

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OF THE POLICY OF THE UDF AND/OR DOCUMENTARY STATEMENTS OF OFFICE-BEARERS OF THE UDF INDICATIVE OF POLICY AND OTHER DOCUMENTARY PROOF SUPPORTING VIOLENCE

There are a mass of documents that do not fit in with the thesis of the accused that the UDF is a non-violent organisation.

The answer accused No 19 gives when confronted with such documents is that that particular document is not a UDF document. An example is exh C.132. He states that for a document to be regarded as a UDF document it has to have been adopted by the National General Council (NGC) or National Executive Committee (NEC) of the UDF. If for example the Western Cape Region of the UDF produces a document on an issue it is not a UDF document until it has been accepted by the NEC after consultation with the regions. It may well be that it represents the views of a region but it does not become a UDF document until adopted by the NEC. That is accused No 19's testimony.

We are not unmindful of the fact that a front is a loose formation rallied around certain stated common principles and that if those principles are to be amended it cannot be done unilaterally by one of the components of the front or by individuals making speeches.

We also bear in mind that in such a loose formation one constituent member cannot be held responsible for statements made by others. Nor can the office-bearers.

Statements, speeches and documents can however indicate a prevalent pattern of thought amongst the leaders of the UDF. A paper read at a conference need not be formally adopted to give us an indication of how the wind blows. The views of the speaker are not unknown to the leadership when he is asked to present a paper or make a speech and should such speaker overstep the mark one would expect him to be rapped over the knuckles and voted out of office. Affiliated organisations which flout the principles of the UDF could be expected to be reprimanded and if there is a serious deviation from principle, expelled.

If non-violence is a principle of the UDF one would therefore have expected immediate drastic action by that organisation against each speaker and author who even obliquely espoused violence.

In that sense all speeches held by UDF office-bearers or at UDF meetings and all publications bearing the UDF logo or emanating from the UDF or found in UDF offices are relevant.

It is no answer to say, as accused No 19 does, that a document or statement was not formally adopted by the NEC or the NGC. The question to be answered in this context is: Was it unequivocally rejected?

No explicit formal decision to start the revolution immediately was found documented. However, when minutes and public statements are weighed as evidence it should be borne in mind that these were widely circulated. The state case is not that it was overt and publicly declared policy of the UDF to organise a revolution. That would in the South African situation have led to immediate state intervention and termination of the UDF's activities.

The state case is that the covert intention was to stoke a revolutionary climate amongst the masses in order that in time the masses would take violent action.

The minutes and formal policy statements of the UDF were widely circulated and it would be suicidal for the UDF to set out an intention to foment revolution in that type of document.

The absence of indications of such intent in the formal documentation, though not without weight, cannot be conclusive

proof of a non-violent policy.

One has to bear in mind that the UDF from the outset had as one of its objects to gather under its banner as wide a spectrum as possible of those opposed to government policies. Obviously the majority of those people would adhere to a policy of non-violence and many of them would be moderates. Virtually no support could be expected from the Whites and very little from the other population groups if a policy of violence was advocated.

On the other hand the most militant supporters of the UDF were, as we will show, not averse to violence. They too had to be accommodated. The formal policy statements of the UDF, its aims and objects were therefore wide enough to accommodate both the non-violent and violent sections of its supporters. Statements by office-bearers and especially speeches were ambivalent and could be interpreted by the starry-eyed idealists as advocating non-violent means of opposition and by the hard-bitten young radicals as support for violent action. At times however even a dyed-in-the-wool blindfolded liberal could have felt with a stick that revolutionary action was propagated.

An example of the ambivalent attitude of the UDF is to

be found in the minutes of the NEC of 21 July 1984 exh H.1
para 4.1.1 -

" It was further noted that some affiliates were beginning to feel that the Front was not militant enough, lack enough depth. On this aspect the NEC decided that although affiliates could be militant and committed programmes such as the Freedom Charter the UDF had to remain broad enough to accommodate all forces particularly the unions. "

The same attitude is apparent from a memorandum by accused No 19 annexed to a circular dated 13 September 1984.
Exh C.42 para 2.2.

We will first deal with the documents which in our view support the state case that the UDF was a revolutionary organisation and thereafter set out the defence arguments against this contention. Of necessity and for the sake of clarity we will quote extensively from the documents.

AB.25, AB.39

The Soweto Youth Congress (SOYCO), child of the Transvaal UDF, at whose christening the major UDF leadership was present, had as its programme of action inter alia

" to root out and destroy all the reactionary and counter-revolutionary elements throughout the country and the world. "

Its short-term objectives included

" ensure unity in action "

" to apply flexibility of tactics in challenging the enemy "

SOYCO was launched on 31 July 1983 and accused No 19 participated in the proceedings by reading its constitution.

The language quoted above is hyperbolic but the sentiments are clear. The document is exh AB.25.

A year later accused No 20 on behalf of the UDF sent the following message to SOYCO'S first annual congress on 3 August 1984. It is exh AB.39.

" You have the daunting task of matching the ability to organise, the militancy and selfless courage of the '76 Soweto youth. Respond to the challenge of the youth in Cradock, Lamontville and Parys.

If you will claim your rightful place in the pages of the country's history you must perform as never before. Organise the employed and unemployed, drop-outs and illiterate youth. Let our generation's words and deeds inspire our people to levels of resistance that must crumble apartheid for ever. "

Already in the official published documents of the national launch of 20 August 1983 (exh A.1 p.43) the call by Aubrey Mokoena to pray like revolutionaries should raise an eyebrow. Especially when taken in conjunction with the vehement anti-government and pro-ANC language of the document as a whole.

At the Port Elizabeth conference of the UDF held on 17 and 18 December 1983 Eric Molobi, then treasurer of the UDF Transvaal, read a paper. The conference was attended by over 1 000 people and copies of the paper were distributed. Some

C.14

were later found with Prof Mohammed and in the UDF offices and with R White in Port Elizabeth. It must have been regarded as an important paper therefore. It is exh C.14.

It deals in a general way with the difference between principles, strategy and tactics. Molobi refers to the campaign by "the people" against "the enemy" which is the state. The principle of the democratic movement was a non-racial South Africa. The strategy was to oppose the government's constitutional plans. The conference was to discuss the tactics to be adopted against "the state and its quislings" on the proposed referendum for Indian and Coloured people and consider inter alia which tactic would best disorganise the state and what was the best way of preventing/obstructing the implementation of the state's constitutional proposals.

One of the operational objectives proposed by Molobi was to isolate the racist government from the people. He stated that there was need to exercise the utmost discipline at the moment of unprecedented violent provocations from certain government protected quarters. They should not allow their detractors and enemies to have reason to disrupt

C.14

the work and programmes of the UDF. "We have a noble task of mobilising and organising our people into a formidable front that will be able to render the useless plans of the government's reform unworkable".

