

THE UDF, YOUTH AND EDUCATION

Education has long been an issue in the Black community. The Bant^u Education Act 1953 was passed amidst strong objections from them. It introduced government control of Black education. Its introduction was reportedly accompanied by a motivation that has become obsolete but which is often referred to by the UDF and its affiliates in their attacks upon the system. It is that the Black education system is designed to keep Blacks subservient.

The fact is, however, that the Black education system despite improvement of late is still inferior when compared to that of Whites. This is therefore a legitimate grievance about which one would expect Black politicians to complain. The evidence of Dr Hartshorne indicates that there was an intense debate on Black education since mid 1980 when the de Lange Committee was first mooted. Exh DA.210. He also referred to local grievances like sexual harassment, excessive corporal punishment and the more general one of the age-limit. The prefect system was rejected as an extension of authority. The age-limit had died out by 1983. It was relaxed.

It can therefore not be held against the UDF that it was concerned about education. The question to be answered is whether it was a genuine concern or whether their involvement was merely a means to an end - the advancement of the so-called liberation struggle.

In a paper by N Stofile presented to the regional general council of the UDF Border on 10 June 1984 on The Role of the Youth in the Liberation Struggle (exh C.6) the author refers to the ANC Youth League founded in 1944 which was a disciplined, committed and vital part of the liberation movement. The youth is still an important actor in the liberation struggle.

A little background is necessary.

When the ANC and therefore also its youth league was banned in 1960, SASO (South African Students' Organisation) was formed at the schools. It was banned in 1977. The Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC) which organised the pupils in the protest march in 1976 and thereafter during the riots in Soweto, was banned and COSAS was formed. The SSRC was a body with two representatives of each school in Soweto. It was politicised.

COSAS was banned in August 1985 and was succeeded by SAYCO (South African Youth Congress).

These organisations did not limit their activities to the educational field only. They were seen as vital parts of the liberation struggle.

That high school pupils are politically active should come as no surprise. Due to several factors the senior pupils are 18 to 22 years of age. At that age their White counterparts are on the voters' roll and it is only natural that they would aspire to a similar status.

The lesson of 1976 had been well learnt by scholars. It is that what one cannot get redressed by the stifled bureaucracy of the Department of Education and Training (DET) in years of representations can be changed within three weeks of school boycotts and rioting.

The agitation for SRC's (Student Representative Councils) started after the banning of SASO in 1977.

According to accused No 16 the crisis in education erupted at the end of 1983. Matric results were very poor and there was a lot of speculation and suspicion about a quota system. The prime complaint was that exam papers had been leaked. In February 1984 some unmarked scripts were found. Accused No 21, who investigated this matter, says, however, that the unmarked scripts were relatively unimportant. They were not final year scripts and it was only at one school.

Accused No 16 stated further that as a result of the unmarked scripts issue the credibility of the school system was lost and a cry for SRC's arose. The children wanted a hand in the administration of the schools.

After the discovery of the unmarked scripts a school boycott started in Atteridgeville. Boycotts in sympathy followed in the rest of South Africa. In Soweto they started in September 1984. The Soweto Civic Association (SCA) tried its best to get the children back to school. To that end it sought the co-operation of COSAS, AZAPO, UDF and AZASM. The relationship between COSAS and the SCA was not good. All this according to accused No 16.

According to accused No 21 there were in the period 1981 to 1983 boycotts at various tertiary institutions of learning and for various reasons. He mentioned Turfloop, Medunsa, Durban university, NGOYE and UNITRA. According to accused No 20, however, up to 20 August 1983 there were no riots or boycotts in schools.

From January 1983 there were boycotts in other parts of South Africa according to accused No 21. He did not specify.

The complaints in Atteridgeville were sexual harassment, excessive punishment and love-affairs between teachers and pupils. Therefore pupils called for SRC's. Accused No 21 did not find any evidence of the first two and was not asked about the third. The complaint about the unmarked exam papers he did not investigate. In any event we know from other evidence that they were not final year papers. Accused No 21 says the first two complaints only came to the fore in 1984.

It seems that the complaints mentioned above were not substantial enough to warrant a boycott of classes, let alone a school's boycott which would spread throughout South Africa. The complaints were blown up beyond proportion to form the base for a claim for SRC's.

The heightened political awareness of the youth following the formation of the UDF and its political activities would have played a major if not a decisive part in the call for SRC's. The reasons given by the pupils are too shallow.

