

PORT ELIZABETH and UITENHAGE -
TOWNSHIP REVOLT and POLITICAL
DEVELOPMENT, 1976-1990

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q PRECEDENTS TO REVOLT: UP TO MID

' 1976 IN PORT ELIZABETH

Our story begins some time back, and is initially told through the eyes of ANC veteran Ernest Malgas. Malgas was born in 1937 in Korsten, Port Elizabeth. His young life was one of massive hardship. Some of his earliest memories were of standing naked begging from p trains as soldiers headed to and from the Second World War - "bread please, or a penny please, Pm hungry", that is how I started. The soldiers would start throwing food and that was something very good for my family although I was not directly encouraged to do that but (when the food comes to the house, it will be acceptable." (The young Malgas was asthmatic and escaped the rigours, and the pleasures, of schooling entirely. When he was twelve his father was crushed while unloading a railtruck (he was a labourer on the railways). He survived but was boarded. Then, "One Friday my mother was working, my father was back from hospital, I was playing with other kids outside. This man started coughing, and he called me - the amount of blood that came through his nose. I was then young and still useless, looking at him dying. So when he died it Was my another, myself, my two younger brothers and my sister."

Malgas soon learned the tricks of survival, and would hound lead from scrapheaps, melt it down and re-sell it. But the family was moved from home to home as they couldn't meet the rent.

After the 1952 riots police came looking for his neighbour but picked Malgas up instead. It was the greatest mistake they ever made, for in his six weeks inside he began his political education, listening to others in the cells with him. Thereafter - meetings, activism, detention, until, in 1961, "one day somebody came to me and said - 'I was told to come and tell you, you are to go to other oounuies and go for military training, then you must come and light against the government." Malgas larconically remarks, "I didn't have in mind any reason to say no."

Off to Joiburg, where Joe Modise met him at Park Station. 4 weeks there then across the border to Bechuanaland, and, after avoiding the British South African Police for a hike/ride of 12 days, young Malgas was in Dar es Salaam to meet with the man who was to become his commander in Umkhonto, Henry Fazzie, also from Port Elizabeth. One day in Dar es Salaam a man, well known to these young recruits by reputation, visited them. "He was wearing a military shirt, a khaki one, and a battle-dress trousers and army belt. He had a pistol with him, a beret - you could see he was a soldier. We all greeted him, and were honoured to shake the hand of this man, Mandela. The youth were crazy about this man He told us he was coming from Ethiopia and had just completed 3 months military training. He said he was going home now - lI don't want to go to prison, neither dowe want to die, but we are prepared to go through this so that our people can taste the fruit of freedom." I

Malgas was impressed, "It was the first time that I had heard Mandela talking. and it was the first time that I had seen this man, but I think he is one of the greatest people I have met."

A year and a bit later, and Henry Fazzie, Ernest Malgas and seven others are returning from training, on the long complicated journey through South Africa's cordOn sanitaire, to get home. On 26 J anuary 1963 they alighted from a train at Bulawayo station - and fell straight into the arms of the British South African Police, acting on a tip off. They were returned to the South African police, tw0 of their group became state witnesses, and on 30 September 1963, in the Transvaal Supreme Court, The State vs Henry Fazzie and six others closed with these undefended activists receiving 20 years each from Mr Justice Theron.

By incredible co-incidence during the trial Malgas and Fazzie were held in Pretoria's "New Look Prison" - with Nelson Mandela, then sentenced for leaving the country without documents. Mandela arranged Braam Fischer for their appeal, and sentence was reduced to 14 years. Fazzie got another 7 years for sabotage, and here ends our first cameo, with Ernest Malgas going to Robben Island for 14 years, and Henry Fazzie for 21 years, both, so to speak, put into cold storage for a later, equally vital time in the struggle.

We jump from 1963 to 1976.

What was the political mood of black Port Elizabeth like in early 1976?

Pretty quiet, by all accounts.

- Firstly, as Chris Hani notes, the ANC underground had all but collapsed by 1974- in his words, "there was just nothing in 1974. "(2) As he says, "on the whole one could characterise this period (as one of a relative lull in terms of mass political activity." (

Barney Pitsoana, banned and living in Port Elizabeth from February 1973, felt similarly: "I wasn't approached by the ANC underground during the 5 years I was in Port Elizabeth - I don't think there was any substantial ANC underground, as far as I know." His wife Dimsa was involved with the SA Institute of Race Relations project, involving less than 50 people, and that was the subject of massive harassment at the time.

Thozamile Botha, who in the second half of 1976 was teaching at KwaZachele High School (more about both Botha and their school later) also recalls that the ANC was

very quiet then, and that he certainly had no contact with " them.

Saki Macozoma recalls the mood of the time: "People wouldn't even talk of the ANC - they would say, for instance, if somebody had been arrested, that so-and-so's father had been arrested during the "big thing" - meaning, the events of the early 60's! I recall trying to set up a branch of the South African Student Movement at kwaZakhele High in 1975 (when Macozoma was in Std 9 at that school) but it was very, very difficult to set it up, and there were very, very few people who were willing to identify directly with that sort of thing." "(3)

One who was not was Macozoma's classmate, in Std 9 at kwaZakhele High, Mike Xego. "I first came across SASM- in 1975 at kwaZakhele High - they did have a structure at the school, but a very shaky structure and which I also was very reluctant to join because I was afraid to be arrested then." (

Mkhuseli Jack, in Std 7 at Cowan High in 1976, recalls then that "we feared the AN C because to talk about it was such a big crime," and that his first political contact was a pamphlet he received in 1975 at a rugby stadium. The pamphlet was distributed by PAC stalwart Moki Cekisane, and called him to his first political meeting, to commemorate Sharpville, in 1975. 5)

' Thus was the atmosphere in Port Elizabeth in June 1976 - one of political quiet, state power, and fear of exposure. Then came 16 June 1976 and Port Elizabeth, like South Africa, was never to be the same again.

PORT ELIZABETH 1976 -

a SPONTANEOUS REBELLION and

QUICK REPRESSION

a When Soweto exploded, most people were caught unawares.

Barney Pitso, languishing under a banning order in Port Elizabeth, says he had not anticipated the Transvaal events at all. Others had anticipated anger, but not to the extent that events developed in the Transvaal.

The issue became - how would Port Elizabeth's black areas respond?

The first blow-up came, of all places, at a boxing promotion at Centenary Hall in July. Happyboy Ngapi was billed against Pangaman Sigapani, with the unheard of purse for the time of R13 000.

In the middle rounds of the clash police dropped teargas outside of the capacity hall, and all hell broke loose as the crowd stampeded the exits. A Development Board truck was burnt at the front of the hall, and the crowd damaged cars and vehicles.

This curiously non-political beginning to Port Elizabeth's riots of 1976 saw four new activists blooded into politics. For the organiser of the tournament had asked for help from the Watson brothers, who in that year had begun to play rugby for Kwaru in the black townships. The Watsons helped with organising and printing, and attended the show. To this day they talk with pride as to how the township youngsters guarded their car, and how the organiser entrusted Cheeky with a garbage bag full of money - his takings, in the heart of the stampede. - Thus began the political career of what must be the most unusual quartet of ANC activists. Rugged and rugby-playing; charismatic, Christian and capitalist, these good-looking white boys had entered politics unwittingly by answering a Christian calling to play township rugby. The "caller" was Mono Badela, a reporter in Port Elizabeth at the time, and founder, with Dan Qege, of the non-racial Kwaru rugby club in 1971. Mono had asked the Watsons, who were very prominent in white rugby, first to come coaching at Kwaru, then to play. They responded generously, knowing that Badela had a political agenda, but feeling that it was the Christian thing to do anyway.