Accused No 19 says that the primary reason for this Port Elizabeth conference was to determine the stance of the UDF in the proposed referendum and that Molobi's speech should be read in that light. The government's plans were to be rendered unworkable by boycott action and persuading prospective candidates not to stand for election. The debate was on the question whether to boycott the constitutional proposals as a whole or call for a referendum on them amongst the Indian and Coloured people.

We do not think that one can read into exh C.14 a call for violent action. Rather the opposite. Violence would give the detractors and the enemies of the UDF a reason to disrupt its work.

The unbridled language used however indicates total animosity towards the state and advocates its disorganisation.

W.69, C.6

Speak of January 1984 (exhs W.69 and AU.7 p.7) contained a message from the reverend Frank Chikane vice-president of the UDF.

He stated that the immediate goal was

" to organise and mobilise the oppressed masses in South Africa and create such structures and networks that will enable the liberation movement to break this system of apartheid.

That shall be the time when it will not be the leaders calling people into action but the masses taking it up themselves.

That is a people's struggle towards a people's victory, giving birth to a people's government. "

A paper entitled UDF Border: Extraordinary Regional General Council meeting Rhodes University June 10, 1984. Second paper Comrade Nkenke Stofile: "The role of the youth in the liberation struggle" was found in possession of A Hendricks a member of the Regional Executive Committee (REC) Border. It is exh C.6.

C.6

This Stofile, accused No 19 stated, was the reverend Stofile secretary of the Border region and since November 1983 a member of the NEC.

Later accused No 19 expressed some doubts stating that the latter was Makenkesi Stofile. So did accused No 20. But if it were not the same person they did not know who comrade Nkenke Stofile was. They disclaimed any knowledge of this paper. Accused No 20 stated it was not a UDF policy document.

No evidence was led by the defence on this document or on the Regional General Council meeting of the 10th June 1984.

It seems probable that the author was the reverend Stofile - no other Stofile in a leadership position in the UDF is known. The fact that it was found in possession of a member of the REC in typed form indicates that it was probably delivered.

In the absence of the minutes we cannot find that it was adopted.

C.6

At best it is indicative of the thinking of one of the leaders of the UDF.

Stofile's basic philosophy is Marxist:

" Our fundamental starting point, I think, is to have a clear perception of the international nature of the struggle (although I do not intend going into that today). When we have seen that it becomes clearer to us that we are caught up in the classic situation of the exploiter versus the exploited; of the bourgeoisie versus the proletariat; of the capitalist versus the worker. These two are therefore the two major actors in the situation. It is true that we have other sub-classes like the peasants; the petty-bourgeois (artisans; handy craftsmen; small shopkeepers etc) and also the intelligensia (professional workers; cultural workers; office workers; students and other employees). But all these groups fall within the two basic class structure: capitalists and workers, or the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. "

C.6

" The nature of our struggle in this country is also basically twofold. The main content of the present stage is the national liberation of the most oppressed group - the Black people. This national character of the struggle must therefore dominate our approach. The second aspect is the complete economic emancipation of the oppressed. "

He further stated that the African worker is doubly oppressed and doubly exploited. All workers are exploited but in the context the degrees of exploitation are complicated by the race issue. The struggle has to address the situation from two fronts: race and class, in that order.

He continued:

" But we are revolutionaries and not narrow nationalists. We accept fully the idea of a unity in action between all the oppressed groups as being fundamental to the advancement of our liberation struggle. How could we forget the proud record of such patriots and

" comrades as Basil February; Abdurahmann; Gandhi; Kathrada; Fisher; First; Aget and many others! Our struggle being for a non-racial democratic South Africa we cannot delay our non-racial approach.

But we must not be ambiguous on the question of the primary role of the most oppressed African masses. But, of course, those belonging to the other oppressed Black groups and the White revolutionaries who show themselves ready to make common cause with our aspirations must be fully integrated on the basis of individual equality. There can be no second or third class participation in the democratic movement of our liberation. It is for the enemy that we reserve our assertiveness and our justified sense of grievance.

In the vanguard of this struggle is the working class. Their cherished aim and purpose is to destroy the exploiting monster that is capitalism. The workers have nothing to lose but their chains. They stand to gain the whole world; the means of production and political power. With these they

C.6

" will earn the right to enjoy all the achievements of material and spiritual culture. "

Stofile stated that the working class is not alone in being exploited by the capitalists. Working peasants, working intellectuals, students and the petty urban bourgeoisie are allies of the working class. It is "vital that the revolutionary leadership is nationwide. To ensure that when victory comes it is not a hollow one, the masses must be brought to power at the head of which stands its organised political leadership. "

The ranks of the enemy camp were swelled by co-option of the oppressed in Bantustans, community councils, president's councils, constitutional proposals, etc.

He referred to the ANC Youth League as an example of a disciplined committed and vital part of the liberation movement.

He concluded with:

"Our struggle is for a new South Africa where racism and class exploitation will be things of the past; where human dignity shall prevail for all. But that new order will be born after a lot of repression

C.6, AE.18

"and even loss of life. We must be ready to meet that challenge with an unbreakable will and the determination of the oppressed masses. Racist domination and imperialist exploitation must be resisted at all fronts by the youth: The workers; the mothers; the church and the mosque must all unite in unleashing blows against apartheid. Let us mobilise our Black labour force and liberate ourselves from the capitalist bondage."

Accused No 20 conceded that he had heard of nobody ever being expelled from Border UDF for advocating violence.

A pamphlet advertising a film show for Thursday August 9 (1984) sponsored by "the friends of AZANIA" was found in the UDF offices.

It is for women's day (August 9) and bears a large picture of a Black woman bearing a rifle. It has the byline "women against apartheid". The film is entitled "South Africa belongs to us". Exh AE.18.

AL.159

On 14 August 1984 on the eve of the elections under the new constitution accused No 19 in a circular letter called upon the churches to hold special church services to mark the climax of the campaign against the new constitution.

He stated that the UDF saw the so-called reform as the surest way to violent confrontation and polarisation of our society.

He called for a selfless contribution "to avert the bloodbath that this new constitution will cause". Exh AL.159.

At this time the constitution was a fait accompli. It in fact broadens the electoral base by including the Indians and Coloureds. It did not deprive Africans of something they had had.

The main force working against the constitution was the UDF. To say that the constitution would cause a bloodbath somehow implicates the UDF.

C.3 & C.4

On 13 September 1984 accused No 19 as general secretary of the NEC of the UDF in writing requested the president of the UDF Border region Steve Tswete to prepare a paper on united fronts as there had been a problem grappling with front politics and a common approach to tactics and strategy was needed. The paper had to deal with inter alia the question why the UDF did not become a Freedom Charter front. It had to be completed for the NEC meeting of 29 September 1984. The letter is exh C.3.

