpeville, 13 May, 1989.

74. Commission of Inquiry op.cit. pp.132-3.

75. Interview with David Khunou, Sharpeville, 13 May, 1989.

76. Lodge op.cit. pp.132-3.

77. Tom op.cit. p.29.

78. Transcript from the film Popular Culture in Sharpeville by Elaine Proctor, 1986.

79 Bonner op.cit. p.1.

80. In 1921 police fired on an Israelite sect, under Enoch Mgijima, who had refused to move from a tract of land at Ntabelanga, near Queenstown. (T.R.H. Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, Macmillan, Johannesburg, 1987, p.279).

81. Interview with Joe Mabena, Sharpeville, 13 May, 1989.

82. Tom op.cit. p.31.

83. Lodge op.cit. p.210.

84. Carter, Gerhart and Karis op.cit. p.337.

85. Ibid.

86. Lodge op.cit. p.210.

87. Carter, Gerhart and Karis op.cit. p.337.

88. Ibid. p.336.

89. Ibid.

90. Interview with Philip Phatang, Sharpeville, 29 May, 1989.

91. Chaskalson op.cit. p.30.

92. The World, 9/4/1969, p.3.

93. The World, 30/4/1960.

94. Ibid.

95. The World 26/11/60.

96. Originally seventy six people were charged with public violence. One person died after the prison lorry carrying prisoners to "Cinderella" Prison overturned. A further three were released early in the trial because they were under the age of sixteen years. Twenty eight of the accused were arrested at Baragwanath Hospital where they were recovering from bullet wounds (The World 13/8/60).

97. Tom op.cit. p.31. Charges against fifty three of the Sharpeville prisoners were finally dropped in August of that year and they were released on August 15. For ex-detainees it was the beginning of constant police harassment as the security branch began to check on them four to five times per week. They complained that check-ups occurred so regularly they were having difficulty sleeping at night (The World 13/8/60).

98. Interview with Petrus Tom, Sharpeville, 12 March, 1990.

99. Interview with Sam Ntje, Sharpeville, 19 August, 1986.

100. G. Bloch, "Sounds in the Silence: Painting a Picture of the 1960s", Africa Perspective, 25, 1984, p.3.

101. Ibid. p.6. and p.7.

102. Ibid. p.10.

103. Ibid. p.11.

104. A survey indicates that between 1960 and 1975 the annual average earnings of blacks in the mining sector increased by 517%; and in manufacturing by 266%. (South Africa: an appraisal, The Nedbank Group, 1977, p.66, quoted in H. Lunn, Antecedents of the Music and Popular Culture of the African Post-1976 Generation, M.A. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1986, p.302.)

105. Lunn op.cit. p.128.

106. Interview with Petrus Tom, Sharpeville, 12 March, 1990. Thirteen PAC members who, despite being acquitted of public violence charges, were nevertheless forced to leave Sharpeville by the VTC. (The World, 6/5/1961, p.3)

107. Lodge op.cit. p.245.

108. Interview with Chris Jana, Sharpeville, 1 March, 1990.

109. Ibid.

110. On March 21, 1962, many leaders and organisations gathered at a rally in Accra, Ghana to mark the second anniversary of the Sharpeville shooting where the Ghana Trade Union Congress called for economic sanctions against South Africa. In South Africa, the second anniversary passed almost without incident, although a strong contigent of police were on stand-by throughout the day. The only protest came from a "rash of sign-paintings on walls" and a leaflet drop from buildings near the city hall in Johannesburg by the Congress of Democrats, calling for whites to "wake up." (The World, 22/3/1962, p.1)

111. The World, 28/9/1977, p.4.

112. S. Bekker, "The Local Government and Community of Sebokeng," occassional paper no.3, Department of Sociology, University of Stellenbosch, June, 1978, p.7.

113. Ibid. pp.7-8.

114. The World, 2/2/1966, p.16.

115. A date for Sharpeville's removal was never set and people were to be gradually moved over the next two decades as houses became available. Eventually, plans to move Sharpeville as a whole were shelved after the BAD concluded it would be too costly. ("UBC may now be established", The World, 16/8/1968, p.6.)

