

SOWETO

The further particulars to the indictment as amended (p.78) allege that since September 1984 the Soweto Civic Association and its branches at Mofolo, Chiawelo, Dlamini, Phiri, Mapetla, Tladi, Moletsane, Meadowlands, Orlando West, Orlando East, Diepkloof, Klipspruit, Pimville and Mhlimhlope, as well as SOYCO, COSAS and AZASO organised and violence, unrest and intimidation occurred.

These four bodies were affiliated to the UDF since its launch in August 1983.

The Soweto Civic Association (SCA) had been formed in 1977 in the aftermath of the 1976 riots. It would serve no purpose to set out its initial aims and vicissitudes. Of importance for our purposes is the policy of the SCA from 1983.

Its colours are the same as those of the ANC. It was opposed to Black local authorities and boycotted the elections. It took up local issues in order to get problems alleviated and in the education crisis of 1983-1984 it attempted to get the children back to school. Its relationship with COSAS was not always good. It took legal steps to combat rent increases but on the other hand also called for a rent boycott. It concerned itself with public transport and involved itself with the plight of the aged. It had five advice offices in Soweto. Apart from its call for rent boycotts it had a policy of non-co-opera-

tion with all government bodies and its tactics included consumer boycotts and bus boycotts. It referred to councillors in derogatory terms.

The SCA did not limit its interest to local issues. At the height of unrest in South Africa it called for one man one vote in an undivided South Africa, stating that nothing else would restore peace. Exh W.74 p.5. It was prominent in the UDF since its inception and the subject-matter of the resolutions adopted at the launch of the UDF was nothing new to the SCA. They had been ordinary topics of discussion there.

The UDF workshop for civics at Daleside in April 1984 was attended by 18 SCA members from seven branches. Exh U.4(b) and (c). The SCA held a workshop on civics in June 1984 wherein the participants were taught to organise around daily problems and to channel the discontent of the people. They were told to teach how bread and butter issues are linked to politics. A progressive civic organisation builds peoples power and does so step by step, street by street, and area by area. The "bosses and the state" are called the enemy. Exh AM.24.

The SCA closely associated with the UDF. Before the latter's formation already the SCA had representatives at the initial talks. It immediately affiliated when the UDF was founded and its delegates actively participated in its executive meetings thereafter. It also took up the campaigns of the UDF against Black local authorities, the constitution, education, cost of living, in respect of workers, women

and its MSC campaign. It used UDF pamphlets and slogans. Its posters and stickers had UDF logos on. At the SAYCO launch Dr Motlana urged the youth to associate with the UDF. An SCA placard was found in the UDF offices. Exh AM.41. The whole executive of the SCA (bar one who was a Black consciousness adherent) were adherents of the Freedom Charter.

The strident and evocative language used by the SCA during 1984 is evident from exh AX.15 p.37, a position statement on the Coloured and Indian elections drafted by Frank Chikane and adopted by the SCA on 5 August 1984. It states that inter alia all participants in the Bantustan system and Black local authorities have crossed the battle line, are siding with the enemy against the oppressed majority and are to be blamed for the evils of the system against the defenceless majority. It prophesies that blood will be shed in South Africa after August 1984. It states that their leaders are languishing in gaol.

The SCA had close working relationships with COSAS and SOYCO. At the annual general meeting of the SCA on 1 December 1984 Dr Motlana its president stated that the SCA was in total agreement with the students in their demand for a just education system and that they would not force the students back to school even if they could. Exh W.74 p.5. The SCA attitude was that the education struggle was part of the struggle for peoples' power.

COSAS and its policy we have dealt with elsewhere.

The nature of SOYCO is evident from the tenor of its launch on 31 July 1983 in Soweto. The video thereof is before court. Exh 28 and exh V.25. Its colours are the same as those of the ANC. Its programme of action is revolutionary. Exh AB.25. So was the message of support it received from accused No 20 on behalf of the UDF. Exh AB.39.

The nature of AZASO is evident from a video of its congress on 4 July 1984. It is exh 11 with transcript exh V.11.

We have discussed these videos in the chapter dealing with speeches by UDF office-bearers. On both these occasions speakers and singers set out to popularise the ANC and revolution with the youth of Soweto.

The evidence that COSAS, SOYCO, AZASO and the SCA were active in Soweto was not disputed.