Steve Tswete was the president of the Border region and a member of the NEC since November 1983.

The paper Tswete prepared is exh C.4. It is entitled "the United Democratic Front and the struggle for national democracy".

The introduction states that it is false that the front is nothing but a display window of some banned organisations. The resistance was not caused by agitators but by conditions in South Africa.

C.3 & C.4

The paper continues that the front consists of lawful organisations who believe in "unity in action" without homogeneity of ideology.

He dealt with the history of united opposition in South Africa especially the Congress Alliance. The difference between that front and the UDF was that it had a more homogeneous ideological base and that it had a spearhead in the form of the ANC. This was a glaring omission in the case of the UDF. Other front organisations of the world had a spearhead. The National Liberation Front in Vietnam had the La Doc party and partisan fronts in Eastern Europe during Hitler's occupation had the communist parties as spearhead. These Marxist parties used tact in dealing with the other members of the front whilst working towards their long-term objectives. Once the shortcomings of the partner are discovered and the distance he is prepared to travel "in the long march to a People's Day in South Africa has been determined it is your responsibility to persuade him to take another short mile with you". So eventually the goal is reached. That is the tactic based on the compromise nature of a front.

The UDF did not have a spearhead organisation therefore Tswete proposed collective leadership by a more coherent and functional executive committee.

C.3 & C.4

On democracy within the front he stated that a measure of flexibility should be allowed but that the executive committee should formulate policy and lead and influence the course of events. After the majority view of the affiliates has been determined no dissent will be allowed.

" We must not undermine the various leaderships of the diverse organisations at our command if we seek to advance revolutionary work. The working class, the spearhead of the struggle in South Africa today, has evolved its own leadership over the years. "

And that should be respected.

As far as the transformation of the UDF was concerned Tswete stated that now, in the post-Koornhoff and Tri-cameral situation the idea has been expressed that the UDF should be transformed into a political party. That would be a retrograde step as with individual membership the UDF would lose its vast present mass support.

" The anti-election campaign has enhanced the prestige of the front. The government and its puppets were on the run as they always

C.3 & C.4

" must as long as they remain strange to the truth. The clampdown on the UDF leadership and the brutal shooting of our people in the Rand and Vaal Triangle are an expression of frustration and impotence. At the same time it has been amply illustrated that no force on earth can conquer the combined mass action of the oppressed and fighting people of South Africa. "

As far as the UDF and the Freedom Charter were concerned Tswete strongly urged that the UDF adopt as its policy document the Freedom Charter. He ended his paper with "a thousand years Mandela Amandla".

Accused No 19 testified that he was informed that this paper was discussed at the NEC but not adopted. He was not present as he was in detention at the time.

Accused No 20 stated that accused No 19 was not in detention but that he, accused No 20, was on 29 September 1984 when the paper was said to be discussed.

C.3 & C.4

Strangely enough the minutes of the NEC of 29 September 1984 are missing and Steve Tswete's paper was also not found in UDF offices. The copy we have was found with Lucille Meyer who is on the REC Border.

Though accused No 20 says the paper is not UDF policy he could produce no documentary proof that it was not accepted.

None of those who attended the meeting of 29 September 1984 gave evidence.

Later on with reference to the NEC meeting of 10 November 1984 (exh J.1) accused No 21 testified that the acting secretary had rejected a paper by Tswete as it was pro-Freedom Charter. We do not know if it was this paper.

We cannot make a finding on whether the paper (exh C.4) was in fact adopted. If it was not, it is probable that the rejection was based on the view that the time was not ripe to embrace the Freedom Charter as policy and thereby exclude organisations which were not charterists. The paper was in fact in conflict with the trend set by accused No 19 in his letter of 13 September 1984. Exh C.3.

C.3 & C.4, S.13, S.14, AN.15.3

However that may be, its phraseology and contents reveal the thoughts of one of the leaders of the UDF and what is also significant is that no defence witness told this court that it had been regarded as unacceptable because of the revolutionary language it contained.

The UDF saw the situation in the Vaal during the unrest as an uprising against the government and actively sided with the insurgents.

It pledged solidarity with the people of Sebokeng, decided that there should be a pamphlet to counter the one issued by the SA Defence Force, stated that the Vaal people were under siege by the SADF and called a protest meeting to protest against the presence of the Defence Force.
Exhs S.13 and S.14.

It issued a pamphlet (exh AN.15.3) under its logo in the name of the Vaal Civic Association blaming the destruction in the Vaal Triangle on the boers and the community councils. It called for the scrapping of the rent increase, a reduction of the existing rent and offered its telephone numbers to all who needed lawyers and doctors. The pamphlet stated:

" Let us not destroy our people's properties who have done nothing. Power is ours, power is ours. "

J.3, C.1

It is strange that this so-called non-violent organisation only expresses itself against the destruction of "our people's properties" and not against the destruction of the councillors' properties and the properties of the council and the administration board. Nor is an expression of regret and abhorrence at the ghastly deaths of councillors to be found therein. Instead the councillors are blamed for the destruction.

The fact that the document was not distributed is irrelevant. The reason was not that it contained this language. We deal with it elsewhere.

Curnic Ndlovu read a paper at the NEC of 10 November 1984. It was distributed in advance. It is exh J.3 and exh C.1. Exh ABB.7 is to a large extent similar.

This paper was discussed at a time when parts of South Africa were in turmoil through mass action by unruly mobs murdering, pillaging and burning.

Accused No 20 alleges that this was merely the input of an individual. This is no answer. The paper was discussed and tacitly accepted. We have not heard of any dissent at the NEC. In fact certain points of the paper were lifted out and discussed in depth. See the minutes exh J.1 para 4.

Ndlovu's paper stated that it was a crucial period in the history of the struggle. There was a determined and consistent challenge of the apartheid system by the masses of the people.

The UDF should develop a clear programme to address the growing need to build organisations to challenge the state and forge forward to democracy.

He stated:

" The masses are the makers of history.

It is they who must become active participants in the struggle. Without this there cannot be any successful victory. "

" The second question is how do the masses become effectively historical forces for change? .

By each ordinary man and woman acting on his or her own without common goals, purpose, etc or

By becoming a highly cohesive/united body with resilience dedicated and experienced leadership, etc - in other words becoming ORGANISED. "

He continued to deal with the need to become organised and stated:

" We must still continue until we reach our goal of a highly organised people - capable of swinging the overall balance of forces in our favour so that when we finish our reflection, we must plan to move to the next stage of the road; to become highly organised. "

The immediate focus of the UDF in the struggle for the total liberation of the oppressed should be to

- " - build a Liberation Alliance
- to take up broad political issues such as:-
removals, government urban strategy, Black local authorities
- continue to challenge the implementation of the constitution
- to take up education country-wide
- to improve the level of our organisation and its leadership;
- we need to mobilise and organise our people to enable them to clearly identify the true enemy. "

J.3, C.1, AJ.7, AJ.20

He stated that the decision to draw up a programme of action inter alia entailed that the state be challenged much more vigorously.