The evidence of Dr Hartshorne is that it is naive to expect that politics be kept out of education. Exh DA.213. The Black educational system is the product of a certain political model the effect of which was discriminatory. The underlying causes of the unrest in schools are political and one cannot divorce the education crisis from politics. What is at stake is the basic transformation of the whole education system within a common non-racial democratic society. SRC's are together with parent-teacher organisations key structures of "peoples education". Its broad objectives were first spelt out in December 1985 at the conference of the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee but it had surfaced earlier as appears from documents before court.

Peoples education is against apartheid, oppression, exploitation and capitalist values and for a unitary non-racial "democratic" society. It is based on the Freedom Charter and in its political context it is inextricably bound up with the concept of "peoples

power". Peoples education inter alia seeks to eliminate capitalist norms of competition and individualism, enable "the oppressed to understand the evils of the apartheid system" and to equip and train "all sectors of our people to participate actively and creatively in the struggle to attain peoples power in order to establish a non-racial, democratic South Africa".

In the light of this exposition the call for SRC's can be better understood. They were to be instruments in the implementation of peoples education which was to be indoctrination for the purpose of attaining peoples power - the ultimate goal of the liberation struggle.

It is therefore only natural that the UDF with its call for peoples power would support fully the scholars' agitation for SRC's. That the demand was politically motivated is clear from the fact that when the Department capitulated the scholars were not prepared to accept the proffered SRC's.

Dr Hartshorne's view that the liberation struggle and the Black education crisis are inextricably intertwined is supported by the AZASO Newsletter of March 1984. Exh W.15 pp.2, 4 and 5. The education crisis is a struggle for power. The state is to be engaged by mass mobilisation. Students have to expound the revolutionary theory. In SASPU Focus of November 1984 (exh W.21) the declaration of the Education Charter Campaign is set out. It bears out what Dr

Hartshorne said. An article in that publication declares that the schools are at war, fighting an undeclared war with the police and the government. An undated circular letter from the Eastern Cape REC of COSAS drafted between March 1985 and June 1985 and distributed for discussion to those attending the fourth Eastern Cape Regional Council of COSAS held at Katberg, called the government murderers and called upon all to "organise and mobilise our people and fight back" against the prohibition of meetings and the possible banning of COSAS. It stated: "Let us harass the enemy in all corners and let us use whatever means available to us. We call upon you to intensify our struggle against the enemy and those who collaborate with it. To those areas who have decided to go back to classes this year, COSAS calls upon you to FORCE AND ELECT SRC structures in your schools. Let us not wait for them to grant us SRC's. Let us unite in our schools and become uncontrollable and ungovernable. Forward with the democratic SRC's. United action for democratic education." Exh CA.45.

At this Regional Council of COSAS branches from some sixteen towns in the Eastern Cape were represented. Those places which concern us in this case are Grahamstown, Adelaide, Cradock, Somerset East and Graaff-Reinet. These branches all reported to the council. The programme bears a slogan "Troops out of the townships". It further inter alia provides for a paper on the IYY by the reverend C Nissan. He was from Graaff-Reinet and a member of the Western Cape REC of the UDF.

Dr Hartshorne held the view - as do the scholars - that one does not get any change in the educational system until you influence the political process. The attainment of political power is needed to change the educational system. It follows that the struggles in the schools, the efforts of the Education Crisis Committee and parents/ students committees are all manifestations of the broader liberation struggle. That is also evidenced when the nature of the resolutions passed at the conferences of the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee and the National Education Crisis Committee of December 1985 and March 1986 (exhs CA.41 and CA.42) are studied. We bear in mind that these fell outside the period of the indictment. The terminology is, however, the same as in earlier documents and it affords a clearer definition of what was meant. The slogan for the NECC conference was "Forward to Peoples Power".

It is not surprising that the youth became restive. As appears from exh A.1, one of the issues the UDF concentrated upon was education.

Eventually as stated the Department of Education and Training which had opposed SRC's, capitulated in May 1984 and permitted their introduction in separate schools. Exh DA.114. A comprehensive communication structure was published on 9 October 1984. Exh CA.40. The concept of SRC's provided for was acceptable to Dr Hartshorne, the expert witness for the defence.