116. E.K. Nkabinde, "Vaal residents fear removal," The World, 13/1/1966, p.6.

117. Ibid.

118. E.K. Nkabinde, "B.A.D. rejects sewerage plan for Vaal," The World, 19/1/1966, p.16.

119. Ibid.

120. Letter to The World, 5/3/1963, p.4.

121. E.K. Nkabinde "White homes for 100 Vaal families," The World, 25/2/1966, p.2.

122. Ibid.

123. The World, 30/3/1966, p.6.

124. Interview with Chris Jana, Sharpeville, 1 March, 1990.

125. Interview with Petrus Tom, Sharpeville, 11 March, 1990.

126. Interview with Chris Jana, Sharpeville, 1 March, 1990.

127. Transcript from the film Popular Culture in Sharpeville by Elaine Proctor, 1986.

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1. D. Coplan, In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1985, p.144-5.

2. B.A. Pauw, The Second Generation, OUP, Cape Town, 1962, pp.45-46.

3. Coplan op.cit. p.184.

4. Ibid.

5. Alf Gwebu, Bona, August, 1966, p.51.

6. Interview with Bozi and Choekie, Sharpeville, 12 March, 1990. Conducted by Nathaniel Lenke, translated by Masanka Mokoena.

7. Ibid.

8. Interview with Jonas "Brian" Chaka, Sharpeville, 29 May, 1989.

9. Interview with Carlton Monnakgotla, Sharpeville, 26 May, 1989.

10. H. Lunn, Antecedents of the music and popular culture of the African post-1976 generation, M.A. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1986, p.127.

11. Ibid.

12. Interview with Jonas "Brian" Chaka, Sharpeville, 29 May, 1989.

13. R. Zondi, "Moloi-Sibeko duel is big", The World, 1/3/1962, p.7.

14. Leslie Sehume, "Sportingly Yours ...", The World, 3/2/1962, p.11.

15. Interview with "Bra Bozi" Sikaledi, Sharpeville, 27 May, 1989. Translated by David Aaron Radebe and Tsietsi Motloung.

16. Ibid.

17. Interview with Masanka Mokoena, Sharpeville, 8 March, 1990.

18. Ibid.

19. Interview with Bozi and Choekie, Sharpeville, 6 March, 1990. Conducted by Nathaniel Lenke. Translated by Masanka Mokoena.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Interview with Mahash, Sharpeville, 27 May 1989. Conducted by T. Koebe and T. Motloung. Translated by T. Koebe.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. C. Critcher, "Football since the war," in J. Clarke, C. Critcher and R. Johnson, Working Class Culture: Studies in history and theory, Hutchinson, London, 1979, p.161.

31. T. Couzens, "An Introduction to the History of Football in South Africa", in B. Bozzoli (ed.) Town and Countryside in the Transvaal, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1983, p.212.

32. Ibid.

33. "Why shouldn't we start our own Pro Soccer?", Drum, August, 1959, p.22.

34. R. Archer and A. Bouillon The South African Game: Sport and Racism, Zed Press, London, 1982, p.195.

35. Ibid. p.212. For a more detailed account of the demise of the S.A.S.F.-P.L. see Archer et al. op.cit. pp.195-198.

36. "Sexton Mabena's club for S.A.S.L.", The World, 20/1/1962, p.12.

37. Interview with Joe Mabena, Sharpeville, 13 May, 1989.

38. Ibid.

39. Interview with George Thabe, Vereeniging, 8 May, 1989. From the statement it appears that the process went fairly smoothly. According to newspaper reports at the time however, it had involved lengthy debates between the Southern Transvaal Bantu Football Association (STBFA - the controlling body in Sharpeville) and delegates from all the soccer clubs in Sharpeville. The STBFA proposed an Invitation XI, but insisted that clubs release some of their players on written contract which would bind players to the Association's XI. Delegates were not happy with this

suggestion and demanded alternatively that the Transvaal Fast XI represent Sharpeville as it had been the most successful club in the township at the time. This was rejected by the STBFA. Finally delegates agreed on the creation of a completely separate professional club in which players would retain their amateur status with their original club, but have professional status with the new one. (The World, 12/8/1970, p.10.)