The UDF in press statements accused the government of having declared war on the people (exh AJ.7) and stated

" The unleashing of police and military terror on the townships was met with popular anger and resistance. A situation of civil war now exists in a number of townships on the Witwatersrand. "

The unrest was called the Vaal uprisings. Exh AJ.20.

These documents were found in the UDF offices, Johannesburg. Accused No 20 denied knowledge thereof. No other witness was called to explain them. We cannot find that they were in fact released. They show the thinking towards the end of 1984.

In a press statement dated 10 January 1985 (exh AN.14) accused No 20 stated that the rent issue in the Vaal and elsewhere (meaning the rent boycott) could not be resolved by eviction of the boycotters

" the answer lies in the immediate scrapping of the Black local authorities, the establishment of economically viable and politically effective structures of local administration. Unless our people's voice is heeded and rents are brought in line with their racially determined low wages there will be no peace in the townships. "

At the time the call was for a rent of R30 per month (inclusive of all service charges) and there was a general rent boycott. The R30 had no logical base and the boycott was aimed at the elimination of Black local authorities.

To support the rent boycott and call for a reduction of rents to the absurd as precondition to the termination of the unrest in the Vaal is hardly the attitude one would expect from an allegedly avowed non-violent organisation.

In possession of Lucille Meyer, since the beginning of 1985 member of the NEC and in the Border REC since March 1985, was found the manuscript of a paper prepared for delivery at the beginning of 1985. Exh C.7.

We do not know if it was read and in fact cannot find that it is in the handwriting of Lucille Meyer, though it probably is.

The defence offered no explanation.

The title is "The Youth in the Democratic Movement". It is directed at specific issues the author has come across in the UDF. The real problem that faces the "young cadres in the democratic front" is a lack of a clear perspective on tactics.

The paper continues:

" Without the involvement of the youth in the struggle nothing can really be achieved. They represent continuity in a protracted confrontation with the forces of reaction, and in recent times they have proved beyond doubt their preparedness to bring the dawn of a People's South Africa nearer every hour. "

C.7

The argument that youth constitute a class of their own and that they are the vanguard of the liberation movement is fallacious.

The author dealt with the concept of class and gave as its three subdivisions the capitalist class, the petty-bourgeoisie and the working class.

The author then dealt with organisation as vital to the liberation movement and the task of the youth therein. One should organise around the most basic issues. The civic aspect of the struggle must not be belittled. When one "tempers people against local government you are actually setting them against the status quo".

The author continued:

" The students' movement offers another example of good organisation. There the starting point is the classroom situation: lack of teaching equipment; underqualified teachers, excessive corporal punishment; prefect system etc, etc. "

The author gave other examples as well.

The concept "discipline" was also dealt with. It means a proper understanding of the task.

- " It is an awareness that the ideal for which you are prepared to die is abstract and can only be given concrete existence in you. This means that wherever you are, in whatever circumstances, you reflect the aspirations of the oppressed, exploited and fighting masses of our people. "
- " As a member of an organisation you embody consciousness. This means that all your actions are pre-planned and well calculated. "
- " You are quite clear of your overall strategy and that of the retrograde forces. That is discipline. "
- " The vast unorganised masses embody spontaneity, this means the direct opposite of consciousness. "
- " Spontaneity in a sense is mass anger and reaction to acute instances of injustice and oppression. It is what one revolutionary writer referred to as 'social moulds' - an outward expression of bad blood in the system.

C.7

- " The recent outbreaks of unrest in the Vaal Triangle and elsewhere in the country are typical examples of spontaneity - mass spontaneous response to brutal and naked oppression and exploitation. "
- " It is therefore the responsibility of the conscious factor -i.e the organised cadreship - to direct this mass anger in the interests of the ultimate objective of the struggle. "
- " As a cadre - the conscious factor - you cannot be taken by surprise. You integrate the spontaneous mass action into your overall tactical armour. This is an instance of discipline. "

This is a well prepared and a well written paper.

(It would be surprising if it was not read. The most likely venue would be the first General Council meeting in 1985. In the absence of such evidence at most one can say that it is relevant to indicate the views held by those associated with the leadership of the UDF).

C.97

At a workshop held on 20 January 1985 in Johannesburg as a part of the Freedom Charter campaign Raymond Suttner, of Jodac (Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee) and a member of the REC Transvaal since March 1985, delivered a paper on the Freedom Charter. Dealing with the "national democratic struggle" he stated:

" To demand that 'THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN' is, in this context, a revolutionary call. It is revolutionary because it cannot be accommodated in the existing South African state. The right to vote may have been a civil rights question for blacks in the USA, in the sixties, for they then sought absorption into a common society. In South Africa, in contrast, the demand to vote in an undivided South Africa, is part of a national liberation struggle. It is part of a struggle for sovereignty, for the people have never governed South Africa. "

Exh C.97.

This workshop was organised by UDF affiliates and the speakers were leading members of UDF affiliates.

AJ.49

The exhibit was found in the UDF offices, Johannesburg.

Both Laloo Chiba and Raymond Suttner who read papers at the workshop had been convicted and done time at Robben Island for political offences.

We bear in mind that the Freedom Charter was not a UDF policy document till some time later, but it was never incompatible with UDF policy and phrases like "The people shall govern" were frequently used by UDF speakers and in UDF publications.

The view that the struggle is not a civil rights struggle was official. It is to be found in the report on the NEC of 1 June 1984 (exh G.5) and in the letter by accused No 20 to president Machel of Mozambique (exh AJ.49) dated 19 July 1984.

In this letter accused No 20 informs president Machel that the South African struggle is not a civil rights struggle but is a struggle against colonialism. South Africa was invaded by the Dutch and conquered by the English and in 1910 power passed to the White settler population. The present regime is one arbitrarily installed by imperialist countries. It is a minority colonial regime.

The UDF would forever be inspired by the heroic struggle waged by Frelimo against the Portuguese colonialists. The letter ends with "Long live the Mozambican revolution".

C.132

The Northern Transvaal UDF programme of action for 1985 and area report with annexed memorandum are before court as exh C.132 and exh ABA.26. It was probably written early in 1985.

It was found on 13 April 1985 in a car driven by Mrs Mabudafazi and also occupied by Mogaba and Mnguni and two others. The three named persons were on the UDF co-ordinating committee for Northern Transvaal and Mogaba was treasurer of the UDF committee for Northern Transvaal from July 1984.

Exh ABA.26 (the second copy of the memorandum) was found in the room of Mohlala, chairman of the UDF committee of Northern Transvaal from July 1984, on 4 July 1985.