Of course this was not the end of school boycotts and unrest. Politically motivated school boycotts intensified. A boycott call went out from AZASO and COSAS in August 1984 for a school boycott throughout South Africa against 'apartheid'. Exh ABA.6.

Different reasons were given by the pupils at the various Black schools throughout South Africa for their boycotts which followed upon the COSAS call, but all had as their battle-cry a call for SRC's. The reasons given were, in our view, wholly inadequate for a boycott which would disrupt and paralyse Black education in many schools for the latter half of 1984 and often the best part of 1985.

Had one not known that the COSAS call coincided with the Tri-cameral elections under the new constitution and that the UDF was busy with mass mobilisation and politicization country-wide, one would have wondered what all the fuss was about. In fact the boycotts brought the youth on the streets and it was inevitable that riotous conduct and clashes with the police would ensue. Deaths of rioters led to political funerals followed by further rioting. All this mobilised and politicised the youth and others still further, to the advancement of the liberation struggle.

The UDF attitude towards youth in general was that they were indispensable to the liberation struggle. Notes of accused No 20 for a speech on 16 June 1983 (exh AB.21) are entitled:

"Students - the life-blood of the people's struggle".

Revolutionary action is praised:

"We donned our handkerchiefs as gas-masks, we took dust-bin lids as our shields, stones were our bullets and paraffin bottles were our bombs. Amandla."

(Accused No 20 says that this speech was not delivered. We have difficulty in accepting this but even if it is so, it indicates the tenor of his speeches to the Black youth).

It should be noted that in UDF literature and speeches school pupils are called students.

In the UDF declaration of 20 August 1983 (exh A.1) it commits itself to unite "all our people" wherever they may be including those in schools, colleges and universities "to fight for our freedom" and to organise and mobilise all organisations including student organisations under the banner of the UDF.

The secretarial report to the NGC of the UDF at the end of 1983 (exh C.9) states:

"The last three months has also seen a mushrooming of new civic and youth organisations. These organisations were not only inspired by the UDF, but were initiated by the UDF itself."

In the light hereof the denial of accused No 19 that the UDF formed any youth organisation has to be rejected.

The same theme of unity between workers, community and students was repeatedly stressed by Prof I Mohammed in his speeches. Exhs C.22 and C.23.

The minutes of the joint national secretariat meeting of the UDF held on 28 April 1984, where accused Nos 19 and 20 were present (exh C.89) set out under the heading "Education Crisis", that it was reported that a workshop was being planned by AZASO, NUSAS and COSAS which would focus on how education could be linked up with the MSC and general UDF work. Transvaal and Eastern Cape were requested to report on the education crises in Pretoria and Uitenhage respectively, and accused No 20 offered to prepare a report on Cradock.

The schools' unrest was directly related to the freedom struggle by Prof I Mohammed in a speech to AZASO youth on 4 July 1984. Exh C.25. We do not have evidence that this written speech was in fact delivered but we have seen and heard him on video and it is in his usual form and tone and the sentiments are clear:

"The anger of our youth in the schools of Cradock is mirrored in the schools of Atteridgeville as a growing crisis of education facing our country."

"This heaving and swelling, like the mighty sea, is embracing wider and wider circles of our people - in the schools, colleges and universities, in the churches, mosques and community ...

As these waves roll more and more in unison they are going to sweep away radicalism, oppression and exploitation."

"Gone are the days when we meekly submitted and voiced our anger in private."

"We have learnt from the victories of the people of Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe that as an organised and united people we shall win our liberation."

In a speech to the NEC in November 1984 (exhs C.1 and J.3) evaluating the organisational activities of the UDF, it is stated that the large number of mass organisations, namely community, workers and students, act as a major base of the UDF. The student organisations referred to are COSAS and AZASO. The goal is "a highly organised people capable of swinging the overall balance of forces in our favour". The notes of the speech continue:

"We need to

- build a liberation alliance
- to take up broad political issues such as to take up education country-wide."

A paper by Lucille Meyer (a member of the Border executive committee of the UDF) (exh C.7) (probably delivered to the November 1984 meeting of the NEC), dealt with the youth in the democratic movement. She referred to them as the young cadres in the democratic front. She stated:

"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."

She called for the setting up of youth organisations throughout the country and stated that they were a detachment of a broad national democratic movement. She set out how to utilise local issues to mobilise township youth:

"The student 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 NGC of the UDF on 7 April 1985 adopted a secretarial report by accused No 19 (exh C.102) which stated:

"The task of the UDF is to situate the education struggle within the overall strategy of challenging the state. Affiliates in all regions must throw their weight behind the Education Charter Campaign which is currently being led by AZASO, COSAS, NUSAS and NEUSA."

