

THE STORY OF LEHLOHONOLO CAMBRIDGE MOLOISANE AS AN ELEMENT OF BATHO'S LIBERATION HERITAGE

Patrick Lesatsi

National Museum, Bloemfontein, South Africa

patrickl@dac.gov.za

ABSTRACT

The Batho Liberation Heritage Project in the Mangaung area (Bloemfontein) has two main objectives: to collect available information on the people of Batho with specific reference to the liberation struggle, and to identify buildings and sites that were used for secret meetings or any politically related events during the apartheid era. This article places the story of Lehlohonolo Cambridge Moloisane, after whom a part of Batho, a “township” of Mangaung/Bloemfontein was named based on his participation in the liberation struggle, within the context of the Batho Liberation Heritage Project.

Keywords: Batho; liberation; struggle; heritage

INTRODUCTION

As part of the Batho Township Greening and Beautification Project in the Mangaung Metro Municipality, Lehlohonolo Cambridge Moloisane Park in Batho was officially opened on 5 December 2013. At a cost of R35 million, this park was created as part of efforts by the government to acknowledge the role played by freedom fighters in the Mangaung area.¹ The park is named after Lehlohonolo Cambridge Moloisane. However, many people in Batho know little about him and the role he played. By using oral history as a research methodology, an attempt was made to answer the following

1 There are conflicting reports concerning the amount spent on the park. Attempts to elicit this information from the municipality were unsuccessful. On 5 December 2013, Shopane and Narrain reported in the *Bloemfontein Courant* that the park had cost R35 million (Shopane and Narrain 2013).

questions: Who was Lehlohonolo Cambridge Moloisane? What is his connection to Batho?, and What happened to him?

The Batho Liberation Heritage Project is a subsidiary of the Batho Community History Project, aligned with the National Heritage Council (NHC) initiative to collect the stories of South Africa's liberation struggle. At local level, the Batho Liberation Heritage Project has two main objectives: to collect available information on the people of Batho, with specific reference to the liberation struggle, and to identify buildings and sites that were used for secret meetings or any politically related events during the apartheid era.²

THE FOUNDING OF BATHO

After the founding of Bloemfontein in 1846, separate residential areas known as Waaihoek and Kaffirfontein were allocated for the labourers (Letsatsi 2012, 28). Many blacks and coloureds moved to those areas as a result of the economic and political situation created by the South African War (1899–1902), as well the construction of the railway line between Cape Town and Johannesburg. Letsatsi further explains that because the majority of people living in Waaihoek were black, a separate residential area was created in 1902 for the coloured residents. This area became known as Cape Stands. According to Sekete (2004, 3) the locality of Waaihoek presented something of a problem, as it was seen as being “too close to the white part of town” and as possibly constituting a “health risk.” As a result, the town council suggested that it be demolished. The process of moving black people out of Waaihoek was slow, with the last house being demolished in the early 1940s. Batho township was therefore created in 1918 to make way for what was to be a white residential area named Oranjesig. The initial development of Batho took place between 1918 and 1924, with most of the houses being built in the 1920s and 1930s (Du Bruyn 2012).

Batho was the result of urbanisation, as many poor black people moved to Bloemfontein looking for job opportunities. Venter (1977, 3) states that the movement of black people also arose from the fact that they were providing cheap labour to white employers. Farmers around Bloemfontein could not provide work, and people were forced to seek employment elsewhere. It is for historical, social, economic and political reasons that Batho township is the focal point of this article. According to Du Bruyn (2010, 8), Batho was “a model township in terms of its lay-out, infrastructure and general orderliness.”

2 According to the Liberation Heritage Route website (National Heritage Council n.d.), the Liberation Heritage Project “is part of the process towards preserving national identity and reconstructing the memory of the liberation struggle for current and future generations.”