Thus begun many years of clandestine political activity for these four hunks. It is probably still too early to obtain the confidences necessary to get a good understanding of what the AN C underground got up to from 1976 onward, but my educated guess is that the Watsons were deep in it, but always in a non-violent way. If, in 1976, associating with the ANC was enough to give Mkhuzeli Jack the jumps, it was a fabulously brave act by four white youngsters living on Park Drive in the middle of white Port Elizabeth. But, as controversial as the Watsons sometimes might have been, even their loudest critic has never laid the charge of cowardice anywhere near them. They paid a high price for their politics, including the loss of their business, their home, two assassination attempts, endless smear pamphlets, and, for Cheeky, the loss of the opportunity to play rugby for South Africa.

The Watsons were one of only three groups of whites willing to associate with black politics in Port Elizabeth in the 1970s and 1980s, (more later), and they were the first. Like them or hate them, they were blooded, like South Africa, in 1976, and have stayed the course of their principles.

The months of August and September 1976 saw, in Port Elizabeth, 89 buses stoned, arson attacks on 20 black schools, live bottlestores and 12 shops, 34 police vehicles damaged and much other damage done to government buildings- -the total damage, according to Colonel Goosen of the Security Police at the time, was R1,4 mil. (6)

,. The epicentre of this riot, according to the Colonel, was the result of a series of unlawful meetings convened by pupils of the kwaZakhele High School, which began on 16 August, and ended in an extraordinary event on 9 September 1976. This event is worth dwelling on in some detail.

There Were two tensions operating at kwaZakhele High at the same time, in mid-1976.

The first tension was between pupils and teachers. It turned on many things. Mneedisi Siswana, in matric in 1976, notes that this tension resulted from "the general attitude of the teachers - some kind of arroganee, of condescension", and the students had now "found a small space to express themselves freely".7)

Thtnamile Botha, who taught maths in Forms 1-3 and Physical Science from 4 to 5 in the second half of 1976 and on until the middle of 1978 at kwaZakhele High, notes that at the time the principals of the four black high schools formed what they called a "high command" and issued statements throughout 1976, criticising the students for being on strike, calling them irresponsible and saying that 'what was happening' in Soweto had nothing to do with Port Embeth, and calling on the kids to come back to school. Then also, Mr Mesatywa, the matric maths and science teacher, resigned without an obvious replacement being available - he was the only teacher qualified to teach these subjects at matric level, and the pupils were incensed at his desertion, not least because he was going to a job in the Ciskei.

The second range of tensions were, of course, the political ones - . how to respond appropriately to the Soweto uprising.

A series of disruptions to classes, as the kids met outside to discuss these issues, saw the Security Police come and be handed petitions and then use teargas and then, of course, all hell would break loose. But such ad-hoc responses were not seen as adequate.

Because the school had electricity and most students' homes did not, pupils often stayed at school into the night to study. Amongst others, the deputy headboy, Mbulelo Hewana, had keys to some classrooms to make this possible.

Hewana was the brightest of the boys by common consent, and went on to become a medical doctor. He was seen by many students as being too close to the teachers, which was to cast one's loyalty to the other side of the fence - most of the more political students were not asked, nor would they have accepted, prefectship (which was non-elected). To compensate, he would occasionally scribble political slogans on the blackboards anonymously, for this was seen as highly daring and dangerous.

On 9 September 1976 word went around the two matric classes that the boys should remain behind after school to plot a structured response to the Soweto events. That night 43 kwaZakhele High School matric pupils met at the school. They, between them, hatched out a rather wild plot to do as follows:

They would remain at the school that night, painting posters and debating. The next morning, when the balance of the school arrived, they would divide the school into 43 each led by one of the matrics. These groups would make their way to the Mayor's Garden in the centre of white Port Elizabeth, 'all by different routes, some by bus, some by train, some by taxi, to prevent apprehension.

There they would carry their grievances to the awareness of white Port Elizabethans. Now the plot develops a different colour, for the youngsters were to carry petrol bombs and bombs made from the chemicals in the science laboratory (sodium and calcium), and, to make their exit possible in an anticipated rush of police, they anticipated

torching a few shops as a distraction.

Through the night they plotted, painted, sang and slept, and at 5.00am, with the dawn, came Security Policemen Wilkins, Nieuwoudt and others, and the riot squad. Whether they had been tipped off, or had followed up midnight calls on some students houses, (which had happened), we don't know. What we do know is that 43 frightened little students were bundled off to Algoa Park Police Station and rough justice.

To cut a long story short, 10 of the 43 became state witnesses, including Mbulelo Hewana, who was the prize performer for the state in a specially convened court in Grahamstown in the recess of the Supreme Court, in January 1977. Judge President Cloete heard the case, wherein another new name emerged - that of then-Brigadier Lothar Paul Neethling of the Police s Forensic . Laboratory. According to one of the 19 year olds awaiting his fate, Michael Xego, Neethling presented a devastating description of Port Elizabeth City Centre at flame, With white women trapped in lifts in burning tower buildings. "When he had Enished, we knew we were in for it", says Xego. Small matter that the petrol and chemical bombs never existed except in schoolboys' theories - it was a frightening time of revolt, and Neethling had the Courts ear.

On 21 J anuary 1977 Judge President Cloete sent 31 youngsters to Robben Island for five years each. This extraordinary group included: Saki Mcozoma, now deputy Publicity Secretary for the ANC; Mbu Dukumbana, now head of AZAPO in Port Elizabeth; Fezile Mavuso, now general secretary of 'the Municipal Workers' Union; Mpumi Odolo, Mike Xego, and Alex Rala, subsequently the hard-eore of PEYCO and now all in the ANC; Boy Mkalipi, now office coordinator of the ANC's East Cape Regional office; Prince Msutu, now on the AN C regional executive; ' and Lulamile Mati, of AZAPO's executive.

. They got tossed into politics the hard way, for sure, but
1 .
forever at the same time.

The night after sentencing, these youngsters were duruped in the back of a truck in Port Elizabeth and driven to Table Bay withOut a stop, whereupon they were put onto a ferry and, on 22 January 1977, they hit Robben Island.

When 14 years earlier, Ernest Malgas and Henry Fazzie hit the Island, there Were 200 prisoners there - about 150 PAC people (after the Bashee River killings) and about 50 ANC. By 1977 Robben Island was 500 prisoners, and the vast number of novices were the 1976 intake, mostly loosely Black Consciousness in orientation. '

Most of these youngsters knew little of the ANC and ' non-racialism - what pamphlets had done the rounds were BC, and Biko was then the big name. Xego describes being put in a cell with 32 others, including Saths Cooper, Strini Moodley and Terror Lekota. All were BC stalwarts, and 1976 veterans. Young Xego found them massively politicised and overwhelming. If they were BC, so would he be.

The story of the conversion of most of the 1976 youngsters, from BC to Congress Tradition, on Robben Island, merits a study of its own; Suflice is to say that many of the ANC veterans played a significant role. Pata Madelane, on the Island for trying to leave the country, was a hard BC man and worked with Vuyisile Thole taking the food trolleys from the kitchen to the various blocks. The youngsters ' were in E block, the Rivonia men in B block. The trolleys became one of the means of moving notes around.