The NGC also passed the following resolution on education:

"Believing:

1. democratically elected SRC's are the only bodies able to peacefully negotiate students' demands at school
2. the inferior education is the result of a deliberate intention by the government to produce a docile population
3. the interests of our students in education cannot be separated from the interests of their parents, such as the rents they pay, the conditions of their houses and townships and the low wages they earn

therefore resolves:

- "1. to continue our struggle for democratic representation in schools
2. that long term demands must be collected and furthered by popularising the Education Charter Campaign as an alternative to apartheid education in urban and rural areas
7. to call upon the NEC and affiliates to develop structures that will ensure effective participation in and support for students' struggles."

This is not a new policy. Already at the launch of the UDF in August 1983 a resolution was passed on education which read as follows:

"Noting:

3. The courageous struggles being waged by our students across the length and breadth of our country
4. The continuous harassment of democratic student organisations in our schools, technicons, colleges and universities

hereby resolve, under the banner of the UDF:

1. to fully support the struggles being waged by our students

"3. that students, teachers and community organisations should unite to fight for democratic education."

Throughout the life-span of the UDF it supported the struggle of the students (under which term it included scholars). Exh C.46 (C.114).

We have dealt with the origins of the UDF affiliate AZASO elsewhere in this judgment. NUSAS is an organisation of university students mostly at English speaking White universities and NEUSA is an organisation for teachers. They played a relatively minor role. The same cannot be said of COSAS and AZASO.

AZASO is an organisation for students of universities, technicians and teacher training colleges. It is affiliated to the UDF with which it has close links. According to ic.12, a former chairman, it does the UDF's work at branch level. At its fourth annual congress on 4 and 5 July 1984, No 19 and No 20 were speakers. On the second day at a women's evening there was dancing with AK.47's and freedom songs were sung. See exhs V.11, V.11B and V.11C. Exh V.11 is dealt with elsewhere.

It is a revolutionary organisation supportive of the ANC. In its office at Turfloop a message from the ANC underground (exh ABA.62) was found.

The AZASO Regional Newsletter (exh ABA.63) issued at the beginning of 1985 calls for constant participation in the broader struggle of our people in the UDF. It states that AZASO works very closely with COSAS. It calls for a challenge to the education system and a fight against the overall oppression. The government is called the "enemy" and "illegal". It ends with "Our leader Mandela. Aluta Continua."

The last words are not just a phrase. They frequently appear in AZASO publications. It is a slogan of the ANC.

As early as August 1983 AZASO in a pamphlet entitled AZASO and the UDF (exh C.74) propagated its Education Charter Campaign. Its policy is to oppose the education system and capitalism and popularise the Freedom Charter and wage the struggle on all fronts. On the cover of its policy document (exh C.143) is stated: "From the schools comes revolution."

Its third annual congress 3 to 7 July 1983 was opened by Curtis Nkondo of the Transvaal REC. Its president assured all AZASO activists that they were "continuing the tradition created by organisations as far back as the ANC Youth League and the South African Students Organisation". (Both declared illegal by the state). The highlight of the congress was a panel discussion on the birth of the student movement. The panel consisted of No 20 and four others. Three of the panelists had served terms of imprisonment on Robben

Island. The others had been detained for lengthy periods.

The AZASO Newsletter of November 1983 (exh W.14) contained a Marxist speech by Auret van Heerden and a speech by No 20 on the history of the student movement.

The AZASO Newsletter of March 1984 (exh W.15) found in possession of No 22 called for a fundamental restructuring of society. The state is called the enemy and the newsletter calls for the engagement of the state through mass mobilisation and mass organisation. "We have gone beyond the stage of militant rhetoric and therefore we've got to show people that we can actually take on the state". Society has to be restructured on Marxist principles and "the masses of the national democratic struggle is to be determined by the working class hegemony within the alliance of class ..."

AZASO should continue to expound the principles of the national democratic struggle. "One of the roles of students is to expound the revolutionary theory". See also exh AE.10.

AZASO would necessarily understand the word "democratic" in its Marxist sense, in view of their policy.