BATHO LIBERATION HERITAGE PROJECT

Liberation Heritage Buildings and Sites in Batho

The NHC divides the liberation heritage project into three key phases (Human Sciences Research Council 2013, 2), the aim of which is to identify new liberation heritage sites and develop the supportive narratives for these sites. In the case of Batho, oral history has been adopted as an effective methodology to gather all the necessary information. The heritage sites are defined as “relevant battlefields, prisons, educational institutions, buildings and other sites where significant meetings and other events were held, the houses and gravesites of key individuals in the liberation struggle, freedom trails, and other sites memorialising significant acts of repression and/or popular resistance.” The first phase covers the period from when the indigenous population first came into contact with the European settlers until Unification in 1910. The second phase covers the period of resistance characterised by “peaceful methods such as delegations, as well as spontaneous uprisings” from 1910 to 1959/60. The third phase covers the violent period, characterised by a departure from peaceful talks and negotiations in favour of the armed struggle and the intensification of repression by the apartheid government from 1960 to 1994.³

Research is essential in order for the identified sites to be acknowledged as liberation sites. It is important to understand the reasons why the liberation struggle in Batho needs to be recorded. There are many areas in Batho that can be connected either directly or indirectly to the events of the liberation struggle. However, if the people of Batho are unaware of the importance of acknowledging and protecting the liberation heritage buildings and sites, future generations will not appreciate their value. Some of the sites are important because they were the venues for secret political meetings at which people were briefed about changes that were taking place and new laws passed in parliament were discussed. ANC stalwarts such as Martha Mohlakoana and JB Mafora helped people to understand these laws and how they would be affected by them. According to Mr Leinaeng (2000), both Ms Mohlakoana and Mr Mafora were respected and seen as educators.

HOUSES

Thomas Mthobisi Mapikela’s House

Situated at 1473 Makgothi Street, this house, belonging to a founding member of the ANC, is also known as “Ulundi Khaya”. This house was ideal for the ANC Executive Council’s meetings in the 1930s and 1940s. Built in 1926 by Mapikela, this house is still

3 According to Scheermeyer (2005) the National Heritage Resources Act 1999 (section 2iii) recognises the intangible aspects of inherited culture as living heritage. Under this definition, oral history and popular memory are included.

used as a private residence by the Mapikela family. As a declared provincial heritage site, it has been renovated and will be turned into a museum.

Dixon Mogaecho's House

A blockman, Mr Mogaecho was involved in the fight against apartheid during the 1930s. He was a member of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU), supporting political activists and providing them with accommodation in a secret "stoep room".

Rev. Shem Yster's House

Reverend Yster was an underground member of the ANC, who was detained and harassed by the Security Police during the apartheid years. His house is situated at 1040 Moiloa Street. Nelson Mandela is said to have used the house as a hiding place during his visits to Bloemfontein.

Moipone Martha Mohlakoana's House

As one of the leaders of the ANC Women's League in the Free State, her house at 932 Gonyane Street was used to hold a number of ANC meetings.

Bishop Shuping Cecil Dibe's House

His house can be found at 748 Sesing Street. The bishop is an octogenarian ANC stalwart, and participated in the Defiance Campaign of 1952. He still remembers the events that took place during the apartheid.

CHURCHES

St John's Methodist Church

This church, the foundation stone of which was laid on 5 May 1946, is situated at 1163 Ngyayiya Street in an area of Batho called Cape Stands. During the apartheid years, political meetings were held at this church.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND VENUES

Masenkeng Sports Ground

Situated at the corner of Hamilton and Lovedale Streets, this sports ground was previously known as "Ramblers". It was sometimes used as a venue for undercover political gatherings.

Old Fort Prison

Located in Dr Belcher Road and built in 1895, this prison is also known as “Ramkraal”. The participants of the Defiance Campaign of 1952 were imprisoned there for 10 days. The main building is to become part of the planned new Free State Provincial Legislature complex.

Magasa Hall

The current hall was built in 1978 at 1617 Rubusana Street. The previous hall on this site was a popular venue for political gatherings held by the ANC during the apartheid years in the 1940s and 1950s. This hall has been recently renovated.

Batho Community Hall

The hall was built in 1922 by the Bloemfontein Town Council. It was used for various purposes, including the screening of films, the staging of music concerts, ballroom dancing and undercover political meetings. The hall is situated at the corner of Fort Hare and Hamilton Streets.