"Read the Freedom Charter, clause 5 - it reflects on the debate you are having" would come on a note from the omniscient in Block B. Govan Mbeki's lectures came through also. And Enally, Harry Gwala was put into E block.

Then things started changing. A vital signal to the youngsters was when Terror Lekota left BC for the Congress Tradition. That was in 1978, and many followed him. Quickly tensions rose, and Lulamile Mati, one of the kwaZakhele High School inmates who is still with BC3 reports on physical lights, and considerable tensions. (9 Transformation has never been easy.

Back off Robben Island, the cops were on top of the riots by now, Biko had been killed, and the BC organisations . banned, in 1977. Revolt had been damped down, everything was "normal". Spontaneous rebellion had met with quick, efficient repression.

Robert Sobukweis funeral, in March 1978 in Gra'aff-Reinet, saw the taunting of Buthelezi by hundreds . of youth ("Let Gatsha go like a dog he is a boer and a bantu. He is not of Azania", they hurled insults at him as he left, defiant and furious), and went a long way to ensure the tension between system and struggle that was to permeate our politics for a long time thereafter. But it was contained, and "normality" returned.

The next phase in Port Elizabeth's struggle was, however, about to emerge. For that maths and science teacher at kwaZakhele High School, who had left town to teach in the Ciskei for the second half of 1978, had returned to Port Elizabeth in early 1979, and now had a job at Ford Motor Company. P-CO, MACWUSA and the political carter , of Thonmile Botha, were about to begin.

PUTTING THE MASS INTO MASS
MOVEMENTS 1971/80

Thozamile Botha obtained his schooling in conditions that can scarcely be believed. I

At 6 years of age he suffered a back injury, and spent a year in the Walton Orthopaedic Hospital. After that he left Port Elizabeth to live with his grandmother in Alexandria, doing sub A and B there. He rose at 5 o'clock to get to school at 9.00am, and, as his grandparents were on a farm,

he had to work in the Eelds also. After Sub B he "escaped" by working on a chicory farm for a month, earning R120 or 40cents per acre picked. With that he bought a ticket to , Port Elimbeth, half-a-loaf of bread and 21/2 cents of sugar, . and got out of the bus in New Brighton.

He found his way to this grandmothers sisters' house and desperately wanted to goto school. His mother lived in Port Elizabeth, and he tried to get into Std 2 as he was quite old - but he didn't have Std 1, nor transfer papers from the school in Alexandria. He lied about having his transfer papers, which he claimed were misplaced, and got through Std 2 and on to another school.

Same lies, right_up until he passed Std 6 in 1968. He sold icecream on weekends meanwhile, and was nearly 20 at this stage.

After finishing Std 6 he still did not have a residence permit - the Labour Department had instructed him to return to . Alexandria. However, he followed procedures and got around that one.

He found work making tea, then as a labourer, and saved R90.00 for trousers and books and, in 1970, returned to kwaZakhele for Form 1. He ran out of money, but a teacher found him a bursary, and he made it through Std 8.

In matric he had to stop and work as his mother was ill until a friendly principle took him into his home, and he passed matric proudly in 1974, aged 26.

He was expelled from Fort Hare in 1976, and began '1 teaching at kwaZakhele High until he left for the Ciskei in 1978. He returned, to begin work at Ford, in 1979. In Sep tember 1977 he was plunged' in to civic affairs when 474 pupils were arrested, and he had to arrange money and defence for them. He put together a "Save the Children" show at the Rio Cinema and, at 3 o'clock that night the Security Police picked him up, and the MC for the show. "During interrogation Colonel "Goosen picked up a hosepipe and hit me. All the police standing around took turns to beat me. Within minutes my lips and eyes were swollen, and I was bleeding. It started at about 5 am and went on until 11.00am, non-stop. That was tough interrogation!"(8)

Monica Vula, the MC, spent two hours in interrogation "When she returned , we couldn't recognise her face. She was' really, really, beaten. I thought that was too much" Thozamile Botha was now in politics!

A spell of teaching m the Ciskei filled the last half of 1978, whereafter Botha returned to Port Elizabeth and took a job at Ford.

Before starting at Ford, Botha got a house' in Zwide. "These houses had no floors, no ceilings, no plaster- -just the roof and the walls." Then residents begun receiving high water accounts- the residents in the area, particularly the women, came together, and sent a delegation to the area manager at the rent office. They were told that their husbands would be given a hearing by Louis Koch, then Chief Director of the Administration Board. Botha was elected the leader of this delegation, called the Zwide Residents Association, at a meeting of all the residents of Zwide 4 on a Sunday in early 1979.

Before seeing Koch the residents met with the (also one month old) Kwaford Residents Association chaired by Mr Z. Skozana, a little store owner.

"We went to see Koch and were met with arrogance. We came back and convened meetings, Wilberforce May and myself, every Sunday, at the Dan Qege Stadium. We called these meetings through a megaphone early in the mornings, while driving around our area!"

"Lamani, Yeko and Skoxana were old and tricky politicians - Councillors, and they had some following. They phoned me at Ford, and wanted to meet with us from Zwide. I was working with Dumile Makanda and Dennis Neer - they were not keen that I should see them - my attitude was different.- These people had some support, and were talking about forming a bigger Port Elizabeth body. The issues were becoming much broader, and we needed to involve everybody."

'So I met with them. It was a risk - if it went badly, _my executive would have fired me. But I felt that if we went ahead without the support these people had, we would split the township. My interest was to get the people."

"My approach with these people (we met in September 1979) was that we wanted to form one municipality for Port Elizabeth - we did not' want to replace the community councils. We wanted the total destruction of the councils and one municipality, and we said that we would not work with people' in the structures. This was in the constitution of the Zwide Residents Association."

"They said, aftermuch argument, that they were willing to dissolve their committees and give over our membership to you - I said we'd organise a public meeting to do just that."

"I met with my executive - they were very happy with this! We realised that one ran a great risk of these experienced politicians hijacking our public meeting. So we put the Zwide and Kwaford Residents Association on the platform, and them' m the first row of the Centenary Hall. Otherwise, with their eloquence, they would all have got elected. I chaired the meeting, on 10 October 1979, and

residents agreed that we should combine our bodies into the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Association (PEBCO). There we elected PEBCO's first interim committee, whose task was to draft a constitution and then dissolve at a public meeting at which the actual PEBCO committee would be elected." (8)

The 10 elected included Botha as Chairperson, Mono Badela (who brought the Watsons into township rugby); Dan Qeque; Mr Sogoni the Lawyer, and Messers Somyalo, Skosana, Madope, Paulo Tshume, A. Yeko and John Kani, the actor.

This committee performed its tasks and met with Koch repeatedly and generated much interest and much publicity. 71) days later, on 30 October 1979, PEBCO was officially launched with Botha as Chairperson at a meeting of 8 or 9 000 residents' In New Brighton' 5 Centenary Hall. The mass movement was beginning to emerge.