The AZASO Orientation News issued at the beginning of 1984 (exh W.17) stated that the theme for 1984 was "Organising for a Peoples Education". In 1984 they would demand "democratic independent

representative student structures". As their demands for a non-racial and democratic education system would never be met in the existing order it necessitated their constant participation in the broader struggle of their people at all times. It is for this reason that they join the UDF.

The call for SRC's and the committed participation in the national liberation struggle are clear.

This is the organisation which No 20 and the UDF nurtured and assisted.

COSAS was the most important affiliate of the UDF and one of its founding members.

COSAS was an organisation of pupils of secondary schools which did not confine itself to educational matters only but took it upon itself to concern itself with a broader political field namely the problems affecting the community.

It was founded in May 1979. Originally it was a youth organisation to which both school going and non-school going youth could belong. At its congress in May 1982 it was decided that only scholars could be members. Thereafter COSAS was instrumental in setting up youth congresses like SOYCO (Soweto Youth Congress) which it formed on 31 July 1983.

According to the witness ic.23, COSAS was a progressive organisation used by the ANC to further revolution.

COSAS was highly politicised. It was one of the most important founding members of the UDF and regularly attended its general council meetings - there reporting on their activities on the education front.

Not only was COSAS intensely politicised. It was vehemently anti-government using extremely unbridled language. Examples are exhibits AAW.11; ABA.51; ABA.2; C.136; AAW.2; C.103 - AB.33 (No 5 denies that it is COSAS policy); AB.7; AB.31; W.20; AB.9; AB.29; AB.43; AB.45; AW.29; AB.19; ABA.40.

COSAS was not averse to violence. Their public statements when seen against the background of events in the townships at the time amount to incitement to and/or condonation of violence and revolution. See exhibits ABA.51; AAY.7; V.25 pp.41 and 42; AAW.9; C.113; AB.43 and the funerals at Cradock, Tembisa and Thabong and also the funeral of Bongani Khumalo on video exh 30, transcript V.27.

COSAS was a Freedom Charter organisation.

COSAS was Marxist/Socialist. Exhs V.25 p.41; AB.29; AB.43.

COSAS was against the councillors. Exhs AB.9 and ABA.57.

The COSAS tactic of school and class boycotts was the crime of sabotage in terms of section 52(3)(c) of the Internal Security Act 74 of 1982 S v Radebe 1988 1 SA 772 (A). It is not surprising that it was declared unlawful on 28 August 1985 (Proclamation 9915).

It is amazing that a body of scholars can have such influence in the Black community.

They take leading roles in funerals which they take over with impunity.

They call a meeting of all organisations and call a stay-away in November 1984.

They are deferred to by the UDF when the Pretoria schools crisis arises.

Their call for SRC's is supported by the UDF.

It is this organisation which forms part of the UDF task force in the liberation struggle and which was whole-heartedly supported by the UDF.

The UDF did not limit its attentions to the studying youth. It had a hand in the formation of various organisations for non-school

going youths. Youth congresses sprang up all over - all affiliated to the UDF.

At the birth of SOYCO (Soweto Youth Congress) on 31 July 1983 accused No 19 played an active role. He advised on its founding and spoke at its launch. The leadership of the UDF was present. We discuss its launch elsewhere.

Accused No 20 sent it a message of support to its annual congress in August 1984. Exh AB.39. It is referred to later.

Mankweng Youth Congress sent a message of support to the UDF. Exh AB.38. They vowed with revolutionary greetings to stand up and fight side by side with "UDF and other national movements which cannot be mentioned loosely" "until our freedom is won".

The Education Charter Campaign, which was initiated by COSAS and AZASO in 1982 [exh AB.7(6)] was, as we have seen, embraced and supported by the UDF which called on all its affiliates and regions to support it. Exhs C.102; AB.28; AB.29.

The UDF was the motivating force in the formation of committees of parents and students (and some teachers) to bypass existing parents' committees. These committees worked in close liaison with the UDF and COSAS. Exh T.15.

The NEC decided on 11 September 1983 to ask the regions to create a commission on education headed by Curtis Nkondo "following increasing crises at schools". Exh D.1. Accused No 19 says it was not set up and could not explain what the crises were.

On 7 October 1983 accused Nos 19 and 20 met with COSAS of Thabong (Welkom). According to his notes accused No 20 gave an historical over-view of resistance in South Africa. "The scholars/students emerged with renewed determination. They were actively and successfully canvassed for the UDF". It was noted that financial aid was needed to reprint membership cards of COSAS. Exh C.52.

