

ALEXANDRA

The further particulars to the indictment (p.78) allege that during 1984 Alexandra Civic Association, COSAS, Alexandra Youth Congress and the UDF organised and violence, intimidation and riots occurred.

The state led evidence of a meeting held on 19 June 1983 probably to commemorate June 16. It seems to have been organised by AZAPO. But Bapela of COSAS and later Alexandra Youth Congress (AYCO) and Andrew Mogotsi (alias Jingles) of AYCO were prominent. The speeches, songs, poems and slogans were often inciting and revolutionary. ANC pamphlets were handed out and pro-terrorist posters were on the wall. A video of this meeting is exh 29 before court and the transcript exh V.23.

The inaugural meeting of AYCO on 25 September 1983 of which a video is before court as exh 4 with transcript exh V.4 has been dealt with in our chapter on speeches by UDF office-bearers. The meeting was decidedly pro-ANC and pro-revolution. It was attended by Frank Chikane vice-president of the UDF Transvaal who spoke on behalf of that organisation.

The defence submission that what was said by individuals at this meeting is not admissible against the accused is not understood. The speeches were not placed before court to prove the correctness of

what was said but to prove the tone and tenor of these meetings in order to lead to a conclusion on what the policy of the organisations involved was.

In Alexandra the youth groups, COSAS and AYCO (Alexandra Youth Congress), both affiliated to the UDF, had strong ANC leanings and there is evidence that their leaders had contact with the ANC.

At the 16 June Commemoration Service in 1984 held in the Methodist church, Alexandra, by COSAS and AYCO, Mathilda Gazela of the Alexandra Women's Organisation urged the women to unite and harbour guerillas returning from outside South Africa and give them safe houses. A placard in the hall depicted an AK.47 rifle and had the words "Solomon Mahlangu. Tell my people to continue with the struggle." Mahlangu was a member of the ANC who was executed for murder in South Africa. At the table the people held an ANC flag. Slogans "Amandla, viva Mandela, viva Tambo, viva Umkhonto we Sizwe, viva ANC" were shouted and freedom songs were sung. Upon encountering the police when leaving the hall the flag was thrown down and the people fled. In the hall were UDF, COSAS and AYCO banners.

The defence led no evidence at all on Alexandra except that of accused No 19 on the meeting of 16 June 1984. He testified that he had participated on behalf of the UDF but that he had arrived late. He disputed the evidence of the witness ic.22 that he spoke on both

the Million Signature Campaign and the history of the ANC. He said that he had only spoken on the former. He also disputed that there had been an ANC flag and a placard with an AK.47 rifle on it at the meeting.

We found that the witness ic.22 who testified about these facts was a good witness. He was corroborated in respect of the ANC flag by the undisputed evidence of warrant officer Du Plooy who saw the flag (called a banner) after the meeting. He also heard the pro-ANC slogans. Furthermore AYCO had the same colours as the ANC. Further corroboration is to be found in the fact that this would be in line with the general attitude displayed at a previous meeting in Alexandra where ANC pamphlets were handed out and a placard with a picture of an AK.47 displayed as well as an ANC flag. We reject the evidence of accused No 19 on these points.

In December 1984 the leaders of AYCO and COSAS discussed with the witness ic.22 the instruction received from the ANC to attack councillors and policemen. It was decided to attack their houses with stones until they resigned.

A leader of the COSAS branch, Naude Motsia, was taken by the witness ic.22 to Botswana to the ANC in February 1985.

A member of the AYCO executive received ANC literature for distribution and on 13 July 1985 the witness ic.22 took youths to the

Botswana border at the request of a member of the AYCO executive. The purpose being that they join the ANC.

Though there was unrest in Alexandra there were no attacks on properties until approximately March 1985 when the reverend Sam Buti, mayor of Alexandra, was attacked. Prior to that the trouble in Alexandra amounted to stopping of buses from entering the township by stone-throwing and at times robbing the drivers of their takings.

Vincent Shabalala, an ANC terrorist who had in 1983 before he left South Africa for training closely associated with the leaders of COSAS and AYCO, was on 9 February 1985 killed in a running battle with the police. In his possession were found an AK.47 rifle and hand-grenades. He was buried on 23 February 1985. In the procession COSAS and AYCO banners were prominent.