Events moved quickly for PEBCO. That same day Botha was Ered' from Ford for his involvement in PEBCO. This precipitated a strike at Ford the next day, and PEBCO were into union politics instantly. The existing unions rejected the strike: Fred Sauls called it "political" and asked his union, the National Union of Motor, Rubber and Allied Workers (NUMWAROSA) to stay out of it. The paid-off workers formed the Ford Cortina Workers' Committee, elected Botha chairman and Dumile ' Makhandia, Dennis Neer, Government Zini and R. Tou as' its committee. From this group, eventually the trade union Motor and Allied Components Workers Union of South Africa (MACWUSA) emerged.

Ford refused to speak to the Ford Workers' Committee, claiming instead to speak to the Union. The Union wouldn't represent the strikers, claiming that the strike was political. An impasse was thus formed.

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PmCO then took the pressure to Ford. "Boycott Ford . products. We also called for a boycott of white-owned shops' in town. The idea was to pressurise business to pressurise government, then Ford would give in. So that's where we began to call for boycotts of all sorts!", Botha says. (8)

After forming PEBCO, branches were established in . kwaZakhele. Walmer and New Brighton. Dr Nthatho Motlana of the Soweto Committee of Ten visited in November to offer support. The Uitenhage Black Civic Organisation was formed on 8 October 1979, and steering committees were established in Graaff-Reinet and Cradock. The Malabar Ratepayers Association became affiliated. By January 1980 there were 3 000 card-carrying members of PEBCO. A plan was afoot to begin a youth league.

On 6 January 1980, a New Brighton PEBCO rally of 3 000 people decided to call a one day stay-away on 14 January to coincide with a proposed tour of Walmer Township by a Deputy Minister. On the 9th January Ford re-instated its strikers - PEBCO had reached a highwater-mark. The next day Botha, and Phalo Tshume and Mono Badela were detained. They were held until 27 February, and were served with three year banning orders on release. Botha could not work at a factory in terms of this banning order. He tried to live selling fruit and vegetables, and on 1 May he left South Africa and joined the ANC.

From the founding of PEBCO to the banning of Botha was a period of all of 3 months. That's about as much space as the Security Police would allow a black political movement at the time, and, by the time-honoured device of immobilizing a new and fragile leadership, PEBCO was put down.

PEBCO's "achievements were twofold: firstly, it put the mass back into politics, albeit briefly, and secondly showed that mobilization could be achieved around civic issues. Both were considerable achievements at a time of massive suppression, a lack of political confidence in the townships, and a prevailing deference to conservative, elder, politics. PEBCO's actions at Ford asserted the political movement _ over the trade union on civic issues in Port Elizabeth, a trend that continues today in this area, and it revealed, symbolically, the takeover by young politicians, of the platform held by' inactive elders.

PHCO fell because it had not strategised around its leadership being taken out, and probably because of the still unprepared nature of ANC underground activity, and PEBCO's lack of contact with the ANC.

i It was spontaneous stuff, the politics of the first three months of PEBCO, and the return of mass politics to South Africa.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CRITICAL MASS IN THE TOWNSHIPS

Malusi Moulwana describes the period between June 1976 and the beginnings of the campaigns of the UDF as a period of the "developing of critical mass, whereby the later campaigns became possible". It's a good phrase, and the period 1980-84 was, it seems, the period of the development of this critical mass, this weight of township activism and backup, that made the revolution of the mid-1980's possible.

There were a number of developments' in the period from the demise of Thozamile Botha's PEBCO, to the 1984's mass UDF campaigns, and these developments set up the politics of the mid 1980's.

Firstly, the first mobilisation of the period was of secondary school pupils, into the Congress of South African Students (COSAS)' in June 1979. Its first president was Ifo Magalies from the Northern Transvaal, and its next three, Wantu Zenzile, Shepherd Mati and Mlungisi (Lulu)

Johnson, were all Port Elizabethans, where, as Lulu Johnson mentions, the core of COSAS support always existed. "In the Western Cape we'd have branches of 12 members- here' it was thousands. "(1 0)

Unlike PEBCO, COSAS was motivated by, and its foundation agreed with, the ANC. As Johnson says, "We can safely come out in the open now, our comrades were fully behind the formation of COSAS. "

COSAS affiliated to the UDF at inception, becoming the biggest UDF affiliate, and in 1980 called 100,000 students out of school on strike. From a resolution of COSAS's 1982 youth conference in Cape Town, following a call on Radio Freedom by Oliver Tambo for the youth to get organised, sprang the resolution to form youth congresses in general, and the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (PEYCO) in particular.

PEYCO was founded on 19 June 1983, and had, as its founder president, one of the most interesting and important of Port Elizabeth's political personalities, Mkhoseli Jack.

Jack was born on a farm in the Humansdorp district on 31 May 1958, and after completing Std 4 at an Anglican Primmy School, and Stds 5 and 6 in Jeffreys Bay, he arrived in Port Elizabeth in 1975 to do Standard 6 at Cowan High School, where he began matric in 1979 and was headboy, but, due to arrests, detentions and schools boycotts, finished his matric in 1982.

He was sucked into politics from day one in Port Elizabeth, as the authorities attempted to return him to Jeffreys Bay. He and other rural children also lacking the necessary papers held protests and demonstrations in 1975, and won

the right to remain at Cowan. Thus began a lifetime in politics for Jack.

He was in the forefront of planning the formation of COSAS and was mandated to go to Johannesburg for its launch in 1979 but- "I got cold feet about it and ran away. I was afraid of the police." (11)

Jack had spoken on a number of Thozamile Botha's PEBCO platforms. The first of his 13 periods of detention followed a performance on a PEBCO platform in 1979, where he spoke as a prefect, as chairman of the Students Christian Movement, and as a member of SASM. He was chairman of the PB Students Council in 1980, and in 1982 he led an interim executive that restructured the collapsed PICO, with Ian Sogoni and others. They set up the elections that saw Godolozzi, Histe, Ngozi and others return as the PEBCO executive.

Jack was a Black Consciousness person until 1981. What made him change was the Security Police's delight that he was in BC, and thereby divisive in township politics - "I saw them seeing my role as helpful to them in keeping the ANC and COSAS at bay - my utterances against the ANC or non-racialism. I felt I was selling them, I could see in interrogation."

Jack was at the COSAS Conference in Cape Town in 1982 which called for the setting up of youth congresses, and came back to Port Elizabeth to do just that. But PEYCO was to be better thought out. "The experience of PEBCO and many other organisations that have been wiped out by the enemy was that you can't go out until you have a strong base. The organisation had to grow from within and that is how we started to build the organisation, starting to bring in small numbers of people, inviting people individually." By now the KwaZakhele High School class of 1976 had finished its 5 years on Robben Island, and Jack assembled around him from this group, his PEYCO Vice President, Mpumi Odolo; his adviser, friend, organiser and educator, Mike Xego; and Alex Rala, until he went into exile. Others were Mandla Madwara, Mncedisi Mizizwe and Vantyi, all of whom went into exile at one stage or another. Mthwabo Ndube came in also, in early '82, and Monde Mtanga.

From this energetic and trusted core, PEYCO was founded as a mass movement with a consolidated leadership. But the core of it all was Thuzeli Jack. Jack had the qualities needed to be a political leader through the revolution of the 1980s. Firstly he is a top class orator, using humour, tradition, and style. He is good looking, and is naturally a people's person. Even the Security Police liked him - a fact that probably accounts for. Secondly, he had courage. No other activist lasted as a high-profile leader in Port Elizabeth throughout the decade. He was banned, detained 13 times, charged twice (but never convicted) tortured and shot at. He kept coming back, despite it all.