The programme of action of the UDF Transvaal, September to November 1983, provided for area committees to be set up, composed of a civic or youth organisation and one of the issues to be taken up at mass meetings was education. Exh C.120.

Direct evidence of UDF involvement in the schools boycott which we accept was that of warrant officer Du Toit and Captain Loots who testified that accused No 21 told them that he would encourage scholars to boycott classes till their demands were met. We discuss this evidence when accused No 21 is dealt with.

Accused No 21 sent a message of support on behalf of the UDF to AYCO (Alexandra Youth Congress) (exh AAB.8) at its annual congress

stating the resistance waged by AYCO bears testimony to the collective struggle.

The notes of accused No 21 show a close association with a large number of youth organisations, inter alia COSAS. Exhs AAB.11 and C.57.

The NEC meeting of January 1984 instructed the regions to consider the role of youth organisations, monitor their growth and give recommendations to the general secretary. It also dealt with a petition campaign in the Eastern Cape for the reinstatement of transferred teachers and publicity to be given thereto. Exh F.

A memorandum prepared by reverend Frank Chikane on behalf of the Steering-committee on the Crisis in Black Education dealing with discussions at a meeting on 24 March 1984 set out a proposed programme of action:

"2. Working towards the scrapping of this oppressive educational system to substitute it with a progressive system of education controlled by the people."

"That a commission on the education of Blacks be appointed to put in writing our position on education and what we think is the most progressive system of education. Noting that students

"are working towards an Education Charter, this commission will have to liaise with students in this regard."

Exh /B.20.

For "progressive" one can read "based on the Freedom Charter". That is how the term was interpreted in those circles.

At a meeting of the Transvaal General Council held on 14 April 1984, however, we find a complaint by COSAS about UDF involvement. Exh P.1.

On 19 June 1984 accused No 19 by circular letter called for a national day of solidarity with the people of Cradock (gripped by schools unrest during schools boycotts) and a call for the release of Mathew Goniwe (a UDF activist teacher who was detained). Exh AJ.43.

Accused No 20 also reported on the Cradock education crisis. Exh AB.15(2).

A report on the NEC of June 1984 observed laconically that the education crisis had a momentum of its own and should only be monitored closely as it had a potential for erupting. Exh G.5.

That this is not an expression of dismay but of approval is clear from the circular which accused No 19, as general secretary, sent out thereafter on 19 June 1984 (exh AB.18):

"We have witnessed during the last few months, unfolding in our country, conditions similar to those which led to the historic 1976 student revolt."

"The NEC recommends to all regions ... to call mass meetings on a date that shall be dubbed the national day of solidarity with the people of Cradock. On that day, the call for the release of Mathew Goniwe must come out loud and clear. I suggest the 22nd July 1984 for this event.

I wish to appeal to the regions to submit to the national office, detailed reports on the education crisis. This may be very helpful at the mass meetings referred to above, in order to give the masses a picture of what is happening nationally in the schools and universities."

Nowhere does one find an instruction to dampen the overheated youths. The masses must be exhorted to support the scholars and students.

The minute of the REC meeting Transvaal, 11 September 1984 (exh S.10) reflects the decision that the UDF should issue a statement concerning the harassment of its affiliates COSAS and MGWUSA.

The secretarial report from the Transvaal to the NEC after the Vaal riots (exh T.22) reported sub voce "education crisis" that in a public meeting organised by the UDF area committee (Soweto) a parents' committee was formed, to work very closely with COSAS.

Significant is exh AB.19 (second document), a memorandum drawn by accused No 19 as general secretary on 21 January 1985 and sent to regional secretaries for circulation on a wide basis. It is headed "From UDF and COSAS. Proposals for discussion on education crisis." It sets out observations made at a meeting of four COSAS executive representatives and the national regional secretaries of the UDF. COSAS has not been able to make a national call of any kind as the problems differ from area to area. The overall demands are as previously stated by COSAS but there are other local problems such as unfair dismissal and/or suspension of teachers and students. It further records:

- "5. That although some students have gone back to school the potential for another school boycott and violence at a larger scale will be a great one if DET does not meet the demands of the students.

See also exh S.19 para 3.2.