The said memorandum has the title "Memorandum on the changing political complexion of the Northern Transvaal region".

It makes out a case for a separate region of the UDF in the Northern Transvaal instead of the existing area committee falling under Transvaal UDF jurisdiction. The prowess of the Northern Transvaal region is set out. After naming the various organisations involved, mostly of youths, it continues:

C.132

" Students in almost all the teachers' training colleges of the Northern Transvaal are locked in protracted battle with the regime. Youth movements, women's organisations, churches and trade union struggles are starting to emerge in bold relief and indeed serve as a pointer to fighting forces in various degrees of formation. The town council elections in Seshego, Nirvana (an Indian area), Westernburg (Coloured area) and Lebowakgomo were marked by a low poll. Mankweng town council was put out of action.

From these developments the crucial question is how to unite these trends, lay basis and develop ANTI-BANTUSTAN offensive. To secure the existence of organised mass democratic structures in this region is to secure a vital terrain of rural organisation and struggle.

It is in this regard that we feel the Northern Transvaal region has to become a region in its own right, capable of harnessing the potential of its fighting forces. "

The memorandum concludes with:

" The establishment of a region in the Northern Transvaal would make it possible to co-ordinate our activities and efforts with those of the southern region thus enabling the struggle to set a new pace and revolutionary fervour,

C.132, AE.8

" allowing permanent communication and contact thus overstretching the enemy's resources beyond his limits. And nobody, not even the imperialists, would save apartheid from its death pangs.

THE STRUGGLE!

PEOPLES' WAR IS INVINCIBLE!

VICTORY OR DEATH! "

The 1985 calendar of FEDTRAW (an affiliate of UDF led by Mrs Sizulu, president of the UDF, and Helen Joseph) has apart from the FEDTRAW logo a picture of a woman giving the ANC salute and the words "Organise, fight on". It also contains the following:

" The liberation of women is a fundamental necessity of the revolution, the guarantee of its continuity and the precondition of its victory. The main objective of the revolution is to destroy the system of exploitation and build a new society ... "

The calendar commemorates inter alia certain dates with the following description:

March 21, 1960 - Sharpeville massacre

June 16, 1976 - Soweto uprising

July 15, 1984 - Tumahole uprising

AE.8, C.110, T.22

September 3, 1984 - Vaal uprising

December 16 - Heroes' Day.

The latter date commemorates the birth of Umkhonto we Sizwe with its policy of violence. Exh AE.8.

A report entitled "UDF and the Black local authorities" dated February 1985 was found in the UDF offices Johannesburg. It is exh C.110.

It discusses the campaign against Black local authorities and claims the resignations of councillors and the suspension of the rent increases as an important victory for the front and its affiliates in local areas.

The defence submits that this document is a compilation. That may be so, but what is conspicuous in its absence is an explanation for its existence and its presence in the UDF's offices.

The Transvaal secretarial report presented to the national secretariat of the UDF on 12 January 1985 by Valli and accused No 21 (exh T.22) contained in para 7 dealing with repression, a reference to the fact that the UDF leaders were detained. It continued:

T.22, T.25

" Crisis areas like the Vaal, Tembisa and Soweto erupted - no UDF quick response came out. The masses expected UDF to give direction, UDF was not there to give direction, opportunists were there to seize the opportunity. We must address this question very seriously. "

At this meeting accused No 19 and accused No 20 were present. Exh ,
T.15.

The UDF Transvaal secretarial report to the annual general meeting of 9 March 1985 (exh T.25) states that the UDF was formed "to ignite the fires of resistance in every corner of the country". It further states:

" The first large scale detentions of leading UDF activists was on the eve of the August elections. Despite the repression suffered by UDF, affiliates intensified the struggle against the racist regime. The Vaal Civic Association embarked upon a rents boycott which is historically unprecedented. Neither the occupation of the townships by the SADF, nor the detention of every politically active person, nor the many deaths in the streets could quell the militancy of the people. "

T.25, C.41, AG.4

(Accused No 21 says that there were no deaths after the SADF occupation).

The report further states:

" At the organisational level the front has grown to become very strong. Today there are organisations in many, many more areas than had existed prior to the formation of the UDF. There is also a new sense of militancy amongst the people. They are displaying a preparedness to fight the apartheid system regardless of the cost. "

" By effectively mobilising against the Black local authorities and the Tri-cameral parliament, we have broken the back of the state's so-called reform strategy. "

After president Botha made an offer to release Mandela on condition that he renounce violence, accused No 20 on 31 January 1985 and without waiting to hear what Mandela's response would be, made a press statement. Exh AG.4. It reads:

" We have doubts as to the practicality of the condition that has been set. Mandela is known for his strong views on apartheid and his very deep commitment to the programme of the ANC.

C.41

" We cannot see him making a pledge of the nature. A pledge like this one would mean that Mandela should distance himself from the ANC and his entire political struggle to date.

In our judgment this cannot receive acceptability from the man.

Only the unconditional release of political prisoners and the dismantling of apartheid structures will bring about stability and lasting peace in this country. "

This is a strange attitude on the part of an organisation that allegedly is non-violent and has no relations with the ANC. One would have expected the UDF, if it stood for non-violence, to urge Mandela to renounce violence and join the UDF.

On 9 February 1985 in a press release the UDF stated it was greatly privileged and honoured that Mr Mandela had chosen their rally at Jabulani amphitheatre on 10 February 1985 to reply to president Botha's offer. Exh AG.5.

On 10 February 1985 the UDF at its rally gave great prominence to the address by Zinzi Mandela who read Nelson Mandela's response. Thereafter accused No 19 as general secretary sent Nelson Mandela's statement to all regional secretaries with instructions to translate it

C.41

also into Xhosa and Afrikaans and to circulate it broadly. Exh C.41.

In the said statement Mandela called upon "the people" to carry on the struggle for freedom. He spoke also on behalf of his comrades in Pollsmoor prison and he hoped also for all those in gaol for their opposition to apartheid, all those who are banished, all those in exile and for all those who are oppressed and exploited.

He stated:

" I am a member of the African National Congress. I have always been a member of the African National Congress and I will remain a member of the African National Congress until the day I die. Oliver Tambo is much more than a brother to me. He is my greatest friend and comrade for nearly fifty years. If there is anyone amongst you who cherishes my freedom, Oliver Tambo cherishes it more and I know that he would give his life to see me free. There is no difference between his views and mine. "

Mandela stated that he had turned to armed struggle when all other forms of resistance were no longer open to them.

He refused to give any undertaking to desist from violence. The message ended with the words "I will return".

C.41, AE.23

It is significant that throughout these proceedings the UDF never stated its alleged non-violent position.

In the UDF offices Johannesburg was found a message of support to the UDF Northern Transvaal rally. Exh AE.23.

