

CRADOCK

The further particulars to the indictment (p.79) allege that since September 1984 Cradock Civic Association (this should be Cradock Residents Association: CRADORA) Cradock Youth Association (CRADOYA) UDF, GRAVO AND COSAS organised and intimidation violence and riots occurred.

We had no evidence about GRAVO.

The problems in Cradock started long before September 1984. The central figure in Cradock was Mathew Goniwe. He grew up there and later became a teacher in Umtata. He was a political activist who served a four years' sentence in the Transkei under the security laws and was released in approximately 1980. He taught at Graaff-Reinet and thereafter requested a transfer to Cradock where he arrived in 1983 as vice-principal of the Sam Xhallie secondary school. He became acting principal in July 1983. On the staff was Fort Calata. The defence witness Skweyiya testified that the pupils were undisciplined and that Goniwe and Calata started to tighten up discipline.

According to this witness in May 1983 Goniwe called a meeting of the clergy and professional women like social workers and nurses and called upon them to encourage the youth to attend church and form cultural groups. A public meeting was held and committees for

drama, education, sport and choral music were formed which set about organising those activities. In August 1983 at a mass meeting of parents and youths CRADOYA was formed. Mathew Goniwe was chairman and Calata secretary.

The rent for the new houses built at Lingelihle in 1983 was determined on a sliding scale relative to income. The professional people were unhappy with this. Teachers and nurses called a meeting of residents on 25 August 1983. Mathew Goniwe and Fort Calata were amongst the leaders. Weekly meetings were called thereafter. An attorney was approached. It was felt that a residents association was called for as there were other complaints as well. Goniwe obtained advice on a draft constitution and CRADORA was formed on 4 October 1983. Goniwe became chairman and Calata treasurer. In November 1983 it was resolved to affiliate to the UDF.

There was a Black town council in Cradock. It had been a village council previously. They were discredited at the meetings leading up to the formation of CRADORA because rents had been increased since 1978. In fact the increase was due to the increase in the cost of services about which they could do nothing. The councillors were derogatorily called puppets. According to Skweyiya a meeting called by the councillors in 1980 had been disrupted by stone-throwing and thereafter a beerhall was set alight.

The formation of CRADORA was not seen as being a purely local

matter. It was given a broader meaning. In the words of Mbulelo Goniwe, organiser of the UDF in the region, "the struggle initially manifested itself as a loose formation of people who were brought together by a common problem, the rent problem, under the determined and resolute leadership of an interim committee. The unfolding of the struggle went beyond the confines of a specific problem. The particular civic issues were seen to be interwoven with, in fact to be emanating from the general problem of exploitation in our country". [Exh T.24 (second document)].

It will be noted that the formation of CARDOYA and CRADORA coincided with the start of UDF political activity in South Africa (though the Eastern Cape region was only launched on 7 December 1983).

The chairman of CRADORA, Mathew Goniwe, was transferred to Graaff-Reinet with effect from 1 January 1984, probably as a result of his political activism. He refused to report for duty and decided to stay on in Cradock "and continue to organise the people". A combined effort was made by CRADORA and the youth association CRADOYA to have the departmental decision rescinded. These efforts were not effective.

Due to his refusal to take up his new post he was dismissed. Though he had been teaching at Sam Xhallie secondary school the Std 9 pupils at Lingelihle high school started a boycott on 3 February

1984, stating that they wanted Goniwe as principal and wanted SRC's to bring it about. Sam Xhallie secondary school joined the boycott on 6 February 1984 and thereafter all other secondary schools followed. The primary schools had to close as the pupils were kept at home due to fighting between police and senior pupils.

The Department of Education and Training closed the schools for one week but when they re-opened the pupils refused to lift their boycott. The pupils continued to gather on school premises singing "We want Goniwe" and were dispersed by the police.

Goniwe's application for reinstatement was refused. A protest meeting was held at which the people said that the children would not go back to school. Regular meetings of CRADORA and CRADOYA were held till 23 March 1984 when they were prohibited by the magistrate. At one of these Goniwe allegedly rebuked a pupil who had struck a teacher. In reply to the attitude of the Department of Education and Training that if the parents did not take the children back to school the schools would be permanently closed the attitude of the parents according to Skweyiya was that they did not care as Goniwe was not reinstated.