One story reveals his courage. Mike Xego recalls how Jack came across a group of youngsters on their way to burn a house down. "Jack spoke to them as if he had an army, just around the corner, and if they didn't go home they would be in such trouble. They went home. It was just his personality, his presence, that saved the occasion."

And, above all else, Jack was a master strategist. Another example reveals this quality. During the height of the 1985 Consumer Boycott, Jack was in detention. He was brought from detention to court, on a trumped-up charge which the magistrate dismissed. Jack stood there, a free man, but knowing the security establishment wished him back in jail. Should he bolt? He went to the Chamber of Commerce, with whom he'd been negotiating the boycott issues, and got its director, Tony Gilson, to take him to fetch his clothes at jail.

Of course he was re-detained - he'd thought that out. His

comrades were aghast - why hadn't he taken the gap? His answer? I'I told them Pd never take responsibility for trying to run an organisation alone, there would be too much pressure, I'd have had to call the boycott off. Now the pressure is on the police- to release us, to end the boycott. I'm here to get you all out. " (11) Four days later, they were all released.

Thus far I have mentioned two youth organisations, one for high school kids (COSAS) and one for other youth (PEYCO). There was a third youth organisation, unstructured, and without public leadership.

These were the Amabutho, a name derived from the thsa word for warriors who resisted the settler invasion during the frontier wars of the 19th century. They were the product of the post-1976 social revolution that had swept black townships, the product of the overturning of the customary deference of the youth for their elders, the products of the classroom revolution that had seen the breaking of traditional disciplinary ties running from old to young. The amabutho were the example of the emancipation of young people as the frontline of the struggle.

There were no membership cards for the Amabutho, and little formal organisation either. They had fashioned their own military structure, bypassing the UDF and its code of non-violence and instead declaring their loyalty to the ANC and Nelson Mandela. Otherwise their ideology was limited to basic slogans and freedom songs. They were armed with anything they could get their hands on - rocks, guns, knives, tyres, and most particularly, petrol bombs.

They manned the barricades in the great revolt, making . '5 housewives eat soappowder bought during times of consumer boycotts, petrol-bombing buses and trucks moving in times of other boycotts. They ran their own peoples courts, often very brutally. They were to become, in the mid '80s, the cutting edge of our township war, the footsoldiers of the coming revolution.

Thus was falling into place the organisations and the individuals required to carry forward the revolt of the mid 1980s.

PEBCO, remodelled by Jack and others, now had an executive capable of making it a powerful social force, with Messrs Hashe, Galela and Godolozzi in place, and with Henry Fazzie, fresh from 21 years on Robben Island, on its executive the month he got out of jail. Ernest Malgas was also there, a stormtrooper from the Red Location, and Edgar Ngoyi had also returned from the Island to take his place on the executive.

COSAS and PEYCO were structured and effectively manned, with enough executive material to withstand normal levels of detention. Township women had come together as PEWO also.

Robben Island was shedding its East Cape people by the early '80s, battle hardened veterans and highly politicised youngsters. Fanie, Malgas, Ngoyi, Fihla, Xego, Odolo, Sizane - they were all back now, ready for the next round.

There was enough leadership to rotate, and thereby make organisations impregnable to the detention of the odd leader.

In November 1983 the newly launched UDF had its first mass meeting in New Brighton. The concept of the UDF was explained to the crowd, and PEBCO and PEYCO speakers gave the UDF's reasons why the new constitution and the Koornhof bills must be rejected. An interim UDF committee was formed, to mobilise around these and other issues.

Malusi Mpumlwana's "critical mass" was now in place.

/THE - REVOLUTION, 1984-87

All that was needed now, was issues, to set off the revolt of the mid 1980s. They began to emerge. In February 1984 Matthew Goniwe, a teacher in Cradock, was transferred to Graaff-Reinet for plainly political reasons. And in August Thamsanqa Linda, the black mayor of what was then the Kayamanda Council, evicted a widow and her nine children and took her house for himself. Both events started campaigns, and the organisations were rolling.

I have compiled a 14 page list of just some of the events of the period 1984-87 in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage. I attach it to this paper as an Appendix. You will be well aware of most of them, the killings, the funerals, the boycotts, the detentions, etc. etc. Instead I will cover this period by outlining what I see to be the main thrusts of the revolution; and of the states' responses.

Township revolt can be described under four headings: Mass politicization; 'Peoples' War'; Ungovernability; and "Peoples' Power". Together they make up a potent revolutionary package, and, to skip the details, they worked out as follows:

0 Mass Politicisation: This was effected through mass meetings, meetings to call for boycotts and to end them, political education campaigns through street committees, the use of political funerals as a venue for statements and speeches, the proliferation of freedom songs (Mncidisi Siswana describes how, in 1976, they had to write their own freedom songs - there were none around then), and the proliferation of toyi toyi. 'o 'Peoples' War' was waged through attacks on police and police property; on councillors and their property; on government property in general; on sell-outs and informers, perceived or real; on boycott breakers and on political opponents.

The commitment of UDF leaders here was, publicly, to oppose such behaviour, and, despite desperate attempts by the state to prosecute for example Edgar Ngoyi for murder, and thuseli Jack for assault, no charge of violence stuck to UDF leader. This was the realm of the nameless, faceless Amabutho.

o Ungovernability: The UDF, in Tom Lodge's words, presided over the largest civil disobedience campaign South Africa has seen. Every conceivable boycott was used - rent, consumer, bus, school, as well as strikes, stay-aways and mass rallies. It became almost impossible to render township services, particularly police services.

o 'Peoples' Power': involved street and area committees, defence committees, shop-steward structures; student representative councils; parent/teacher/student associations; peoples' courts and restructured education programs.

Direct political representation was provided in UDF structures; communication and organisational channels were created from people to leaders; education and information was disseminated; debate; public and private, was encouraged, social disputes, were brought to peoples' courts; parks were built, rubble cleared, crime fought, peoples education program put into schools by SRCs; and worker power built by unions.

. Taken together, this was a mighty potent revolutionary package.

How did the state respond?

With a pretty powerful counter-revolutionary package, involving three elements at local level.

0 Political responses: by putting into place black councils and holding them there, whatever the cost; by rent evictions to break rent boycotts; by surrounding New Brighton with razor wire and check-points, to seal the revolt into black Group Areas; by using massive forced removals to destabilise Langa in Uitenhage, and by attempting them in the Red Location and Soweto-on-Sea in Port Elizabeth. '

o Policing responses ranged from the Langa Massacre; to 4500 detentions in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage; to the surrounding of entire townships at night and the forced march of all residents past hidden informers, for a "Yes, off to prison" or "No, go home" identification parades (or State run peoples' courts, if you prefer); to the deployment of municipal police capable of hideous brutality (thrusting truncheons into suspects' vaginas, for one); to widescale, brutal torture only stopped by the Wndy Orr interdicts, and thereafter suffocation torture to elicit information for it leaves no marks.

0 Counter Revolutionary responses, including death squads. In all, at least 6 activists were killed, and three still missing, that we know of, by death squads); damage to property (all leaders houses were petrol-bombed at one stage or another); and the creation of Ama Afrika vigilante groups to control townships through enormous brutality.

Let us consider the upshot of these state responses on black Uitenhage.