40. Interview with M. Molefe, Johannesburg, 19 May, 1989.

41. Interview with George Thabe, Vereeniging, 8 May, 1989.

42. Interview with Sam Ntje, Sharpeville, 19 August, 1986.

43. Interview with Molotsi Molefe, Johannesburg, 19 May, 1989.

44. Post, 6/12/1970, p.27.

45. Interview with Molotsi Molefe, Johannesburg, 19 May, 1989.

46. Post, 14/2/1971, p.28.

47. D. Luthayi, "Vaal Pro's summoned to NPSL inquiry", The World, 23/5/1973, p.12.

48. Letter from Steve Kgomo to The World, 29/5/1973, p.4.

49. H. Davies The Glory Game, Weidenfield & Nicholson, London, 1972, p.114, in M.D. Smith, "Sport and Collective Violence," in D.W. Ball and J.W. Loy (eds.) Sport and Social Order: Contributions to the Sociology of Sport, Addison-Wesley, Massachusetts, 1975, p.310.

50. In Smith op.cit. p.308.

51. I.R. Taylor "Soccer Consciousness and Soccer Hooliganism," in S. Cohen (ed.) Images of Deviance, Penguin, Middlesex, pp.142-143, in Smith op.cit. p.308-9.

52. Critcher op.cit. p.173.

53. Interview with M. Molefe, Johannesburg, 26 May, 1989.

54. Interview with Mohale Mokopane, Sharpeville, 19 May, 1986.

55. Interview with M.P. Matloane, Johannesburg, 12 July, 1988.

56. SANFA is not the "official" name of the shebeen. Thabe told me that Mokopane "knew I would take offense if it was called that as I did not want to be seen as owning it." (Interview with George Thabe, Vereeniging, 8 May, 1989)

57. The NSL was formed in January, 1985, in direct opposition to SANFA and its professional affiliate, the NPSL. Later that year, eighteen first division clubs left the NPSL for the NSL, citing George Thabe as the main reason for their departure. From then on, Thabe was under pressure to resign as head of SANFA, which he eventually did in April, 1986. Since its inception in 1985, the NSL has established itself as South Africa's premier football body. (Morgan George, "New hope of soccer peace as Thabe goes", Weekly Mail, 2-8 May, 1986, p.27.)

58. Interview with M. Molefe, Johannesburg, 26 May, 1989.

59. The exeption is Adrian Peace's study of Southern Nigerian factory workers working in the established towns and villages in south-western Nigeria (A J Peace, Choice, Class and Conflict: A study of southern Nigerian factory workers, Humanities, New Jersey, 1979). See also P. Pearson, The History and Social Structure of the Rehoboth Baster Community of Namibia, M.A. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1986.

60. D. Gilmore, "Patronage and Class Conflict in Southern Spain", Man, 12(3/4), 1977, p.445.

61. L. Li Causi "Anthropology and Ideology: The case of 'Patronage' in Mediterranean societies", Critique of Anthropology, 1975, p.91.

62. Because this study is not directly concerned with theorising patronage, there has been no attempt to provide a rigorous assessment of the existing literature on the topic. However, it is hoped that by highlighting the existence of patronage in South African communities, it will generate interest amongst other writers.

63. M. Wilson and A. Mafeje, Langa: A study of social groups in an African township, OUP, Cape Town, 1963, p.144; Archer et al. op.cit. p.143.

64. See above Chapter Three.

65. P. Ramakhoase, "The Transvaal Jumpers," in G. Thabe, It's a Goal! 50 years of sweat, tears and drama in Black soccer, Skotaville, Johannesburg, 1983, p.39.

66. Isaac Magashule, "Tycoons take over Football Clubs", Zonk, March, 1962, p.33.

67. Ibid. p.34.

68. Ibid. p.35.

69. Wilson and Mafeje op.cit. p.145 in Archer et al. op.cit. p.143.

70. Leo Kuper, The African Bourgeoisie, Yale University Press, N.Y., 1965, p.35 in Archer et al. op.cit. pp.146-7.

71. Interview with Tsepo Koebe, Sharpeville, 4 May, 1989.

72. Interview with George Thabe, Vereeniging, 8 May 1989.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid.

77. Sekola Sello, "Thabe 'the Topplar'", Drum, May, 1983, p.80.

78. Post, 15/9/1963, p.18.

79. Community Councils were introduced in 1977 following the passing of the Community Councils Act (125 of 1977) and were intended by the state to develop into "... a form of responsible and representative black self-government at the local level." They followed the Urban Bantu Councils which had replaced the Advisory Boards in 1961. (S. Bekker "The Local Government and Community of Sebokeng," occassional Paper No. 3, Department of Sociology, University of Stellenbosch, June, 1978, p.6)