On 25 March 1984 there was rioting followed by a large police presence in Cradock. On 30 March 1984 Mathew Goniwe, his nephew Mbulile Goniwe, Calata and Madoda Jacobs were detained. The latter was the headboy of Lingelihle high school.

In mid April 1984 the nephew of the acting principal Mr Magudu fatally stabbed another pupil and thereafter there were petrolbomb attacks on the houses of two councillors and Magudu. None of these people had anything to do with the stabbing.

Thereafter more petrolbombings followed. Inter alia on the house of the vice-chairman of CRADORA. On 26 April 1984 two youths were shot. On 12 May 1984 the mother of the mayoress was buried. The funeral procession was attacked with stones.

A consumer boycott was held for one day on 16 June 1984 the reason being, according to Skweyiya, to demonstrate against police action against civilians. The boycott was repeated for the period 26 July 1984 to 2 August 1984. We doubt Skweyiya's given reason, as in exh AAY.16 the boycott is stated to be in solidarity with those detained and for higher wages; and in exh AAY.15 it is stated to be against low wages of women, high rentals, the banning of meetings and to effect the release of those in gaol. It seems that any available grievance was used to mobilise the masses.

In July pamphlets were distributed in Cradock's Black township by COSAS stating that the school boycotts would continue until their demands were met. Exh AAY.13. There was a COSAS placard against forced removals which also called for houses. Exh AAY.14.

Already on 19 June 1984 accused No 19 wrote that 95 people had been arrested since the transfer of Mathew Goniwe led to a boycott of classes. According to the letter (exh AJ.43) the entire student community and youth leadership had been detained.

It is common cause that violence flared in Cradock since September 1984, that policemen were killed, twelve houses of teachers and policemen were damaged by stones thrown by groups, vehicles were set alight and stones were thrown at police patrols by groups, road-blockades were established which brought traffic to a standstill, groups of people held processions and blocked roads, councillors' houses were stoned and set alight, petrolbombs were thrown at four houses of police, councillors and teachers and a petrolbomb was thrown at Administration Board offices. Exh AAS.3 para 17.

A number of AZASO pamphlets (exh AAY.17) were found in the township in October 1984. They dealt with the death of Hendrik Nkuna. The caption is: "Forward to the peoples' SRC's". They further state: "We shall continue with the struggle even if they gun us down. By his sweat and blood we shall overcome. In their hearts his name is terrible and dreadful but to us he remains our hero" (abbreviated). It seems that Nkuna was a student killed by the police elsewhere. Also in October 1984 a UDF Million Signature Campaign placard was found in the township. The two Goniwes and Calata were released from detention on 10 October 1984 and on 15 October 1984 a mass meeting was held to welcome them back.

Oscar Mpetha, national president of the UDF, addressed a public meeting of CRADORA on 20 October 1984. Exh AAY.19.

On 1 December 1984 the beerhall which had been burnt down in 1980 was re-opened. CRADORA immediately held a protest meeting.

In the beginning of 1985 the pupils did not return to school. Their reason was that Goniwe and Calata had not been reinstated and there was no SRC yet.

On 2 February 1985 constable Bomali was murdered in Lingelihle, the Black township.

On 3 February 1985 there was unrest, stone-throwing and arson. The police had to use tear-gas and bird-shot. On the afternoon of that day a group of 20 to 30 people set a motor-car alight. Five or six of those wore UDF T-shirts. On that particular day special targets were the homes of teachers and school-inspectors and their motor vehicles. A woman teacher's house was burnt down and on the wall of this burning house was written UDF. The defence argues that the ANC used the UDF T-shirts as camouflage. This presupposes that the ANC would want to discredit the UDF with the authorities, which is on the facts before us a preposterous proposition. One should, however, not make too much of the fact that people wore T-shirts. They were freely available. On the other hand the wearers can on the whole be taken to be active supporters of the UDF like the activists of the local organisations.

Thози Skweyiya was shot by the police and thereafter vehicles were set alight, houses were stoned and people were killed. At his funeral on 11 February 1985 the Reverend Nissan, Mathew Goniwe, Mbulelo Goniwe and Fort Calata were speakers. All were important persons in UDF circles. The first two were respectively on regional executive councils at some stage. There was no violence at the funerals or immediately thereafter. Skweyiya testified that the speakers appealed to the mourners to avoid violence. We can make no finding in this respect bearing in mind the quality of Skweyiya as a witness.