Sehunelo High School

The school opened its doors in 1937, and was then known as Bantu High School. During the 1970s and 1980s learners from this school became involved in politics. The school is situated in Hamilton Street.

Although the focus of South Africa’s struggle history is mainly on events of national importance, local communities such as Batho also played a significant role. Batho is a place where history speaks, and there are many untold stories of the liberation struggle that must still be revealed by means of oral history. The political activities that took place in Batho were not recorded out of fear of persecution by the apartheid government. The minutes of secret political meetings were either destroyed or hidden, or became lost over the years. For researchers and historians alike, the history of Batho spans the three key phases identified earlier. Batho is the home of liberation struggle heroes and heroines such as Mthobisi Mapikela, JB Mafora, Martha Mohlakoana, and Winkie Direko, to name but a few. The untold story of Lehlohonolo Cambridge Moloisane is equally important and forms part of the third phase of the liberation struggle. This story will be the focal point of this article.

ORAL HISTORY: THE PEOPLE WHO TELL THE STORIES

The Liberation Heritage Route was initiated by the NHC “as part of the legacy of the liberation struggle” (Human Sciences Research Council 2013, 1). The aim of the

Liberation Heritage Route is to identify, document, research, present and develop a series of liberation sites with localised, provincial and national significance. Heritage is inclusive, and in conjunction with the Liberation Heritage Route, the Batho Liberation Heritage Project seeks to find and tell the stories of ordinary people. The role played by the ordinary residents of Batho, some of whom are still alive today, should not be overlooked. These are the people who sacrificed everything that they had, no matter how little, but whose stories remain untold. The objective of the Batho Liberation Heritage Project is thus a very simple one: to objectively tell the stories of these unsung heroes and heroines of Batho. As stated in *Nordic Documentation on the Liberation Struggle in Southern Africa* (2014), the focus in collecting the liberation heritage is on the personal stories of the interviewees.

Du Bruyn (2010, 3) describes oral history as a “dynamic tool that provides access to information not usually found in conventional historical sources.” The historic streets of Batho are full of wonderful stories waiting to be recorded and made accessible to the public. They speak of fun, joy, life experiences, education, gender issues, sports, politics, sadness, culture and economic life, all of which will always be part of the heritage of Batho township. Also to be told are stories of sacrifice and determination in the face of danger. For the people of Batho and other towns across South Africa, it was not easy to leave loved ones and join the liberation struggle.

During the period from 1970 until the late 1980s, many people in Batho took part in the political struggle. The majority participated in secret meetings and underground mobilisation, and ANC leaders in Batho were understood to be leading. From the evidence gathered during the Batho Community History Project, it can be concluded that important ANC meetings certainly took place in Batho. However, it is difficult today to acquire secondary sources that can be used to verify this information. This may be because underground members of the ANC “destroyed information to avoid capture and detention and minutes of meetings were either kept by the leaders or not kept during secret sessions” (Masilo-Majoro 2012). This statement is supported by Mrs Yster (2014), the widow of Reverend Shem Yster, who was one of the prominent politicians in Batho.

The liberation struggle in Batho was not only about politics, but also about other important social issues such as job creation. When Itumeleng Moses Medupi was interviewed in 2001, he recounted how he and other young men would organise bus boycotts, the aim of which was to put a stop to white bus drivers entering the township, so that only black bus drivers would be hired. Mr Moche (2002) stated that the proximity of Winnie Mandela at Brandfort also seemed to have fuelled the liberation struggle in Batho. Protests such as these encouraged the people of Batho to realise that their social and political situations could be changed. Like other towns in South Africa, Batho experienced repressive measures applied by the apartheid government. The creation of a park in Batho was an effort by the Mangaung Metro Municipality to acknowledge the role played by freedom fighters from Bloemfontein. A story deserving of attention is

that of Matshidiso Yvonne Moloisane, sister of Lehlohonolo Moloisane, and how she suffered at the hands of the apartheid government.