In late 1986/early 1987, one African in every hundred in P011: Elizabeth/Uitenhage was in emergency detention, and all leadership was detained, or was on the run; the entire community of Langa in Uitenhage, 48 000 people or one third of all black people in Uitenhage was picked up in the winter of 1986 and dumped in the rain and mud on the other side of town, there to re-erect their shacks while totally destabilizing their political structures; the Langa Massacre had gunned down B Langa people, with the resultant social turmoil and anger, in March 1985; and in January 1987 Ama Afrika, supported by the police, destroyed the furniture of all UDF activists, and took Pa , a number 10

control of kwaNobhule by the simple policing technique of not prosecuting one side while you hound the other: And quite a powerful counter revolutionary package that all adds up to, Pm sure you wily.

a/

STALEMATE - NEGOTIATIONS - THE

19905 I

The results of this revolution and the state's counters?

Two things.

Firstly, stalemate: The state could not close off the revolution, despite barbaric attempts. And the struggle could not force the state to abdicate.

Heribert Adam describes negotiations as inevitable under; as he calls it, "a shared perception of stalemate." That we got in the late '80s.

And secondly, negotiations. The Langa Co-ordinating committee and the state; between the Consumer Boycott Committee and the Chamber of Commerce; and almost with the White City Council; and the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning began meeting with the UDF on an agenda about upgrading.

The stalemate dragged on through 1987. To test the water, in late 1987 the state released Rivonia veteran Govan Mbeki, to live in Port Elizabeth. It didn't work. A public meeting looked like attracting 100 000 people. The state

outlawed it. The water was still too hot; but the AN C now had a man, publicly operating, in Port Elizabeth. It was a de facto unbanning.

Then, in early 1989, the remaining detainees took their lives in their hands, and entered into a hunger strike. They were released, effectively ending the State of Emergency. The 1980's ended on 15 October 1989 with Rivonia veteran Raymond Mhlaba coming home.

The spontaneous revolt of 1976 led to the beginning of mass mobilization in 1979 which led to the formation of critical mass in 1980-83 which led to the revolt of 1984-87 which led to stalemate, and negotiations, and the release of leaders from jail.

What' is left for the 1990's is to consolidate the gains of these 15years, and honour the sacriliees, and admire the courage and appreciate the history, of these remarkable years, 1976-90. I hope my paper has done something to flush out your interest, in these events.

" This note will cover the four years 1984 - 1987, of African politics in Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage. It will be recorded in tabular form, to aid reading.

1 - " Matthew Goniwe was transferred by the Department of Education and Training from his job as a teacher in Cradock, to Graaff-Reinet, and 2000 up immediately came out in a boycott of classes. The students also, at the same time, demanded the right to form democratically elected S C's, as opposed to the (then) V present system of prefects appointed by the Headmaster. _ .

. March ' The schools' boycott begins to spread. It is picked up in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, each area vivid-

. in a different set of complaints cramped classes, the a e limit law, actions of headmasters etc). In Port Elizabeth a Crisis in Educating) committee is set up, with people from political, youth, students and parents associations. . This committee was a concession when 90 students, previously not accepted at school because of their age, are allowed into school. and pupils return to school in PE.

' I A m ' state bans all meetings of CRADORA and CRADOYA. A meeting of 2000 pupils in Cradock is

26 March - dispersed by the police. All seven schools in Cradock's African townships stand empty

30 March Matthew Goniwe, his nephew Mbulequoniwe and Fort Calata are detained. Matthew Goniwe was to spend 8 months in detention in Johannesburg's Diepkloof Prison.

11 April . with meetings banned, political activity become violent and houses are stoned in Cradock's Lingelihle

' 25 April, " ' Gladwell Makavula, chairman of CRADORA, has his house petrolbombed at night. June in CRADORA organises a one day protest strike.

, 11 June . A funeral for 2 ANC guerrillas, held in Port Elizabeth, is attended by 600 residents.

16 June . Police sjambok and teargas people at Cradock June 16 commemorations. Violence escalates and over 200 people in Lingelihle are charged with arson and being at unlawful gatherings. School children stone police vehicles. In Cradock, rent and schools boycotts are running and a consumer boycott of white businesses is called, to protest against the detention of Goniwe and others.

July Workers at Volkswagen in Uitenhage down tools after a scuffle between a white foreman and black workers. 4000 workers get paid off without pay. NAAWU and management settle the dispute quickly.

23 July A trial before for 5 Cradock schoolchildren charged with intimidation and alternative charges arising from the school boycott in Cradock.

Goodyear workers in Uitenhage, on a go-slow for higher wages, are tired.

Align - 11 Cradock pupils charged with public violence, for threatening public security and building barricades

9 September across road in Lingelihle. p - mng p ty g

The black township councillors of Kwanabuhle in Uitenhage call a meeting in the Kwanabuhle Hall, to announce rental increases. They were chased from the hall and had to be protected by police. Their homes were, from then on, guarded by municipal police. a

20 August - students from more than 28 schools in the Eastern Cape boycott classes in protest at elections to the new-

Transvaal Parliament. The trade union federation FSA calls on workers to boycott the tricameral elections.

21 August ' ioaggagi, Chairman of CRADOYA and in detention for 5 months, is dismissed from his teaching post

18 September Thamsanx: Linda was in 1984 to emerge as Port Elizabeth's Kayamandi Council's dominant personality.

3 October In September it became known that a queue of councillors wished to unseat Mayor Khaulela as Chairman

3 December of the Executive Committee. and appoint Linda in his stead. Despite denials, in early October this happened.

' opened. Two months later Linda was appointed Mayor, and Mr S. Baeela was appointed Deputy Mayor

in a ceremony marked by Khaulela's dignified acceptance of this situation. From now on,

the fortunes of
the Council and of its flamboyant mayor became inextricably tied together.

I

7 August Coincident with his rise in power, Mr Linda rose simultaneously in controversy.³ In August Mr Nkosinathi Mavela, one of the children of widow Mrs Alice Mavela, revealed to the Press that his family was to be evicted from their spacious 8-roomed home in Veeplaas, and re-housed in a 4-room home. His mother was up to date with her rental, Mr Mavela said. The reason for the removal was that Thamsanqa Linda wanted their house, as it was big and next door to his shop. Linda and the Town Clerk, Mr Scholtz, steadfastly refused to comment.

4 September
7 September
9 September
30 September
5 October
211 1985
X une
' .

29 August 1985
26 March 1986
11 September

a x
October
4 October I
7 October
1 November
8 November

,came a Councillor, requesting to take over "
am 5
burglaries he had had at the shop recently. a
' ten
' by rsMavela.

Mrs Mavela then told the Herald that she had been to the offices of the Town Council to re-
enter the mat-
ter. There she met Mayor Khaulela, Mr. Linda and Connors Putu. "Mr Lipda promised that a
ll would
be well soon and he wrote a letter in which it was stated the first available house would
ld be allocated
to me. He gave it to one of his constables to be placed in file at the Zwerenonce
. Mr Putu told I
mega; I would have to move out of the house the next day. I had originally been told that my
house was
to come " " . t Li;

She was then, with her 9 children moved to a 4-roomed house in Zwede and later the remain-
der of her
belongings, still stored at her old home, arrived on a municipal truck and trailer and "the
e labourers told
me that Mr Linda had told them to dump them in the yard I refused to accept them. This they
did."