Accused No 19 testified that the word "campaign" in the last paragraph refers to getting students back to classes. This is nonsense. The context wherein the word is used in para 7 and the last paragraph indicates a campaign waged by COSAS and the UDF against the DET.

The UDF did not express itself openly in favour of the boycotts. Yet indirectly it did. It wholeheartedly supported the struggle of the scholars of which the schools boycott was a major component and it never clearly publicly expressed disapproval of it. In fact it could not, the boycotts were part of the political mobilisation of the masses - in this case the youth.

In exh ABA.6, GRAFCOM NUUS, distributed by UDF affiliate GRAFCOM in Graaff-Reinet in August 1984, we find a call by AZASO/COSAS, not UDF, to all students/scholars in South Africa to boycott schools. GRAFCOM was a UDF affiliated civic organisation.

On 15 September 1984 exh ABA.2, a UDF, COSAS, UWO and WCCA pamphlet was distributed in Worcester which states that to show their rejection of the new Tri-cameral parliament more than 700 000 students in Sharpeville boycotted schools.

- "6. That the students are on the threshold of victory and that this should not be allowed to slip out of our hands.
7. That there is a need to expand the campaign by involving other forces such as the churches, unions, prominent personalities like bishop Tutu, Alan Boesak, archbishop Hurley, SACC, SACBC, etc. and to provide a clear direction in this regard.
8. That there is a need for an assessment of possible involvement in the Education Charter Campaign by the parents' committees.
9. That there is a need to a serious assessment of the attempts by the DET to set up parents' liaison committees and the possibility of replacing same with democratic structures of parents."

The memorandum ends with the following:

"The UDF and COSAS urge you to discuss the above questions and to come out with practical suggestions as soon as possible. The most concrete and crucial question facing us is, precisely how can we intensify the campaign in the event of the DET refusing to meet the students' demands?"

The UDF also drafted a working document for the IYY on 16 March 1985 giving directions which the progressive youth organisations in South Africa had to carry out. Exh AAA.13. See also exhs AB.14 and AB.10.

On 9 March 1985 the Transvaal regional secretary reported to the AGM on the UDF's successes during the past year inter alia as follows:

"On the education front, COSAS had continued to draw in more and more schools into the battle for SRC's and relevant education. All these events culminated in the highly successful two day stay-away in November."

See exh T.25 p.4.

The minutes of the UDF NGC of April 1985 (exh AAA.10) contain the following:

"The education crisis: Crucial issues identified were the struggle for democratic representation for students which had to be linked to social and political representation ... The role of the UDF was to form co-ordinating structures for students, parents and teachers ... The UDF should popularise the Education Charter Campaign ... We should also oppose the use of the SADF in our schools. More attention should be given to organising teachers."

In a pamphlet distributed in Duduza in June 1985 entitled "UDF call to the people" (exh ABA.49) the people are exhorted to go along with the decision taken at UDF national to go on fighting for peoples' education in schools.

In November 1984 (during wide-spread school boycotts) a UDF report on all its campaigns and the future (exh C.53) under the heading "Struggles in the Education Sphere" stated:

"It is likely that the past campaigns for an adequate, equal and relevant education will be intensified. Our affiliates from the educational sphere have already launched an Education Charter Campaign to consult our people on the nature of the educational system demanded."

"This campaign will afford us the ability to unite parents and students more around common problems which confront them."

Prof I Mohammed of the REC UDF Transvaal, in a speech delivered probably at the beginning of 1985 (exh C.21) stated:

"We are justly proud of the organisations we have created and particularly of the UDF. We have tremendous admiration for our people who against great odds are waging a valiant struggle against oppression. We are witnessing that struggle sweeping

"through the factories, the townships, in the schools and universities, in the mines and rural areas."

A press statement issued by accused No 20 on 7 January 1985 (exh AB.23) reads as follows:

"The issue is not whether students and pupils are returning to school or not. It is whether the DET has and will continue to adequately address those grievances which led to the disruption of classes last year."

The emphasis again is not on the ending of the general boycott but on support for the scholars in their struggle.

A UDF document (exh ABA.49) claimed:

"The UDF brought together the whole struggle in schools. The parents formed committees to help students who wanted SRC's in the whole of South Africa."

The REC Transvaal minutes of 7 February 1985 record that the UDF would provide speakers to COSAS for the Emma Sethakge memorial on 13 February 1985 and the Tembisa COSAS meeting on 16 February 1985. Accused No 20 was to speak on the last-mentioned date. Exh S.20.