Thereafter during February 1985 two groups of youths 100 to 200 strong, one group bearing a COSAS banner and the other a CRADORA banner ran through the streets singing and shouting on the way to a meeting at the community hall. The first group stoned police houses in passing and a police patrol van.

Following a public meeting on 8 April 1985 which called on the children to go back to school they did that on 15 April 1985. Mathew Goniwe participated in this call.

On 14 April 1985 the beerhall was damaged and looted.

Mathew Goniwe, Calata and others were killed on 27 June 1985. The circumstances were not given in court. The school boycott resumed and lasted till January 1987. Effectively the children of Cradock lost three years of schooling.



There is no doubt that this boycott was organised. No boycott lasting three years can be uncontrolled. The body which was behind the boycott at its commencement was CRADOYA. Mbulelo Goniwe organiser of both CRADORA and CRADOYA reported to the NEC of the UDF in mid-January 1984 that CRADOYA had decided on a schools boycott should Mathew Goniwe not be reinstated. Exh T.24. In the light of the fact that Mathew Goniwe and Calata held leadership positions in both CRADORA and CRADOYA the support of CRADORA for this boycott is understandable. The fact that at a later stage CRADORA and Mathew Goniwe attempted to end the boycott does not change the picture.

This same report gives a clear view of the nature of CRADORA and its leadership. It states that CRADORA led by Mathew Goniwe is at the head of the peoples struggle against the enemy, which is the government. Goniwe decided to defy the transfer to stay in Cradock to continue to organise the people. The UDF was approached for assistance to have the transfer of Goniwe rescinded and to render financial assistance for the purchase of CRADORA T-shirts - which were in fact bought in February 1984.

At the funeral of Mathew Goniwe and three others in July 1985 which was attended by UDF supporters from as far afield as Cape Town and Worcester ANC, SACP, UDF and CRADORA banners were prominent.

Photos taken during the middle of 1985 show various slogans daubed on the walls in Lingelihle: Viva Umkhonto we Sizwe, ANC, Mandela,

Sizulu, Mhlaba, Mbeki, Beware Botha, Tambo is coming. Long live ANC, UDF, MK, CRADOYA, Viva AK.47. Shortly after a slogan "Let's kill Michausdal's Hotnots on Sunday" appeared on a wall the first unrest started in the Coloured schools consisting of stone-throwing, school boycotts and burning of tyres in streets. Exhs AAY.20 and 21.

During May 1985 police raids on the houses of the assistant secretary and chairman of CRADORA rendered a number of UDF documents inter alia those of the annual general meeting of the Eastern Cape UDF on 3 March 1985, invitations to workshops in May 1985 and June 1985 and others indicating a close working relationship between that organisation and the UDF. Exhs AAZ.6 - AAZ.17. The answer to the defence argument that some of these documents fall outside the period of the indictment is to be found in the section of this judgment dealing with Duduza.

From the end of 1984 a pattern was observed at funerals in the Cradock area. Before the service the youths would gather outside shouting and singing Viva UDF, Viva ANC, CRADORA, AK.47, Bazuka, etc. While the service was on they ran up and down the streets gathering others. After the service the runners joined the procession. Banners were unfolded and the coffin carried shoulder-high. After the burial youths took to the streets, attacked targets who were regarded as Government supporters, police, teachers and councillors. The banners used were those of the UDF, CRADORA and COSAS.

The community council ceased to exist in Cradock. On the probabilities its demise was caused by the aforementioned acts of intimidation. That was also the evidence of a state witness.

CRADORA and Cradock Youth Organisation (CRAYO) were affiliated to the UDF from 4 December 1983. Exh AAS.2 schedule 4 para 16 and 17. The latter is the later name of Cradock Youth Association (CRADOYA).

Skweyiya conceded in cross-examination that street committees had been formed in Cradock by the end of January 1985. These were responsible to area committees which were in turn responsible to CRADORA's executive. This had been decided at a joint CRADORA CRADOYA meeting in October 1984. His version that these street committees were to deal with problems like muddy streets is rejected. We refer in this respect to annexure Z. The UDF itself in its journal *Izizwe* of March 1986 (exh CA.38) stated that it had started in 1985 to build a peoples' government inter alia through street committees and that one of the first townships to introduce them was Cradock's Lingelihle township under the guidance of CRADORA and its chair person Mathew Goniwe. See also Exh AAZ.8.

