

L9.14
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MANKWENG (PIETERSBURG)

This section deals with Pietersburg and the surrounding area which includes Turfloop University and Mankweng Black township in its vicinity.

The further particulars as amended (p.78) alleged that since September 1984 to end July 1985 Mankweng Civic Association, Mankweng Youth organisation, COSAS and AZASO organised and intimidation violence unrest and riots occurred.

The defence only led evidence on one aspect in rebuttal of the state evidence, which mostly stands undisputed.

AZASO (Turfloop) and Mankweng Civic Association (MACA) were affiliated to the UDF since 20 August 1983. Mankweng Youth Congress (MAYCO) since August 1984. It will be noted that the further particulars referred to Mankweng Youth Organisation. Nothing was made in argument of this difference and it can possibly be explained by a change of name of that organisation as happened elsewhere.

The handwritten notes of a speech found in the possession of Louis Mnguni, chairman of MACA, convenor of the UDF and patron of MAYCO for the 16 October 1983 launch of MAYCO (exh ABA.45) contain revolutionary language. The birth of the Mankweng Youth Congress on that day

is described as an important aspect in "our revolutionary struggle". It is stated that the South African youth proved in 1976 that it was prepared to carry out the aspiration of the oppressed people of South Africa. It proved itself to be a generation which was prepared and determined to see freedom in its lifetime. "But first before this youth can realise itself as the dynamo of the South African revolution it must satisfy a few basic expectations. If we can succeed to forge unity amongst ourselves, those at school, university, the employed and the unemployed then we will be in a position to move on to educate and prepare the masses for the revolution. It is important that the youth as the dynamo of our revolution must involve itself in a conscientising programme ... " There are further references to education which will prepare the people for revolutionary awareness and to Solomon Mahlangu's death "to rekindle the fires of revolution"; there is a further reference that from youth stem the branches like J Msololi, Motaung and Moegorani. The four names mentioned were all convicted ANC murderers who were executed for their crimes.

On 3 February 1984 a workshop was held by accused No 21 in a church at Mankweng. He spoke on the UDF. Subsequently he attended meetings of a committee that organised in the Northern Transvaal. There were funds allowed by the REC of the UDF Transvaal on 14 June 1984 for that purpose (exh S.7) and a rally was held on 5 August 1984 in the Northern Transvaal. An Area Committee of the UDF was formed immediately after this rally. It became known as the UDF co-ordinating

committee. The UDF funded this rally to the tune of R6 000 and arranged for speakers. Accused No 21 played an important role in the UDF's organisation of the Northern Transvaal.

According to exh C.132, a Northern Transvaal programme of action, reports of conferences held in the Northern Transvaal on 5 February 1984 and 3 March 1984 were submitted to both the NEC and the REC Transvaal. Attached to this programme is a memorandum stating inter alia

"the formation of the United Democratic Front and the various campaigns it undertook made a significant advance in planting seeds of organisation in the Northern Transvaal Region. The Northern Transvaal Committee of the UDF is having a visible muscle. MAYCO, COSAS, AZASO, SEYCO, SAAWU, POYCO and MAVIYCO form the backbone of the committee".

"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 unions' struggles are starting to emerge in bold relief and indeed serve as a pointer to fighting forces in various degrees of formation ... 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.

Activists must be interested in developments, not only in Uitenhage and Sebokeng but from the Cape to the Mediterranean. 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, allowing permanent communication and contact thus over-stretching 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! "

These documents were found in April 1985 in a vehicle occupied by Rejoice Mabudafasi, Peter Mguba, Louis Mnguni and two others. The driver was Mabudafasi. Mabudafasi was the secretary of the UDF Co-ordinating Committee Northern Transvaal and women's organiser of the

Mankweng Civic Association. Mnguni was the convenor of the UDF Northern Co-ordinating Committee and the chairman of MACA (Mankweng Civic Association). Mguba was the treasurer and organiser of the UDF Co-ordinating Committee and patron of MAYCO (Mankweng Youth Congress).