Mrs Mavela then produced a letter written by Linda to the Community Council in 1982, before
he be-
e house and the garden used by Mavela" because "I
righton: and listing five

' go to look after the shop in the evening since I am staying in New
Mr R. Scholtz, Kayamandi Town Clerk, continued that the letter in Mrs Mavela's possession
n was writ-
Mr Linda, and it was reported that the request had been turned down as the case was occup-
ied .

Instantly, Council's opponents seized the issue. PEBCO called a mass public meeting, which
h "resolved
to demand" the return of Mrs Mavela to the house she was "evicted from to make way for Ms
Linda."

Linda refused to comment on these demands - "There is no point in saying anything now. This
s has gone
too far." "

Crowds gathered at Linda's shop, demanding a boycott of it until Mrs Mavela was returned to
o her house.

Council decided to auction the house instead. _

Before this could happen Mrs Mavela went to court, claiming that she was illegally "evict-
ed" from the

house by fraud, deceit and trickery, and that Mr Linda had moved into the house after she
had left. In a

replying affidavit, Mr Scholtz claimed that Mrs Mavela had been moved as the complex making
dmg her

home was to be sold. In his replying affidavit, Mr Linda alleged that the legal action was
s instigated by

the UDF and PEBCO for political reasons, because of their opposition to town councils. The
ma! was

delayed, and settled, and the settlement was made an order of court. By this settlement Mrs
Mavela was

provided with another 8-roomed house in Maku Street, and her previous home was to be sold

by pubhc

ten er.

Subsequent! the only tender received for the house was from Thamsanqa Linda, who was then awarded

the house in eeplaas.

Two months later, arsonists destroyed the house.

On being rebuilt, the house was returned to Mrs Mavela and her children, who immediately said she

owed her "victory" to the UDF community organisations that had rallied around her. Mr Scholtz stated

that the reason Mrs Mavela could be return was that Linda had never come forward With the deposit

promised in his tender, and as such his purchase was forfeit.

The Kayamandi Council in Port Elizabeth decided to implement a wide range of increases in township

service charges. From 1 December, shack dwellers were to be charged R25 for services (as against the

existing R10 and lodgers were to be upped from R3 per month to 15 (for a single parent family) or

R25 (or a full family).

This issue provided PEBCO with another rallying point, and PEBCO held a public meeting at which 8000

people voted to stay-away from work on 26 November and called on residents to boycott rent offices,

and also the Development Board's liquor outlets, and the Mayor Linda's shop. EYCO, COSAS, the Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation (PEWO) and the African National Congress supported these calls.

Council immediately backed down; and decided not to implement the service charges. Deputy Mayor -

Linda said this was because of objections received (from the Redhouse Benevolent Society and the E

Charity Organisation).

These two issues provided PEBCO with what they needed to mobilize a mass following, and this PEBCO

did with considerable skill.

The Education Charter was launched in the Eastern Cape. Regional structures are set up on which ASASO -

COSAS, and NUSAS are jointly. Over 1000 students attend an AZASO/COSAS meeting. It is estimated

that 48 000 pupils in 59 Eastern Cape schools are now affected by the schools boycott.

Egg matriculants in Port Elizabeth boycott their exams. DET agrees to postpone the exams to February

Linda Eersonally, and Council by implication, was now plunging headlong into war with the UDF. Linda

began by threatening to ban churches who have their halls or meetings of political organisations' he de-

scribed as "part and parcel of irrelevant bodies" in African townships. This confirms UDF beliefs that I

8 November cont.

\$28 November

- 29 November

'19 December

Decetnher

3 December

17 December

(a

January

16 January

21 January

February

4 February

14 February

Council was refusing to rent their halls to UDF bodies, and gave evidence to PBBCO leader . 0.

Godifgozi who claimed that "Council is working hand in glove with the police in harassing innocent

pup . ' .

PEBCO then threatened to boycott both the liquor outlets of the Development Boards, and Coun-

cillors' businesses, if the hall ban was not lifted; Linda replied - Council would not abandon its ,

stand on the situation because of threats by "loose organisations' to boycott Council. When PEBCO

called for his resignation, he replied: 'How can the o " tionsl by non-residents claim man-

dates of the people. Who are the ' , and, "All UDF ' ates, particularly PEBCO, are led b n on-

residents because their leaders do not own homes. :I'hey are pphtically immature people w o re-

sort to intimidating tactics to gain support and manipulate residents: - .

Linda then challenged leaders of organisations affected by his halls' ban to a debate - M r Sip_hp

Hashe of PEBCO called the challenge a mockery, "because Mr.Linda IS not a politician but a qwl

servant who was there to see to the implementation of regulations related to government p ohcy

concerning blacks." . '1

Linda then stated that Council would ask the Minister of Law and Order to ban the UDF and its

affiliates in the area of Council's jurisdiction. "There ations stand for destruction and as

long as they do not change their stand. we will not allow at rubbish to continue after th eir meet-

ings to stone buses and houses." Stringent action was to be taken to uproot the UDF and i ts affil-

iates in Port Elizabeth. ' . ' ,

Also, township residents should dissociate themselves from trade unions, Linda urged, as these

unions stood only."for destruction and engaging m boycott pohtxes."

Linda closed 1984 with an unveiled threat to those who joined the workers' unions and civ iclor- '

ganisations, that they would have to approach PEBCO when they had to apply for houses, as Coun-

cil would not help them. - V .

There is the funeral of COSAS member Michael Nonci, killed by police in Port Elizabeth. . The home of Fikile Kobese. a national organiser for MACWQSA and later to become the first

chairman of the Uitenhage Residents Committee (URECO) is petrolbombed and his'lyounger brother Lesley Kobese, is killed. This is shortly after Kobese has accused Town Coun ' or

Ben- jamin 16mm of leading vigilante attacks on his home.

Police breakup the vigil for Lesley Kobese, and detain some mourners.

In December, Matthew Goniwe is released from detention and becomes the UDF's rural or- ganiser, and_ a member of its live person executive. Goniwe subsequently helped to form Civic Or.

f(anisations 111 Adelaide, Ford Beaufort, Cookhouse, Kirkwood, anover, Colesberg. Alemndr ia,

' entou-on-Sea, Steytlerville, Motherwell and Noupoot.

Members of the Ilingshele Town Council resign on niasse.

Police open fire on a crowd in KwaNobuhle - the next day three policemen's houses are bur

nt
down, and police fire birdshot at crowds - two further houses are torched.
Vigil for 16-year-old Mthetheleli Makhapi broken up by police in KwaNobthe - mourners arrested. -
Stay-away started at PEBCO meeting. 1" i '
Pupiclisgo back to school, but set 30 Apr as the deadline whereby DET must respond to their demands.
The conflict around African education intensifies, particularly in Uitenhage, where coloured schools also begin to stay-away.
Secondary schools in PE): Graaff Reinet, Somerset West, Mossel Bay and Humansdorp as well as the former Trainin College boycott in Grahamstown the Uitenhage schools - Rev Allan Hendrickse accuses students of trying to insult and embarrass him.
Uitenhage Parents Committee (UPC) formed to arbitrate on the escalating boycott. COSAS representatives meet the local committee. -
Police fire on a crowd of 200 in KwaNobuhle after a house is torched. Then a bus is torches by 50 youths. .
Uitenhage Women's Organisation formed.