80. Sello op.cit. p.84.

81. As president of the Transvaal Football Association (TFA), Matjila attempted to secede the association from SANFA and, by assuming independent status, take the major Transvaal clubs with it. SANFA, under Thabe, froze the TFA's banking accounts and suspended Matjila and the the TFA's executive. The TFA lost a supreme court appeal to reverse SANFA's actions and SANFA appointed an interim committee to run the TFA until the next elections for office. (Thabe op.cit. p.27.)

82. Sello op.cit. p.84.

83. Ibid.

84. Quoted in Sello op.cit. p.84.

85. Sowetan, 3/7/1981, p.3.

86. Sowetan, 13/7/1981, p.2.

87. Shadrack Twala from the Transvaal East XI Football Club in Sharpeville, suggested that Matjila was stretching his rivalry with Thabe too far and that the two must be able to settle their differences through other means: "It is completely childish for Mr Matjila to think about renaming the stadium after Mr Thabe had resigned from the community council." (Sowetan, 14/7/1981, p.2.)

88. C. Mogale, "Thabe in name-twister", Sowetan, 28/1/1983, p.1.

89. Interview with M. Molefe, Johannesburg, 26 May, 1989.

90. Makalakalane campaigned for a football contract in the United Kingdom in 1989 and was signed by Scottish first division club, Glasgow Rangers. (Phil Nyamane, "Makalakalane heads north to Hearts", The Star, 30/5/1989, p.12AM)

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1. D. Coplan, In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1985, p.184.

2. D. Coplan, "The African Performer and the Johannesburg Entertainment Industry: the struggle for African culture on the Witwatersrand," in B. Bozzoli (ed.) Labour, Township, and Protest, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1979, p.210.

3. Coplan In Township Tonight! op.cit. p.178.

4. Letter to The World, 20/5/1961, p.6.

5. Interview with Jonas "Brian" Chaka, Sharpeville, 30 May, 1989.

6. Ibid.

7. I. Chambers, Urban Rhythms: Pop Music and Popular Culture, MacMillan, Oxford, 1985, p.34.

8. Who's Who in Entertainment and Sport in Southern Africa, 1959-60, Don Barrigo, Johannesburg, p.21.

9. Ibid.

10. M. Andersson, Music in the Mix, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1981, p.88.

11. Ibid. pp.88-9. LM Radio ceased broadcasting on 12 October, 1975.

12. See Coplan In Township Tonight! op.cit.

13. H. Lunn, Antecedents of the music and popular culture of the African post-1976 generation, M.A. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1986, p.101 and p.103 passim.

14. Ibid. p.111.

15. Ibid. p.167.

16. Interview with Philip Mafiki Marakoane, Sharpeville, 8 March, 1990.

17. Lunn op.cit. p.167.

18. Ibid.

19. Interview with Jonas "Brian" Chaka, Sharpeville, 30 May 1989.

20. Interview with Bella Matsatsi, Sharpeville, 22 May, 1986.

21. Interview with Chris Jana, Sharpeville, 6 March, 1990.

22. The "Spacegram" referred to a brand of radiogram offered for sale by a local company. Other models included the "Space Cadet", a portable radio, and the "Space Hunter", a table radio. These names presumably referred to the public interest in the space exploration programme undertaken by the United States of America during the 1960s. (The World, 4/6/1960)

23. Lunn op.cit. p.129.

24. Interview with Philip Mafiki Marakoane, Sharpeville, 8 March, 1990.

25. Lunn op.cit. p.171.

26. See figure xiv below.

27. Interview with Chris Jana, Sharpeville, 6 March, 1990.

28. See B. Hirson Year of Fire, Year of Ash: The Soweto Revolt: Roots of a Revolution?, Zed Press, London, 1979.

29. See inter alia Pat Schwartz "The Vaal Triangle Upheaval", Reality, January, 1985; M. Chaskalson, K. Jochelson J. and Seekings "Rent Boycotts and the Urban Political Economy," in G. Moss and I. Obery (eds.) South African Review 4, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1987 and Johannes Rantete The Third Day of September: an eye-witness account of the Sebokeng Rebellion of 1984, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1984.