Exh ABA.26 consists of the said memorandum (part of exh C.132) and a document entitled Recommendations from the NGC to the NEC. These were found in possession of Frans Mohlala, president of MAYCO and chairman of the Northern Transvaal UDF Co-ordinating Committee. (There is some uncertainty on whether Mnguni was patron or convenor of this committee). We find these documents properly proved, relevant and admissible.

In the UDF offices Johannesburg were found messages from MAYCO and AZASO of the Northern Transvaal. The messages are probably for the Northern Transvaal rally of 5 August 1984. That of MAYCO commences with "revolutionary greetings" and pledges solidarity with all progressive movements involved in the "national democratic struggle and all the exploited and oppressed masses of our land". "We vow to stand up and fight side by side until our freedom is won." The message from AZAPO prophesies that blood-shed will be brought about by the new constitution, calls the government blood-suckers and ends with "long live our leaders who are imprisoned". Exh C.69.

On 8 October 1984 pamphlets of COSAS and MAYCO were distributed in Mankweng (exh ABA.57): "We don't want the town council in our location". "The town council is responsible for the rent increase, electrical bill and so on. They are the people who are responsible for the death of our people of Sebokeng, Katlelong, Tembisa, Soweto and the closure of the schools of Atteridgeville in Pretoria." "We are calling on all freedom-loving citizens of Mankweng not to vote in these dummy and puppet bodies. We are calling upon those who are candidates in these satanic institutions to immediately resign. All power to the people. Down with the council."

On the next day 9 October 1984 elections to the council were held.

On 10 October 1984 two councillors handed to the police two documents threatening their property and lives should they not resign. These documents were signed by the SA Suicide Squad (exhs ABA.58 and ABA.59). The two councillors summarily resigned and so did the rest of the councillors.

In a note-book of Mnguni (exh ABA.24) which was found in July 1985 by the police the following appears: "Town councillors of Mankweng have announced their resignation following a call by MAYCO and MACA to resign." By the end of 1984 all councillors had resigned and

MACA took over. A park was constructed in which an old wreck was installed with the words Mandela Park.

In possession of Mohlala, president of MAYCO, was found an invitation by COSAS Transvaal Region to a meeting on 10 October 1984 in Khotso House, Johannesburg, to discuss the education crisis and the role "your organisation can play in solving the problems of the students of our country". Exh ABA.40.

On 3 February 1985 a UDF Northern Transvaal conference was held in the Kranzenstein Lutheran Mission. Accused No 21 spoke on the history of the UDF and on the structure of the UDF with particular reference to the area committees and regional structures. Amongst others MAYCO, COSAS and AZASO attended. There is a report before court drawn by Mohlala, president of MAYCO. A further major conference called by the UDF Co-ordinating Committee for the final arrangements for the launching of the Northern Transvaal UDF was set for 3 March 1985. Exhs ABA.17, ABA.18 and ABA.42.

In March 1985 200 UDF pamphlets were found by the police in Mangweng and on the campus of the university at Turfloop. Exh ABA.9. This pamphlet has been dealt with elsewhere and deals with the proposed

day of mourning on 28 March 1985 and alleges that the government massacred thousands of people. The evidence is that these pamphlets were distributed in that area.

During April 1985 the police found on the campus of the University of the North in the dining-room, lecture halls and in three hostels pamphlets of which exh ABA.10 is one. The heading is "1985 The Year of the Cadre". It sets out "people massacred and murdered by the regime" states "too much of our blood has been spilt" and calls on the reader not to mourn but to mobilise, organise, fight on and take up arms and join Umkhonto we Sizwe. The origin of these pamphlets is not known. In 1985 AZASO attained a total take-over of the SRC of the university. The president of AZASO became president of the SRC. Pamphleteering increased.

Northern Transvaal was again visited by accused No 21 on 8 April 1985 as Northern Transvaal wanted its own region of the UDF and as he had to arrange transport to the AGM.