It reads:

" The university of the north women's club bring revolutionary greetings to this long awaited rally in the Northern Transvaal. It is our belief that all the oppressed and exploited masses in the rural and urban areas must be galvanised for the liberation of all in a united non-racial South Africa. Long live the United Democratic Front. Forward with the year of women. Forward with the struggle. Amandla. "

No explanation for this message was forthcoming from the defence.

It was probably a message read at the UDF rally which was held on 3 February 1985 in the Northern Transvaal.

AB.38, C.138

A message from Mankweng Youth Congress (exh AB.38) was found in the UDF offices Johannesburg.

It starts off with "revolutionary greetings" and ends with an avowal to stand up and fight side by side until freedom is won under the umbrella of the UDF.

It contains a passage in Tswana which (translated by accused No 19) reads:

" In the end Black people will govern."

The same phrase "revolutionary greetings" is also found in exh C.69(1), a similar message from Mankweng Youth Congress also found in the UDF offices.

The secretarial report to the Western Cape annual general meeting of 16 March 1985 (exh C.138) contains inter alia the following:

C.138, C.106

" The anger that is exploding all around the country bears testimony to our people's readiness for mass action and we must be committed to taking this forward. "

" We have seen throughout the country the anger of our people against structures such as the Black local authorities and community councils, an anger that in many places made it impossible for these structures to continue their oppressive practices. We salute our people and we will continue to ensure that the influence of such structures over our peoples lives is challenged. Wherever possible we will mobilise mass action against these community councils, management committees and the Tri-cameral parliament itself. "

The first national general council of the UDF was held on 6 and 7 April 1985 at Azaadville Transvaal.

The theme for this NGC was "From protest to challenge ... from mobilisation to organisation".

The keynote address was delivered by comrade Curnick Ndlovu. It is before court as exh C.106.

Keynote speeches are vetted by the NEC before they are delivered. This was conceded by accused No 20 and appears from exhs T.15 and T.29.

C.106

Of exh C.106 important sections were later incorporated in the NGC statement published after the meeting. Exh C.102.

Curnick Ndlovu was a member of the NEC since November 1984. He was an ex-convict who had spent twenty years on Robben Island probably for sabotage. Exh C.96.

The speech was found in the offices of the UDF Johannesburg.

It commences as follows:

" Comrades, I greet you on the occasion of the first NGC since the launching of the UDF in August 1983.

I greet you in the name of the leading patriots who continue to inspire us from Robben Island, Pollsmoor prison and in exile.

I greet you in the name of comrades Nelson Mandela, Walter Sizulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and many others who continue to contribute to the struggle for liberation from outside our borders. "

C.106

Ndlovu dealt with the task of the front, saying a fresh and dynamic approach had to be formulated against the enemy.

He stated the UDF could proudly acclaim its victories over the past eighteen months. He reminded them that they met not as individuals but as activists of a peoples front.

The government had reacted to the 1976 uprising with a new strategy in the form of the 1983 constitution and linked thereto the Koornhoff bills. This had confronted the democratic movement with a major threat and because a handful of activists were not going to liberate South Africa they had to ask, in the concrete conditions of 1983, how would they best mobilise the broad masses. It was impossible to form a single political organisation. They decided to form a popular Front which could be a structure based on existing political, community, women, student, church, worker and youth organisations. It also provided impetus for the proliferation of new organisations.

He claimed as a major victory of the struggle through the UDF inter alia the successful mobilisation of people throughout South Africa and

" The people of the Vaal, Crossroads and Uitenhage, demonstrated in their courage that the Botha regime is not interested in meeting the demands of our people."

He said the nature of the South African struggle has to be restated:

" especially because some people in the neighbouring states and in the United States now describe our struggle as a civil rights question. The whole chorus of 'reform in South Africa' is based on the failure to understand the nature of the struggle.

Our struggle is a national democratic struggle. It is a struggle of the majority of the people of South Africa against a minority regime that represents the interests of foreigners and tramples under its feet the aspirations of the people. It is a struggle in which this country and all its resources must be returned to its rightful owners (i.e. Black and White South Africans) and establish a government that will fulfil their wishes and needs.

Who are the people? We have stated in the past that the people consist of all those classes, parts of classes, organisations, groups and individuals who form part of or support the struggle against apartheid. The people, therefore, do not consist of one class or race. Indeed they consist of persons from all racial groups who have an interest in a struggle to destroy apartheid.

C.106

" On the other hand the forces of apartheid are all those classes, sections of classes, organisations, groups and individuals who form part of or support the machinery of apartheid. This category includes Blacks as well as Whites. "

He continued to state that one is either in the camp of the people or in the camp of the enemy.

The UDF had to continue along the long and hard road of organising the people. "We must still continue until we reach our goal of a highly organised people capable of swinging the overall balance of forces in our favour".

In answer to the question "What have we achieved so far?" he stated that community councils were virtually non-existent due to mass action.

Having dealt with state initiatives Ndlovu stated it was now time to act decisively and seize the initiative from the state. He looked at the road ahead for the UDF and continued:

" In order to move to higher levels of organisation we need to understand and implement the slogans of the NEC that was adopted for this conference:

FROM PROTEST TO CHALLENGE; FROM MOBILISATION TO ORGANISATION

What do we mean by these words?

By Protest, we mean a state of affairs where one articulates disapproval of a particular issue or even a system. There is a proud tradition of protest in this country, going back to the end of the 19th century.

By Challenge, we mean a situation where one takes on the state in certain arenas, where one attempts, as far as possible, to frustrate its efforts, prevents its advances, force it to retreat, and if possible, cut off all its lines of retreat. Recent examples are the anti-SAIC campaign, the anti-constitution campaign, the Soweto uprisings, the resistance in Langa, Crossroads, the Vaal, the boycott of gutter education.

Where that challenge has sometimes been spontaneous, our job is to transform it into a conscious process, planned as part of coherent strategy.

" We need also to expand the base of our challenge. We have not yet developed a sufficiently coherent approach to take up the issues most affecting the African people especially the working class and people on the land or those being forced off the land.

This conference needs to pay particular attention to these issues.

It is not sufficient for us to harness a massive force. We must know where to direct it. We must be capable of co-ordinating it and it must be capable of achieving its objectives.

There is no point if we are capable of challenging the state, in striking at the point where it is strongest. We need to harness our forces in such a way that we can strike at the weakest link in the apartheid chain.

We need then to develop a capacity that we do not yet command. This entails an ability to assess where the apartheid structure is at its weakest. It also means marshalling our forces and being able to co-ordinate and direct them accurately.