Matshidiso Yvonne Moloisane

When interviewed about her brother, Matshidiso Yvonne Moloisane began by describing her life growing up without a father. Matshidiso and Lehlohonolo were raised by their mother, who played *fafi* to support them. After their mother suddenly died, Matshidiso and Lehlohonolo led a difficult life. Lehlohonolo became Matshidiso's responsibility, and she made sure her brother concentrated on his education. In 1975 Matshidiso enrolled at Strydom Teachers Training College in Thaba Nchu. She completed her studies in 1976, and took up employment at Morafe Primary School in Bochabela. Matshidiso had no interest in politics: the only thing that she focused on was ensuring that Lehlohonolo did well at school. Following the 1976 student uprisings, most learners left school because of the apartheid education system. During the interview Matshidiso explained that there was nothing to suggest that her brother was active in politics. She became aware of Lehlohonolo's involvement in politics only when he was arrested (Moloisane 2014).

In March 1978 Lehlohonolo travelled to Graaff-Reinet in the Eastern Cape to attend the funeral of Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe. On his way back to Bloemfontein he was arrested by the police and detained for about five months. Fortunately, Matshidiso was informed about her brother's arrest and where he was being detained. In those days the police had the power to arrest a person and not inform their family. After about five months Lehlohonolo was released, and told his sister that he had been detained at a police station at Glen, 26 kilometres north of Bloemfontein along the N1. On the day Lehlohonolo was arrested the police went to fetch Matshidiso from school. Her house was searched for any material that Lehlohonolo may have left. When she asked why her house was being searched, the police told her that Lehlohonolo was a communist. Subjecting families of freedom fighters to lies was one of many strategies utilised by the security forces (Togoe 2001).

After the 1978 uprising in Bloemfontein and at Sehunelo High School, Lehlohonolo and other learners fled to Lesotho. The details of this flight to Lesotho will be discussed later. The Special Branch harassed and abused Matshidiso, claiming that she knew about her brother's involvement in liberation struggle. She stated: "When you are a relative of a person in politics, the police suspected that you may know something. I really suffered. How did I know where he was? I ended up getting involved somehow because the police took me up and down. When I was at school, they are there to get me and took me to jail for questioning." The police had informers, and people suspected of being involved in politics were arrested and questioned about their activities (Moloisane 2014).

The monitoring and questioning by the police continued. On one occasion Matshidiso asked why the police were constantly searching her house. She was told that her home "was a base for the ANC." Shortly after this she decided to join the ANC

because she felt that she had no other choice and was tired of the way the police were treating her. She explained that she was forced to enter politics, and therefore allowed the ANC secret meetings to take place in her house, situated at 554 Msimang Street in Batho. The meetings that took place there introduced Matshidiso to the underground schemes. The aim of these secret meetings was not to discuss politics, but instead to help people. When Makotoko, a learner from St Bernard Primary School, was killed by the police during a protest, his funeral was discussed during one of many ANC meetings in her house. People like Mr Melesi and Pitso Melamu, who was a blockman at that time, discussed helping the family of Makotoko with funeral arrangements. Similar discussions were held when Walter Thebe was shot and killed by the police. Black butchery owners were asked to donate a sheep to be slaughtered during the funeral. Matshidiso acknowledged the risk she took by allowing meetings to be held at her house, but at the same time felt she had no other option, as she was being targeted by the police in any case (Moloisane 2014).

As stated earlier in this paper, Matshidiso was unaware of her brother's activities, and so the biggest surprise came during his funeral. She first heard rumours that Lehlohonolo had fled to Lesotho, and subsequently had confirmation when she received a call from him. During the conversation Lehlohonolo told her that he had joined the ranks of the freedom fighters. Following their telephonic conversation Matshidiso decided to visit Lehlohonolo to see how he was living. On her first visit, she found that Lehlohonolo was staying together with others as a group of refugees. Out of concern that they might be attacked if they stayed together as a group, the Lesotho government decided to allow them to become integrated into society. During Matshidiso's second visit she found that Lehlohonolo was staying in the village of Khubetsoana, south of Maseru. Each time Matshidiso returned from Lesotho the police were waiting for her and she would be taken for questioning about the people she had met and what they had said. When she told the police that she had nothing to say, the police would beat her (Moloisane 2014).