It is common cause that in Alexandra since 1984 road-blockades were set up and traffic was impeded. A large group threw stones at a police vehicle.

AYCO and COSAS were affiliated to the UDF from 20 August 1983. There is no admission that Alexandra Civic Association was an affiliate of the UDF. It did however attend the Daleside Workshop on Civics in April 1984 where further action against Black local authorities was planned and it was stated that the task was to destroy them. Exh U.4 (a-c).

Accused No 21 admitted that the UDF did campaign in Alexandra against the Black local authorities through the medium of the Alexandra Civic Association.

There were close links between AYCO and the UDF. It sent delegates to meetings of the UDF. At the general council meeting of 12 November 1983 it reported on the campaign against Black local authorities. Exh M.2. It participated in the special general council meeting on 14 July 1984 where the UDF's Youth Rally was planned. Exh R.2. Deacon Mathe of AYCO chaired this rally. Exh V.15. We deal with it in our chapter on speeches by UDF office-bearers.

A message of support for AYCO was found in possession of accused No 21 on 19 February 1985. It is signed by him as secretary for the UDF and is probably a copy of a message sent. Exh AAB.8. It reads:

"Message of support for AYCO: The complex of our struggle of our people in all parts of our country and in Alexander (sic) in particular cannot be determined by what I want or what you want but by what we want collectively. Resistance that has been waged by AYCO bear testimony to this. The UDF wishes you, the youth of Alexander (sic) healthy and constructive deliberation during your annual congress. The collective course of our people cannot fail to bear fruits.

"Yours in the struggle.

(signed) Moss Chikane (secretary) "

A propaganda pamphlet Voice of AYCO (exh ABB.1) was sold in Alexandra in 1984.

A number of documents were found by the police in possession of AYCO's secretary at its headquarters in December 1984. In so far as they disclose an object of AYCO they are admissible under section 246 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

Its constitution (exh ABB.5) records that its object is inter alia to represent the youth of Alexandra on the UDF. AYCO is part of the struggle for a society free from exploitation and oppression, where the people shall govern. It is opposed to capitalism and the education system and in favour of a total sport and cultural boycott. It rejects all government created institutions and any direct or indirect dialogue with them. It states that genuine and meaningful change will only be brought about by the will and power of the people. The document ends with "Aluta continua".

A document entitled "The UDF: Why did we form it" (exh ABB.7) was also found there in an envelope addressed to A Khime and post-marked 7 November 1984. It is the same as exh C.1 found in the UDF offices Johannesburg and it is probable that it is a UDF document. It uses the term "disciplined political conduct among

activists and leadership" in the sense of conduct reflecting "the type of discipline required to maintain security at all levels and at all times". It states "Our glorious heroes of the past have taken us some distance along this road (organisation of the people). The UDF is merely another stage along this journey - it is not the end of the journey itself. 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." This phrase is also to be found in exh J.3, a paper by Curnic Ndlovu delivered at the NEC of the UDF in November 1984. The document further mentions that one of the key factors to be assessed is "our ability to challenge the state and the strength required to do so".

Exh AB.7 document 6 is a press statement which indicates that AYCO had a hand in the COSAS inspired stay-away of 5 and 6 November 1984. We deal elsewhere with the limited admissibility of this document.

We reach the following conclusion:

1. There is no proof that Alexandra Civic Association had anything to do with the violence in Alexandra.
2. AYCO and COSAS were revolutionary organisations which had contact with the ANC and even received instructions from the ANC.

3. There is no proof who erected the road obstructions, threw stones at police vehicles or interfered with bus traffic.

4. Despite evidence about discussions by AYCO and COSAS leaders of the ANC's instructions to attack councillors and policemen, there is no evidence that they led the attacks on the police or the mayor's house.

5. We find that AYCO and COSAS took active steps to create a revolutionary climate in Alexandra.

6. The UDF had close links with AYCO and participated by sending speakers to functions where COSAS had a hand in the organisation.

We find that the UDF was aware of the revolutionary nature of these two organisations.

DELMAS TREASON TRIAL 1985-1989

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers, The University of the Witwatersrand

Location:- Johannesburg

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DOCUMENT DETAILS:

Document ID:- **AK2117-K2117-L9-2**

Document Title:- **Alexandra 513-520**