The defence relies on Skweyiya for its submission that street committees ceased to function when meetings were prohibited in March 1985. We have found this witness to be unreliable and do not accept that these activists would knuckle down so easily.

There existed a COSAS branch at Cradock during the relevant period. The defence witness Skweyiya first heard of it in October 1984 but the pamphlets of this organisation had been distributed before that time. COSAS was active in Cradock and it attended the Katberg COSAS regional council meeting in June 1985 where it reported on its activities. Exh CA.43. The call at this council meeting was to unite in the schools and become uncontrollable and ungovernable. Exh CA.45. Reference should be made to our chapter on the policy of COSAS and the finding that it was a revolutionary organisation.

The UDF was closely involved with the events at Cradock. Mbulelo Goniwe reported to the UDF NEC. Exh T.24. Accused No 20 wrote an article on it. Exh AB.15 (second document). Accused No 19 sent out a circular calling for a national day of solidarity with the people of Cradock. Exh AJ.43.

The minutes of the joint secretariat meeting of 28 April 1984 (exh C.89) attended by accused No 19 and No 20 reflect that the situation was discussed.

The UDF president Mpetha spoke in Cradock on 20 October 1984.

A UDF Million Signature Campaign placard was put up there. Youths wore UDF T-shirts. Its affiliates COSAS and CRADORA were prominent at funerals and so was the UDF's banner at the funeral of Goniwe.

UDF documents were found in the house of the assistant secretary of CRADORA. Exhs AAZ.6 to AAZ.16.

Accused No 20 testified that he circulated a petition to reinstate the teachers, visited Cradock and drafted a report to the NEC and that the NEC thereafter issued the said call of solidarity calling for the release of the teachers of Cradock.

A press release found in the offices of the UDF Johannesburg on 19 February 1985 (exh AJ.14) states:

" Whilst the lifting of emergency regulations in Cradock is a slight relief, but it is no cause for celebration. The basic grievances of the residents of Cradock have not in any way been addressed. It is abundantly clear that until the community leaders are released and reinstated in their jobs the schools boycott will continue unabated.

The high-handed actions of the police in Cradock and the state of emergency itself have strengthened the determination of the residents of Cradock to struggle for a non-racial democratic South Africa. In no way have these attempts at intimidation been successful.

The UDF salutes the courage and spirit of resistance of the people led by CRADORA and CRADOYA and we fully

"support their demand for the unconditional and immediate release of their leaders. "

This document shows the whole-hearted co-operation between CRADORA, CRADOYA and the UDF and that the events at Cradock of which violence was often an ingredient are seen by the UDF and its affiliates as part of the liberation struggle. The school boycott is an integral part thereof.

Mathew Goniwe leader of CRADOYA and CRADORA and later organiser of the UDF in the Eastern Cape was also on that body's regional executive council from March 1985.

The close association with and endorsement of the actions of CRADORA and CRADOYA is also apparent from notes of what is probably a speech found in the possession of accused No 19 on 19 April 1984 at a police road block at Cookhouse, near Cradock. Exh AAZ.4. The notes state that if the demands of those organisations are not met there may be a bloodbath.

The defence submits that the UDF had nothing to do with the formation of CRADORA and CRADOYA and that they came into existence as a result of local problems. We have found Skweyiya who gave the background to be unreliable and make no finding in this respect. The same reasoning applies to Skweyiya's testimonial to Goniwe.

In cross-examining the state witnesses the defence attempted to lay the blame for the riots in Cradock at the door of the South African police, who were alleged to have been provocative. The same attitude is displayed in the quotation from exh AJ.14 set out above. This was denied by the state and the defence adduced no evidence to support the accusations.

We reach the following conclusions in respect of Cradock:

1. The masses at Cradock were politicised and mobilised by CRADORA and the youth by CRADOYA and later COSAS.
2. The whole struggle in Cradock was seen by the activists of these organisations as part of the liberation struggle - which includes the violence.
3. The main targets during the rioting were always vehicles and immovable property of the Development Board, councillors, teachers, school-inspectors and the South African police. This is indicative of directed violence.
4. Youthful supporters of COSAS and CRADORA were prominent where the action was and it is highly probable that they had a hand in the violence.

5. The UDF fully endorsed and supported the actions of these organisations as part of the liberation struggle and never distanced itself from the violence in which its affiliates or some of their activists were involved.



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