Lehlohonolo had left instructions for Matshidiso that if she were to hear of people killed in Lesotho she must make inquiries, because they were living in constant danger. Immediately the news of the raid in Lesotho broke, she asked for a lift and upon arrival started searching for her brother.

BATHO'S LIBERATION HERITAGE: THE STORY OF LEHLOHONOLO CAMBRIDGE MOLOISANE

In order to elaborate on the role played by Lehlohonolo Cambridge Moloisane in the liberation struggle, it is important to note that a number of Batho residents were either directly or indirectly involved in the liberation struggle. Lehlohonolo himself was directly and actively involved. However, the same cannot be said for his sister, Matshidiso Moloisane: even when she participated in underground political activities because of Security Police harassment and abuse, she was not active in decision-making.

Nevertheless, her role in the liberation struggle cannot be denied, and her suffering at the hands of the Security Police is a testimony to this. As Suttner (2008, 117) states, “many who performed heroic deeds are unsung and may never be known because they worked in secret or under cover of doing something else.”

During the 1970s the youth in the townships of Bloemfontein and other towns across South Africa actively participated in protests against apartheid. As one of these young people, Lehlohonolo joined the Bloemfontein Student League (BSL) when it was formed in the late 1970s. The BSL and its informal structure attracted many high school students, particularly from Sehunelo Secondary School in Batho. There is a direct link between the liberation struggle in Batho and the political unrest that took place in Soweto from 1976. This is because the leadership of the Soweto Students League (SSL) under President Oupa Mlangeni and Secretary Teboho Moremi were forced into hiding in 1978. Mlangeni and Moremi fled to Bloemfontein in August 1978, and within weeks of their arrival they inspired the formation of the BSL. Owing to the unrest that followed immediately after the formation of the BSL, the police repression intensified and Mlangeni, Moremi and many students in Bloemfontein fled to Lesotho in 1978 (SAHistory 2014).

In detaining political activists and students who raised their voices, against injustices, the state exercised repressive methods. Stadler (1987, 1–2) states that from the mid-1970s in particular, hundreds, if not thousands of young people from across the country left and joined the ANC. Some of those who played a role in the liberation struggle in Batho were influenced during visits to places such as Soweto and Lesotho. Some of the freedom fighters were influenced and politicised by others “about apartheid, about oppression, about exploitation, about Robben Island, about Mandela and his comrades in prison” (Qoqpane 2000).

Many students from the Free State fled to Lesotho without informing their loved ones, and Lehlohonolo was among these.