30. Interview with Jonas "Brian" Chaka, Sharpeville, 30 May, 1989.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. See above Chapter Two,

40. E. Nkabinde, "Vaal Beatniks go for the Beatles in a big, big way", The World, June 2, 1965, p.12.

41. Interview with Jonas "Brian" Chaka, Sharpeville, 30 May, 1989.

42. E. Nkabinde, "Vaal Beatniks go for the Beatles in a big, big way", World, June 2, 1965, p.12.

43. Interview with Jonas "Brian" Chaka, Sharpeville, 30 May, 1989.

44. See above Chapter Two.

45. Interview with Jonas "Brian" Chaka, Sharpeville, 30 May, 1989.

46. Ibid.

47. Vilakazi composed "Meadowlands" which protested the removals to Soweto in the late 1950's. (See above Chapter Four)

48. Interview with Jonas "Brian" Chaka, Sharpeville, 30 May, 1989.

49. Ibid.

50. Lunn op.cit. pp. 62, 64 and 66.

51. Andersson op.cit. p.87.

52. Ibid.

53. Interview with Jacob Macheli, Sharpeville, 23 May, 1989.

54. Interview with Jonas "Brian" Chaka, Sharpeville, 30 May, 1989.

55. Ibid.

56. Interview with Oupa Phakoa, Sharpeville, 1 May, 1989. Conducted by Christopher Nkete.

57. Chambers op.cit. p.142.

58. Quoted in Chambers op.cit. p.139.

59. See G.M. Gerhart, Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1978.

60. Interview with Jacob Macheli, Sharpeville, 23 May, 1989.

61. Lunn op.cit. pp.172-4.

62. Ibid. p.174.

63. Interview with Jonas "Brian" Chaka, Sharpeville, 30 May, 1989.

64. Ibid.

65. Interview with Jacob Macheli, Sharpeville, 23 May, 1989.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid.

68. Interview with Philip Mafiki Marakoane, Sharpeville, 8 March, 1990.

69. Interview with Jacob Macheli, Sharpeville, 23 May, 1989.

70. Ibid.

71. Interview with Jonas "Brian" Chaka, Sharpeville, 30 May, 1989.

72. Interview with Jacob Macheli, Sharpeville, 23 May, 1989.

73. Ibid.

74. Lunn op.cit. p.68.

75. Ibid.

76. The World, 24/1/1974, p.5.

77. Interview with Jonas "Brian" Chaka, Sharpeville, 30 May, 1989.

78. Ibid.

79. Interview with Jacob Macheli, Sharpeville, 23 May, 1989.

80. Ibid.

81. Interview with Jacob Macheli, Sharpeville, 3 May, 1989. Conducted by Christopher Nkete.

82. Ibid.

83. Interview with Moses "Shakes" Radebe, Sharpeville, 30 May, 1989.

84. Lunn op.cit. p.166.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid. p.165.

87. Elliot Makhaya, "Big hippie 'happening' for Vaal," The World, 19/4/1973, p.10. See also The World 2/1/1973 and 10/1/1973.

88. Interview with Philip Mafiki Marakoane, Sharpeville, 8 March, 1990.

89. Interview with Oupa Phakoa, Sharpeville, 1 May, 1989. Conducted by Christopher Nkete.

90. Ibid.

91. Lunn op.cit. pp.79-80.

92. Quoted in Lunn op.cit. p.80.

93. Quoted in Andersson op.cit. p.58. Full source not cited.

94. Lunn op.cit. p.72.

95. See above Chapter Four.

96. I was unable to interview Khoali despite numerous attempts to contact him. It appears that he has made a considerable amount of money out of the Black Five and, apart from having a house in Sharpeville, he owns another in Sebokeng.

97. Interview with Phillip Mafiki Marakoane, Sharpeville, 8 March, 1990.

98. Ibid.

99. Interview with Ezekiel Moeketsi, Sharpeville, 4 May 1989. Translated by A. Radebe.

100. Interview with Jacob Macheli, Sharpeville, 23 May, 1989.

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