C.106

" Where such a challenge is adequately co-ordinated we can start the process towards the achievement of our fundamental goals. Where we can present such a sustained and organised systematic challenge, we can start the process whereby one moves as closer towards the transformation of South Africa from a racist tyranny towards a democratic state. "

He urged the meeting to "participate at every level in the day to day struggles of our people. Our task is to develop the skills and experience which will enable us to channel and direct the energies of our people".

The speech must have been a resounding success. Ndlovu was unanimously elected as chairman of the NEC. Exh AAA.10 p.11.

In fact in his acceptance speech at the end of the second day of the meeting he wished the regions well in the implementation of a programme of action which will encompass the theme of the meeting.

The keynote address itself was not published as Ndlovu was a listed person. It is referred to with approval at various places in the secretarial report which was published by the NGC in a booklet. Exh C.102.

C.106, C.100, AAD.5

The message was also widely discussed. The Education Committee of the UDF Transvaal prepared a paper on it (exh C.100 and exh AAD.5) and held an education forum and an extract of this paper was published in UDF Update of July 1985. Exh AAD.2.

The paper is a thorough document which spells out the strategy for the future. It was prepared soon after the NGC of April 1985 and embroilers upon the theme of the council and the thoughts of Ndlovu. We quote certain portions:

" We are talking about a challenge to the whole system of oppression and exploitation, not a piecemeal challenge. We are not attempting to reform unreformable structures, but are fighting for complete social transformation.

The people of South Africa have never governed the country: we are fighting to realise this most basic right, the right to self-determination. Therefore ours is not a civil rights struggle, it is a struggle for NATIONAL LIBERATION. "

" In challenging the state, we have to combine two objectives

- 1) making state programmes and institutions unworkable;
- 2) and isolating the state from all support. "

C.100, AAD.5

Having referred to the fact that the masses in the African townships have rendered the Black local authorities inoperative in large areas of the country, it continued:

" Struggles of popular organisations must develop to the point where the state can no longer impose its undemocratic structures on oppressed communities in any area. Conversely, democratic organs of the people must start to replace the structures, as embryos of a future democratic Peoples S.A. "

In this paper the state is throughout referred to as the enemy and progressive organisations are called upon to challenge the state power through mass action.

" Having established the illegitimacy of the South African regime, it is necessary to project a popular alternative based on both the present and the future.

The present in the sense that our organisations have to become living and viable alternative organs of peoples power. Therefore for example in situations where the apartheid puppets are no longer able to effectively function in the townships, a stage could be reached where the peoples organisation assumed responsibility for organising the community to govern itself in a variety of ways from setting up health clinics to crime prevention. "

C.100, AAD.5

" ... what these embryos of democracy will give birth to is a vision of a totally alternative society based on the realisation that to be ultimately meaningful, popular control of society as a whole will have to be asserted. This vision of a totally alternative South Africa needs to be actively discussed and propagated by our organisations ... "

The paper states that the aim is to ensure African and working class leadership of "the National Democratic Struggle".

The paper also states:

" Spontaneous mass action will continue to co-exist with disciplined mass action spearheaded by the progressive movement. Our problem has been that we have been unable to respond effectively to the spontaneous waves of militancy around the country. Spontaneous and organised mass action are both essential components of the struggle and have to be combined into a dynamic unity. "

" The UDF has played the role of a Front in areas where there is a fairly high level of organisation, bringing organisations under one banner. Yet in other parts of the country, where

C.100 & AAD.5

" there is little formal organisation, the UDF has played the role of an organisation. Because of this dual role the Front is in a vastly better position to command influence among the masses than if we just had individual membership. "

The document further states:

" The possibility of creating an alternative society is becoming increasingly real. The possibility of the organised masses swinging the balance of power in our favour is daily becoming less remote. "

" In our propaganda work we must constantly link organisational gains to the fact that victory is possible as is an alternative society, if the masses become involved in shaping their own destiny. "

Accused No. 19 said this is not an official UDF document. It was, however, found in the UDF offices in Pretoria and in the UDF offices in Johannesburg and if what is stated therein is not what is meant by "from protest to challenge" what did the UDF then mean by adopting this theme?

C.100, AAD.5

Exh AAD.5 (C.100) was prepared by the Education Committee of the UDF. This committee has the function to educate, that is put across the point of view of the UDF. At a stage accused No 21 and Valli were members. Both were important office-bearers of the UDF.

The phrase "peoples power" used in the quoted paragraph of exh AAD.5 is not unique. It is to be found in exh C.111, an ANC pamphlet found hidden in the UDF offices in Johannesburg on 23 July 1985. The phrase used is "Embryos of peoples power". The pamphlet called for mass revolutionary bases and the rendering of South Africa ungovernable.

The phrases "peoples power" or "power to the people" were used by UDF affiliates and/or other organisations and even by accused No 19 himself. See exhs AE.25, AM.41, AM.43, ABA.50, ABA.51, ABA.57, ABA.62, ABA.63, AA.1 and Z.1.

The minutes of the NGC meeting of the UDF of 6 and 7 April 1985 (exh AAA.10) contain a reference to the opening address of Oscar Mpetha.

" Comrade Mpetha stated that the crises which the South African government had experienced on 24 August had intensified through the clear rejection of the 'new deal' and the

C.100, AAD.5, C.102

" current struggles being waged against it. He also saluted those whose lives were taken in these struggles, those who are in detention and in gaol.

Comrade Mpetha reiterated that the apartheid regime and their puppets had to take responsibility for the state of civil war in which our country is gripped. He warned that our peoples anger is increasing because their legitimate demands are being met with naked violence from Botha and his junior partners. Also, that these wanton acts of murder, harassment, detention and imprisonment will not detour our people in their march to freedom. "

Mpetha called for a programme of action to give life to the NGC theme.

The secretarial report tabled by accused No 19 (exh C.102) stated in para 7.1:

" After a successful campaign against the Black local authorities, our affiliates fail to usurp their legitimacy at a local level. Subsequent to raising the level of awareness and generating excitement, our affiliates did not mobilise the masses effectively. In many areas in the townships organisations trail behind the masses thus making

" it difficult for a disciplined mass action to take place.
More often there is a spontaneity of actions in the townships. "

In para 8.4 he stated:

" In the townships the Black local authorities are inoperative. They are no longer able to dictate the masses and already over fifty of the councillors have resigned country-wide. Some townships like Cradock and Uitenhage have no local government structures. Now our task is to extend our struggle beyond these apartheid structures and set up our alternative structures which will force the authorities to heed the popular demands of the people. We must set up projects to meet some of the practical needs of our people without compromising our principles. For example advice offices, mobile clinics, etc could be set up. "

At the NGC accused No 19 was requested to clarify "the alternative structures which the democratic movement had to develop".

" Comrade Molefi explained that this referred to democratic organisations operating outside the framework of the government. He stressed the need for these to become the organisations of the people through which they could determine their own lives. "

AAA.10

Exh AAA.10 p.3 para 1.4(b).