On 13 April 1985 outside the offices of the Northern Transvaal council of churches, the Northern Transvaal advice office and the South African Allied Workers' Union in Pietersburg a demonstration was staged

by Mabudafasi, Mnguni, Mokaba, Pule (a member of the AZASO Turfloop branch) and three others, of whom two have left the country and the third who was arrested for terrorism escaped. Placards were held "Release Mandela"; "Long live UDF"; "Ban Apartheid"; "SADF get out of Langa"; "Le Grange stop murdering people"; "Jobs and food for all, not bullets", etc.

On 1 May 1985 there were slogans at the university and in Mankweng. ANC lives; Long live ANC - CP, Victory is certain. Power to people; Mandela Sizulu, Mbeki; Mhlaba; Long live SACP, Umkhonto and ANC is to freedom. In Mankweng against the wall of the Lutheran Church Viva Tambo, Viva Communist Party and against a shopping centre ANC, Viva Umkhonto we Sizwe.

At the Hwiti Secondary school in Mankweng against the wall of a classroom: "Freedom Charter and a flag in the colours of the ANC also UDF, MAYCO, ANC, Viva MK, the people shall govern and "Hwiti is a liberated zone of ANC". The liberated zone might need some explanation. The University of the North students declared areas liberated zones in times of unrest or commemoration. The campus would then be blocked off, called a liberated zone and any person entering would be prevented by stones and petrolbombs and threatened with burning or death.

A draft programme for a June 1985 Northern Transvaal Youth Workshop on the media (exh ABA.38) found in possession of Mohlala president of MAYCO and chairman of the UDF Co-ordinating Committee on 14 July 1985 allots two sessions to graffiti and their planning, songs and their composition, and posters and pamphlets.

In June 1985 petitions were circulated purporting to be issued by Mankweng Civic Association supported by MAYCO, SAAWU, Northern Transvaal FEDTRAW, Ministers Fraternal, COSAS and AZASO calling for the permanent withdrawal of all police forces "and their agents" out of the Mankweng township. It starts off as follows: "Following the brutal, callous and cold-blooded murder on June 16, 1985 of our resident, youth and comrade Shadrack Mafokoane of Mankweng Youth Congress by the hostile and murderous Botna/Phatudi police." Exhs C.134 and C.135. These petitions were circulated in Mankweng and at Turfloop University. Shadrack Mafokoane had been shot by the Lebowa police during the commemoration on 16 June 1985.

The defence submits that the petitions have not been properly proved. The evidence of Captain J A Vorster was that he had attached them after seeing that they were being circulated. They are not admissible in terms of section 246 of the Criminal Procedure Act or section 69(4) of the Internal Security Act. Their contents cannot prove itself. They do prove that activists under the name of these organisations waged a propaganda campaign in the area after the death of Mafokoane.

The same reasoning applies in respect of exhibit C.136, a pamphlet in the name of COSAS, MACO and MACA put up at the post office calling for a school boycott of Hwiti pupils in sympathy with those injured in the riots. The police are called criminals and told to get out of Mankweng.

During June 1985 revolutionary ANC literature was found in a hostel room at the University.

In the SRC office of the University of the North a resolution by the SRC to found a student defence fund "named after our tried and tested national leader Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, herein referred to as the Mandela Students' defence fund" was found. Exh ABA.60.

On 16 June 1985 memorial services were held by AZASO at the university and by MAYCO and MACA and COSAS in the Lutheran church Mankweng. Afterwards the two groups joined at the gate of the University. A march of approximately 1 000 persons took place to the police station, freedom songs were sung and slogans shouted. The police were attacked with stones. The mob was dispersed with sjamboks. They regrouped on the campus, blocked the gate, threw stones and petrolbombs at vehicles on the road. The cafeterias of staff and students were looted. Thousands of rand damages was incurred. Arson was attempted. The police had to use tear-gas and bird-shot. In the process Shadrack Mafokoane was shot dead. He was a scholar who had no

business on the campus. Four students were injured. A class boycott started.