During 1984 there were school boycotts in Soweto. In August 1984 COSAS called for a school boycott. On 17 August 1984 in the veld behind Jabulani Technical College a pamphlet exh AAW.1 was found. It purports to be issued by a committee of concern representing students from 24 high schools in Soweto. It refers to brutal and suppressive police action which left hundreds injured and four dead in Pretoria, Cradock, Parys and Welkom. It sets out certain demands by the students and calls on students, teachers and parents to act now and demonstrate

their rejection of rotten apartheid education which is meant to keep Blacks inferior divided and to breed suspicion, violence and racial hatred. A further pamphlet exh AAW.2 was also found. It is by COSAS and AZASO. It calls on students to unite and states that democratically elected and recognised SRC's has been the question of life and death in the student community. The government is described as arrogant and as closing the schools as a strategy for liquidating the unity of the students. The government went all out to kill, detain and baton charge the people in areas such as the Vaal Triangle, East Rand areas, Alexandra, Atteridgeville and many others. "The only way that we can use to win our demands is to unite with our parents, workers and all members of our community to demonstrate our strength and hatred we have towards things imposed on us without our consultation. The resistance of our people won't stop until there is free and compulsory dynamic education for all in a non-racial and undivided South Africa". The government is referred to as the enemy.

On 12 September 1984 at St Hilda's church Senoane youth making AZASM placards threw stones at and injured the police. Inter alia the president of AZASM participated. Three Black women and one Black man were arrested.

On 13 September 1984 there were riots in Kliptown, Soweto. Tear-smoke was used. A student Bongani Khumalo was shot dead at Vista University and two were wounded. Ten to fifteen were injured. Exh AM.15.

On 20 September 1984 in Naledi, Soweto, people were shot and injured. Exh AM.15.

On 26 September 1984 the funeral of Bongani Khumalo was held. A video exh 30, and transcript thereof exh V.27 are before court. The funeral was taken over by COSAS but Sipiwe Thusi of SOYCO led the procession. Freedom songs were sung and revolutionary speeches made. Inter alia it was stated that the youth are prepared to lay down their lives for a just cause and that they are not going to sit down until they won their liberty, they will fight for their freedom. Songs about Umkhonto we Sizwe were sung and that they were determined to kill the Whites (hierdie boere). A banner on which an AK.47 was depicted was shown. COSAS, AZASO and SOYCO banners were held aloft. A typical political funeral. It was followed by unrest. Motor-cars and buses were set alight and there were incidents of stoning.

On 1 October 1984 buses were stoned. Exh AM.15.

On 3 October 1984 after a COSAS meeting at the Methodist Youth Centre in Jabulani an attack was launched on the school opposite (the Thulare School) and thereafter an attack on the Morris Isaacson School. The riot police had to arrest 13 youths. Placards were held aloft and slogans shouted.

On 9 October 1984 in Moroka AZASM pamphlets.(exh AAW.3) were found calling a Black student worker solidarity meeting on 10 October 1984.

On 30 November 1984 in Senoane a pamphlet (exh AAW.4) was found issued by the Soweto Parents' Committee calling a meeting in the Roman Catholic church Phiri for 2 December 1984. It was to be an urgent and crucial report-back meeting on the education crisis. It dealt with the parents' demands for democratically elected and representative SRC's.

It is common cause that since September 1984 four houses were petrolbombed and damaged, businesses were set alight, petrolbombs were thrown at houses of five councillors and stones were thrown at the police.

The UDF was at the relevant time vitally concerned with the community worker and student struggles in Soweto. During the unrest it set up a Soweto area committee as a matter of urgency during the last quarter of 1984. This committee functioned well. Exhs C.118 and S.17.

The witnesses of the state and defence who testified on Soweto are discussed in Annexure Z to which reference should be made.

We conclude as follows:

1. The violence in Soweto was to a large extent related to the school situation and to an extent to the campaign against Black local authorities.

2. We do not find it proved that the Soweto Civic Association directed or organised any violence.
3. There is evidence of COSAS involvement in the violence.
4. The evidence does not adequately prove SOYCO or AZASO involvement in the violence but their meetings raised the political temperature of radicals and fostered a revolutionary climate. The same can be said of those UDF speakers (amongst whom members of the executive of the SCA) who participated whole-heartedly at such meetings.

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