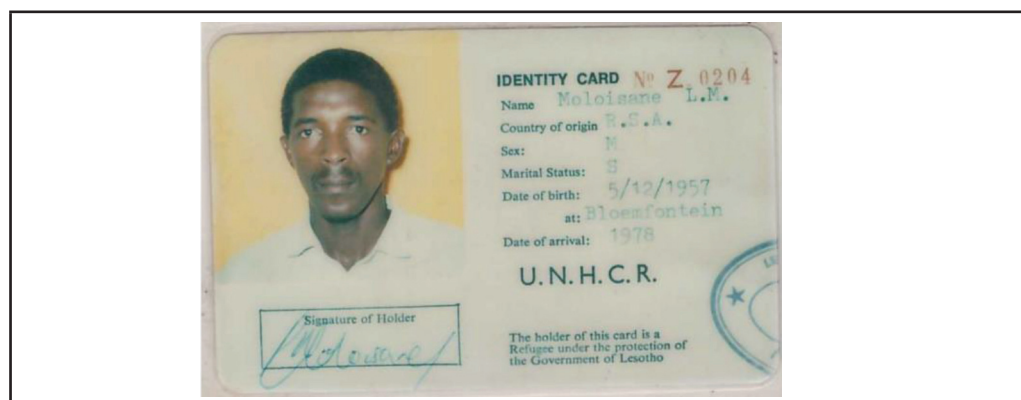


Figure 1: UNHCR card issued to Lehlohonolo Moloisane

During the reburial of Lehlohonolo Moloisane and Patrick Moholo on 16 December 2004 it was stated that Lehlohonolo joined Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the armed wing of the ANC, upon his arrival in Lesotho in 1978. He was known to his friends and family as “Luckyboy”, but his *nom de guerre* was Khanyile Lesedi (Funeral programme of the late Cambridge Moloisane and Patrick Moholo 2004). In 1979 Lehlohonolo received military training in Angola, and in 1980 he went to the German Democratic Republic (GDR) for specialist military training. He was appointed Camp Commissar in the Vienna Camp in Angola, and was deployed to Lesotho in 1981 to serve in the Free State Machinery and the Intelligence Unit of MK. When interviewed on 2 October 2014, Mr Molefi Foko, Free State Provincial Secretary of the Umkhonto we Sizwe Military Veterans Association (MKMVA), provided some interesting facts about MK. As a camp commissar, Lehlohonolo was a political officer; a commissar was an officer assigned to teach party principles to the military unit. The possibility here is that Lehlohonolo engaged other MK soldiers in political debates and motivational interactions (Foko 2014).

In 1982, the Special Branch forced the principal of Morafe Primary School to fire Matshidiso Moloisane on the grounds that she was giving the school a bad name. On 9 December of that year, Lehlohonolo and his comrades were killed during a raid by the South African Defence Force in Maseru, in which 42 people were killed: 30 South Africans and 12 Lesotho nationals, most of whom were staying in so-called “safe houses” in and around Maseru. Naidoo (1991) states that the house where Lehlohonolo and four of his comrades were killed as they lay sleeping was situated in an area called Lower Seoli, Ha Masithela, in Maseru. On that day, Lehlohonolo had paid his friends a visit from where he was staying in Khubetsoana. He was at the wrong place at the wrong time, and paid for this with his life (Davis 1982).

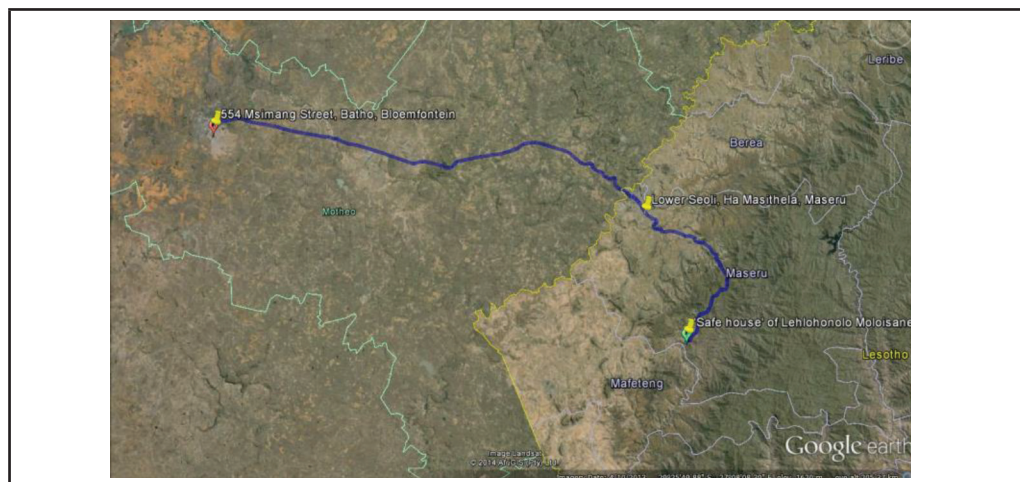


Figure 2: A map showing the route that Lehlohonolo took from Bloemfontein to Lesotho (Google Earth 2014)

According to Callinicos (2004, 464), the then Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, made a public statement in which he boasted about the attack. Kruger claimed that “of every ten who cross the border to join the ANC, five are mine”; this sowed distrust amongst the ANC camps.

CONCLUSION

Will the stories of people like Lehlohonolo be kept alive and told to the youth and future generations of Bloemfontein? People from all over South Africa, including Batho, disappeared, while others were murdered, harassed, abused and tortured. The then South African government went beyond the country’s borders in pursuit of those fighting for freedom. Some families have never found out what happened to their loved ones, while others learnt of their relatives’ demise during the hearing of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). They paid dearly for fighting an unjust system. Yet despite the sacrifice made by Lehlohonolo and his comrades, their stories are not widely known in Batho. When it comes to liberation heritage, the people of Batho should have a sense of ownership and pride, and public participation in matters related to liberation heritage should be encouraged. Heritage education is the responsibility of government, private and public institutions, heritage practitioners and, most important, members of the community. Without the involvement of the community members in heritage education, the preservation, conservation and promotion of liberation heritage objects and sites will be futile.