The defence called Edward Mahlalela to explain the events prior to and at the death of Shadrack Mafokoane. His evidence was, however, so false that it is rejected in toto. We refer in this respect to annexure Z. It conflicts with the evidence of Captain J A Vorster who was a good witness. We bear in mind that the latter did not see the actual shooting, but Mahlalela's version about the events does not dovetail with that of Captain Vorster whose evidence was not challenged in cross-examination (though the defence may not have had access to their witness at the time).

On 14 July 1985 an illegal gathering of MAYCO was held in the Lutheran church by approximately 300 people. They refused to disperse and attacked the police. The police dispersed them and arrested forty.

From a notice by Valli, Transvaal secretary of the UDF, it appears that on 2 July 1985 the Transvaal REC of the UDF decided to open a bank account in Pietersburg under the name UDF Northern Transvaal and that Louis Mnguni, Peter Mokaba and Frans Mohlala were the signatories.

The draft constitution of MACA, exh ABA.13 found in possession of Peter Mokaba stated as its aim "to encourage wider resident participation and promote organisational efficiency, accountability and democratic decision making process by forming departments/sub-committees

to deal with most sections of the public service" and "to oppose unrepresentative local Government institutions".

In July 1985 in possession of Mnguni were found a copy of the draft constitution of MACA (ABA.13), a report of the UDF Northern Transvaal conference in the handwriting of Mohlala (ABA.17) and its typed version (ABA.18) a paper presented by DESCOM 8 and 9 June 1985 on the onslaught against the People's Organisation September 1984 to June 1985 dealing with the continued police and army occupation "of our townships" and stating that the SADF waged a campaign of terror against the township population. Exh C.133: "The system" is accused of petrolbombing the houses of leading activists and of attacking their families. ANC literature was also found in his possession. The ANC Struggle Update No 1 of 1985, a revolutionary pamphlet (exh ABA.11) and a pamphlet "ANC Speaks" issued by the underground unit of ANC calling on the readers to engage the enemy, fight the criminal racist minority regime, form underground structures, render themselves ungovernable and join the mass popular front. "Forward with the year of the youth. Forward with the year of the cadre". Exh ABA.14. Also in his possession was found exh ABA.15 issued by the Transvaal Indian Congress in tribute to Jusuf Dadoo who is called "a freedom fighter and our leader". In fact he was a member of the executive of the ANC and the executive of the communist party. Also in his possession was found Adac News (exh W.35) which blames the South African Government for the assassination of Janet Schoon on 28 June 1984 and praises the Rivonia trialists.

The defence submitted that the evidence showed a strong ANC influence at the University of the North and in Mankweng and that all acts of violence could be ascribed to that organisation. It was submitted that the finding of ANC documents in possession of UDF officials was merely a personal matter and was unrelated to the UDF. At best it showed that the ANC had infiltrated a UDF structure and not that the UDF co-operates with the ANC or was an ANC front. The unrest on the campus was ascribed to either the ANC or undisciplined students. The documents before court were described by the defence as of no assistance on the cardinal issues. It pointed out that most of the events took place after the accused had been arrested.

We find that the evidence set out above proves:

1. MACA and the UDF co-ordinating committee had a revolutionary leadership.
2. MACA, COSAS and MAYCO campaigned for the demise of the Black Local Authority. The leader of MACA and the UDF co-ordinating committee claimed that MAYCO and MACA had effected the resignation of the town councillors (in his notes).
3. AZASO was the dominant student organisation at the University of the North, which was a hot bed of ANC supporters.

4. MACA, MAYCO, COSAS and AZASO spread propaganda whereby the populace was incited to hatred of the police.
5. The attacks on the police on 16 June 1985 and 14 July 1985 can be ascribed to either organisation or incitement. In either case the involvement of the organisations that called the meetings on those dates is indicated. They were AZASO, MAYCO, MACA and COSAS.
6. There is evidence of contact and co-operation between COSAS and MAYCO.
7. The UDF through accused No 21 and otherwise was in close contact with this area at all relevant times and was through accused No 21 aware of the leanings of its leadership. UDF pamphlets were also distributed in the area.

DELMAS TREASON TRIAL 1985-1989

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