The commission on Black local authorities and the Tri-cameral parliament reported as follows to the NGC:

" Gains made in these campaigns (particularly the anti-BLA) were that these structures were totally discredited and peoples political awareness was raised. Democratic local organisations were recognised as representing the people.

- Repression and lack of venues in the townships presents some problems in developing organisations as alternatives.

In terms of our programme of action we need to develop a better understanding of community organisation to cater for the political and social needs of our people (eg advice offices).

- Unrepresentative local structures must be destroyed and authorities must be forced to liaise with the democratic organisations. "

" A peoples judicial commission should be established to record the crimes of collaborators. "

Exh AAA.10 p.6.

C.102

What strikes one in reading the reports and speeches is that the destruction of the Black local authorities is claimed as a great victory, but an expression of regret at the murder of the councillors and the arson and destruction of their properties and other property is glaringly absent. Where is the condemnation by this so-called non-violent organisation of these grossly violent acts? Nowhere is it stated that they regret that their campaign against the Black local authorities got out of hand.

One has to conclude from the above that the destruction of the Black local authority system by mass popular action necessarily entailed loss of life and damage to property and that this was foreseen by the UDF leadership.

In fact the UDF perversely blamed the councillors for the violence and resolved to strive for the destruction of the Black local authorities throughout South Africa and replacing them with alternative structures. The relevant portion of the resolution of the NGC as contained in exh C.102 read as follows:

" And noting further:

the collapse of the local authorities' system in parts of our country

C.102

" and believing that:

it is the democratic right of all people to

- 1) create any organisations to represent their interests
- 2) have direct control over all matters affecting their lives including such matters as housing, health, transport
- 3) that community councillors are responsible for the violence in the townships

do hereby resolve:

- 1) to expose the inadequacy of the local authorities' system by taking up problems affecting our people
- 2) to strive for the collapse of the local authorities' system throughout the country
- 3) to isolate those who collaborate in puppet structures and warn them that they will have to answer for their violence against the people

C.102

- " 4) to direct all regions to consolidate, establish and encourage the formation of community organisations which must become the alternatives to the local authorities' system
- 5) and declare that such organisations established by the people are the representatives of the people. "

The statement issued by the NGC after its April 1985 meeting (exh C.102) was an audacious one:

" There is still time for the racist minority regime to consult with the authentic leaders of the people with the sole objective of making the necessary arrangements for the speedy and effective dismantling of the apartheid state and the transfer of power to the people. "

and

" Finally we pledge to organise the masses of our people to effectively challenge the apartheid state by frustrating its efforts, preventing its advance, forcing its retreat and if possible to cut off all its lines of retreat. "

C.102, ABA.49

Then follow a number of immediate demands which include the scrapping of the Tri-cameral parliament, dissolution of the Bantustans and the disbandment of the SAP and SADF.

One need not say more about this statement than that it is an unequivocal declaration of war on the state.

In early June 1985 the UDF, Khotso house, Johannesburg, issued a pamphlet calling for attendance at memorial services on Sunday 16 June in Soweto, Alexandra, East Rand and West Rand.

One was found in Duduza but it is probable that they were distributed throughout the areas mentioned.

The advertised speakers were office-bearers of the UDF NEC, REC and affiliated organisations. The document is exh ABA.49.

We quote certain portions thereof:

" 1976 was a year of tears, a year of blood-shed and death but ...

It was the time of the truth when students stood up for their grievances, they stood bravely and demanded the removal of discriminatory education and the installation of a peoples education.

ABA.49

" Today it is no more students alone, but other bodies as well, the youth, workers, residents and women. We see the growing of the peoples organisations, civil associations, trade unions, community organisations, the youth and the students.

Many of these organisations come together under the organisation known as the UDF, which brought together the whole struggle in schools, that of the residents in locations and that of the workers and the government. "

" The past year workers joined in forcefully when it was said 'We do not ride them.' They showed solidarity with students when they wanted SRC's in the whole South Africa. The parents formed committees to help students. "

" The united fighting of people is a good daily happening. "

" Let us fight on. The changes you see is because we are united, we are strong going towards freedom. The freedom is near. Long live the struggle for democracy. "

" Let us remember June 16 by going along with the decisions taken at the UDF (national)

ABA.49

- " - to go on fighting for peoples education in schools
- to build peoples organisations, the councils to die
- to build youth organisations. "

As appears from the portions quoted above

- the Soweto uprisings of 1976 are held up as an example
- the UDF is the unifying force that co-ordinates the struggle in schools, against Black local authorities and in the labour field
- the students are supported in their demand for peoples education and SRC's
- the united fighting of the people is praised
- the whole co-ordinated effort is a freedom fight
- the UDF decided to build peoples organisations to replace Black local authorities, which are to die.

ABA.49, C.21 to C.26

If regard is had to the background of violent school boycotts leading to riots in turn leading to deaths and large scale destruction and to the violent attacks on the councillors and their property also leading to death and destruction, this document can in no way be interpreted as preaching non-violence.

At the home of Prof I Mohammed were found drafts of his speeches, often with notes of where and when they had been delivered. They are exhs C.21, C.22, C.23, C.25 and C.26.

Prof I Mohammed was since July 1983 a member of the REC Transvaal and was appointed to the NEC as early as ~~40~~ November 1984.

The speeches are often revolutionary, in praise of convicted and executed ANC terrorists and state that "the leaders of our people" are those imprisoned on Robben Island. South Africa is in a civil war waged by the oppressors against the oppressed. The government is called the enemy and Prof Mohammed states that there is not going to be peace until they have claimed their heritage. Exh C.21.

The UDF, its speakers and its affiliates referred to the state and to the government as "the enemy".

This is clear from the following references: Exhs C.100, C.102, J.9, C.6, C.106, AAA.18, AM.24, T.24, A.1 p.50, C.14, C.1, C.5, C.17, J.3, J.4, C.23, C.21 and AAD.5.

Accused No 19 conceded that the government was intentionally referred to as the enemy but tried to neutralise the many instances where the state was called the enemy by arguing that the writers/speakers did not know the difference and intended to refer to the government.

This is nonsense. Exh C.5 is an input by a member of the NEC and on the NEC there were at least two lawyers Adv Yacoub and attorney Y Mohammed. See exh J.1.

Exhibits C.102, J.9 and T.24 are documents presented to or minutes of the NEC. Never was it stated that this was a misconception and never was it corrected.

To say that it was mere political language wherever the word 'enemy' was used is in the context of its use to make a mockery of language.

DELMAS TREASON TRIAL 1985-1989

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers, The University of the Witwatersrand

Location:- Johannesburg

©2009

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

DOCUMENT DETAILS:

Document ID:- AK2117-K2117-L7-3

Document Title:- **Documentary Evidence 219-286**