REFERENCES

- Callinicos, L. 2004. *Oliver Tambo: Beyond the Engeli Mountains*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Davis, G. 1982. “Maseru Stunned by Raid.” *The Friend*, December 10: 1.
- Du Bruyn, D. 2010. “Oral Testimonies as a Source of Community History, With Special Reference to the Batho Project, Bloemfontein.” *South African Journal of Cultural History* 24 (2): 1–24.
- Du Bruyn, D. 2012. *The Batho Community History Project: Implementation and Update*. Department of History, National Museum, Bloemfontein.
- Foko, M., interview by xxx, October 2, 2014.
- Funeral programme of the late Cambridge Lucky Moloisane and Patrick Moholo, December 16, 2004.
- [Google Earth, 2014.
- Human Sciences Research Council. 2013. *Documenting the Legacy of the South African Liberation Struggle: The National Liberation Heritage Route*.
- Leinaeng, R. Z., interview by xxx, October 27, 2000. Military and Stalwarts Veterans Project, Vol. 1, Reference: FAH/OHI No. 6: 2.

- Letsatsi, P. 2012. "Batho's Street Names: A Rich Historical Reference." *CULNA*, November: 28.
- Masilo-Majoro, K. R., interview by xxx, September 15, 2012, Batho Community History Project.
- Medupi, M. I., interview by xxx, March 27, 2001, Military and Stalwarts Veterans Project, Vol. 1, Reference: FAR/OHI No. 13: 2.
- Moche, O. S., interview by xxx, May 17, 2002, Military and Stalwarts Veterans Project, Vol. 1, Reference: FAR/OHI No. 33: 1.
- Moloisane, M. Y., interview by xxx, June 19, 2014, Batho Community History Project.
- Naidoo, P. 1991. "Le rona re Batho". <http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/chapter-1-house-lower-seoli> (accessed September 8, 2014).
- National Heritage Council. n.d. "Liberation Heritage Route South Africa." <http://www.liberationheritage.co.za/> (accessed October 8, 2014).
- Nordic Documentation on the Liberation Struggle in Southern Africa. <http://www.liberationafrica.se/intervstories/interviews/> (accessed July 31, 2014).
- Qoopane, M. J. F., interview by xxx, July 21, 2000, Military and Stalwarts Veterans Project, Vol. 1, Reference: FAR/OHI No. 8: 3.
- Scheermeyer, C. 2005. "A Changing and Challenging Landscape: Heritage Resources Management in South Africa." *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* 60 (182): 121.
- Sekete, A. M. 2004. "The History of Mangaung (Black) Township." MA thesis, Department of History, University of the Free State.
- Shopane, G., and A. Narrain. 2013. "Batho Township gets a R35 Million Park." *Bloemfontein Courant*. <http://www.bloemfonteincourant.co.za/article/2749/Batho-township-gets-a-R35-million-park> (accessed September 8, 2014).
- SAHistory Online. 2014. "The Banning of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and Student Politics in the 1980s." <http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/banning-south-african-students-organisation-saso-and-student-politics-1980s> (accessed September 8, 2014).
- Stadler, A. 1987. *The Political Economy of Modern South Africa*. Claremont: David Philip.
- Suttner, R. 2008. *The ANC Underground in South Africa to 1976: A Social and Historical Study*. Johannesburg: Jacana Media.
- Togoe, M. H. E., interview by xxx, October 16, 2001, Military and Stalwarts Veterans Project, Vol. 1, Reference: FAR/OHI No. 20: 5–6.
- Venter, P. C. 1977. *Soweto: Shadow City*. Johannesburg: Perskor.
- Yster, M., interview by xxx, January 30, 2014, Batho Community History Project.