The secretarial report of the Border region of the UDF of 22 February 1985 (exh C.11) states that the "education crisis" is still serious at Fort Beaufort where there is a total school boycott. The Cape college of education has closed down. Students are resisting political purges. The peoples' response is resistance, inter alia against inferior education and its undemocratic structures. The co-operation between student and community organisations has been outstanding. The future plans of the Border region are campaigns which will keep them busy, including the Education Charter Campaign.

The UDF's manipulation of the youth for its own ends is evident from a memorandum sent by accused No 19 to all regional secretaries on 13 February 1985. Exh C.83. It concerns the international youth year. It states:

"But important is the fact that we have already started building the UDF as a vehicle to advance our struggle. The youth organisations in their campaigns especially the IYY must be seen to be part of this broad movement. The IYY provides the scenario."

"We are not suggesting that the UDF will lead the campaign itself but simply saying that the youth must do so using the UDF name and guided by it."

All considered, we cannot agree with the ultimate submission that the allegations in the indictment regarding the UDF's attitude towards education have no substance.

In conclusion we wish to state as follows. The documentation to which we have referred inevitably leads to the conclusion that the UDF regarded the scholars, students and working youth as its forces in the freedom struggle and supported, directed and manipulated them to that end.

Inter alia the issue was the Black education system which the UDF wanted to destroy and replace with another. The means of doing it was action by the pupils themselves.

This does not mean that UDF speakers did not at times call for an end to the schools boycott. We have evidence that at a meeting in Atteridgeville on 16 February 1984, UDF speaker Prof I Mohammed did that and that accused No 21 also was involved.

On 7 April 1984 accused No 21 issued a press statement to counter public criticism of UDF involvement. Exh DA.27. It stated with reference to the Atteridgeville/Saulsville situation that the UDF wanted the children back at school.

Accused No 20 was asked about the UDF's claim for "relevant education" as it appears in exhs A.1 p.28 and C.53 para 3.3. It does not mean that present curricula are not relevant, he said, but he could not explain what the term did mean.

The only explanation we can think of is that the claim for relevant education is education geared to advance the freedom struggle.

Accused No 20 testified that the UDF had not taken a decision on the schools' crisis. They wanted the children in school.

There may not have been a formal minuted decision on the schools boycott but the documents to which we have referred indicate clearly where the UDF stood in the education crisis. As long ago as its launch it had pledged full support for the struggles of the students. Exh A.1 p.28. Accused No 20 says that this refers to their claims re SRC's age-limit, excessive corporal punishment, uniforms and harassment of females. That is true but it was much broader.

Counsel ably took us through the defence's written argument of 53 pages on education and the evidence relevant thereto. We have considered that argument and the response tendered to the state case through the evidence of accused No 16, No 19, No 20, No 21 and the witnesses Hartshorne, Dangor, Duncan, Buthelezi and Nkomo. We have also looked at the evidence of Dr Motlana on the efforts of parents to get children to do examinations in 1984.

This seems to have been a localised call. We did not find a general one. In any event a precondition of the petition presented to the DET to get Atteridgeville's schools reopened in July/August 1984 was the redress of the so-called grievances. And even in that delegation the UDF was not represented.

That redress of the alleged grievances was not the main object is apparent from the fact that when the DET conceded SRC's in May 1984 the crisis did not abate but in mid 1984 rose to fever pitch throughout South Africa, to coincide with the implementation of the new constitution.

School boycotts and disruption by boycotters of other schools were a contravention of section 52(3)(c) of Act 74 of 1982. Gatherings on school premises after closure of schools and protest marches were a contravention of the prohibition in Government Notice 579 of 30 March 1984 issued in terms of section 46(3) of Act 74 of 1982. Exh CA.2.

It was inevitable that the police would act. They were duty bound. Violent confrontations were inescapable.

The UDF never spoke out against these illegal actions of the scholars.

It may be said that COSAS, who orchestrated all this, was merely an affiliate and that there was no obligation on the UDF to do so.

This argument might have carried weight if the UDF had remained quiet and neutral but the UDF came out in full support of the so-called struggle in the schools. Unqualifiedly. It also never spoke out against COSAS' revolutionary statements.

We conclude that the UDF welcomed the disturbances and violence as a means of mobilising the youth in the freedom struggle.

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