18 February
253-February. /, .
February
3.Februury
7 February
17 February
17 February
Febrnary
i 25 February
3 Mai'ch
7 March
' 8 March

11 March
13 March
15 March
16 - 17 March
17 March
18 - 22 March
19 March

Pupils at the Uitenhage Secondary School claim to have been beaten by SAP with quirts.
The schools boycott ends on the understanding that the new academic year will begin on March 18.

All KwaNobuhle Community Councillors, except Mr Benjamin Kinikini, tesiyx.
,_ ' Kinikini's house is stoned.

'2? - '

i :9 factory in Port Elizabeth will close down. This subsequently costs Port Elizabeth 500 jobs.

I Meanwhile PEBCO had been proposing a work stayaway in Much, but in premature press leak led to

Ford Motor Co of Port Elizabeth and Anglo America's Amour me V hhd announce that Ford mnn u- '

FOSATU rejecting the idea.

. 1 - UDF organisations met with non-UDF unions, and promised stayaway for three reasons:

i a :tiayawa . The unions are called into join the stayaway committee - they refuse, and P EB

-. it one.

retrenchment of workers which resulted in mass unemployment;

the AMCAR-FORD merger; . U

the increase in petrol prices.

The unions, after consulting their members, claimed they could not support the stayaway.
PEBCO holds a meeting of 2000 in Port Elizabeth, and a hallot is held which comes out in support of s

oes

e committee sets the date of 16-17 March for a I'black weekend fast-at-home, with boycott of white shops) and the 18th is to be a work stayaway. Both are to apply to Uitenhage as well

31;? is now continual violence between vigilantes allegedly attached to community councillors, and

0 es. . '

Clashscugh police esmlate, and township funerals begin to happen regularly, weekend after weekend, of township residents who died in the unrest.

Lulama Ntsezi is buried, a victim of unrest.

3 teachers prominent in the Uitenhage schools boycott are transferred. A meeting of over 1 000 residents call for their remstatement. i 1

Violence in Langa, Uitenhage, sees one man and one woman dead.

Three youths arrested in Rosedale, Uitenhage, after a bus is stoned.

The Lawrence Vinqui Library in KwaNobuhle is torched.

A man is killed after hurhng a petrol-bomb at the police.

Kinikini's home is stoned again. - ,

A: potllilceman's home in KwaNobuhle is petrol-bombed. Residents claim Zulu policemen are terrori-

s em.

8131qu turbulence becomes widespread in African communities, as the 'Black Weekend' approaches.

PEBCO, PEYCO and UYCO do extensive campaigning and pamphleteering before the stayaway.

Unions hold a meeting and decide not to support the stayaway.

A meeting between the unions of the UDF organisations ends with the Unions releasing a press statement-

ment re-emphasising their objections to the stayaway, but would not mobilize against it. The Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce, Afrikaanse Sakeltamer, the mayors of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage and the police issued statements urging workers not to stay away. "Black Weekend" of mourning, stayaways and the consumer boycott of white businesses. After the well supported stayaway, PE CO membership increases from to 18000 very quickly. PFP MPC Molly Blackburn bursts in on policemen torturing young Norman Kona in the Uitenhage Police Station. Between these dates, more than 120 000 black workers stayed away from work in the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage area for at least one day, in a stayaway that the Labour Movement Group found to be 90% success in Port Elizabeth, and 36% successful in Uitenhage. ' News reports reported 9 people died in unrest in the Eastern Cape over the "Black Weekend". The writer writes: ' According to Colonel Van Rooyen, police were stoned at the Ben Senuka School in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. A shot It was fire by the police, and two men fell, he said. At the crowd ' reached, one of the bodies was it led into a car, which raced off. The other body was that of an unidentified 26 year old man. Col Van Rooyen said... Another man died last night when police fired a shotgun at about 30 people stoning their vehicle in Motherwell. The dead man was 19 years old, 1 Van Rooyen said... In Uitenhage's Langa townships, three petrol bombs were thrown at a police vehicle. The bomb exploded under

19 March cont. I the vehicle but _only slight damage was caused. A 22year old "tan was shot and killed... A house and t t shack belonging to two pglcemen in Langa were destroyed by jinn...

19- March 4 petrol bombs were thrown at the house of Me Sipho Hnshe, P-CO's secretary, at 1.45m causing a mu ama e. ' , 1 ,

Soon afterwards another petrol bomb is thrown at the home of Mr Ernest Malgas, the organising secretary of PEBCO - it failed to ignite. .

- 19 March Uitenhage Youth Congress (UYCO) holds a mass meeting and calls for a stay away on the 1st March to bury the unrest victims. A weekend funeral ban is in place, so this day is felt to be appropriate.

20 March A 'strate, at the request of the police (which application Mr Justice Kannemeyer subsequently called 'deviant') bans the funeral for the next day. - a

21 March 'An unsuccessful petrol bomb attack is made on the home of Mr Ndabuzovuyo Mkhlini, a worker at the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

21 March Tensions had now reached boiling point, and a large group of blacks from Township in Uitenhage began to march to KwaNobuhle to attend the funeral that had been announced. On the edge of white Uitenhage, through which they had to pass to get to KwaNobuhle, they were confronted by two police vehicles and a contingent of SAP who instructed them to disperse, and the rest is history. ,

. . . V ., Further details are in the section on township attitudes to the SAP. m

That night, the homes of 13 policemen are petrol bombed, and all black policemen living in Uitenhage's two black townships (Glen and KwaNobuhle) have to be evacuated to temporary quarters.

' In the words of the historian, Martin Murray: . .

As word of the bloodbath spread, Glen and nearby KwaNobuhle closed. For the next two days, Uitenhage was silent. ...The Town's Black workforce was conspicuous by its absence from the streets during the rush hour and no buses were seen in the township(s). Langa was in 'a state of virtual siege as police in an assortment of vehicles, including armoured personnel carriers, mounted blockades at every entrance. Uitenhage was South Africa's automotive centre, just north of Port Elizabeth along the Indian Ocean coastline. The outlying townships of Langa and KwaNobuhle provide the bulk of the Black labour for the automobile-related plants there. In the days leading up to the Langa Killings, crowds attacked town councillors and Black policemen, seen as accomplices of the white minority regime. The security police banned all meetings in the Uitenhage townships, warning residents not to assemble in groups of more than four. Despite this, KwaNobuhle was a scene of devastation. 'There's a veil of tears over the town, houses are being hit by helicopters circling - it's a threatening atmosphere! In the widespread 'revenge attacks' against those suspected of collaboration, 'teen houses were burned down in Tinus, another township. In KwaNobuhle, youths destroyed the homes of at least eleven policemen in petrol bomb attacks and looted shops that refused to support the hastily organised stay away. Angry mobs killed and burned at least seven blacks accused of being 'sell-outs', including T.B. 'Mkhizini, the only remaining town councillor in KwaNobuhle. He refused to resign. The owner of a jamaican parlor, Kinikint, had amassed a small fortune by township standards. His 33,000 home, a luxury mansion completed with the rudimentary dwellings of most township residents, was ransacked and burned. (His was South Africa's first 'neck-

- ace' mur er . .

On 24 Marc army and police units threw a cordon amund Uitenha as a crowd estimated at 35,000x.

1510M surrounding townships attended a funeral for the most recent b ack victims of the p olitical unrest.

Troo s and police stoodguard impassywa along the mute of the funeral pmcession and atstra tegcpointr

- inc udily the entrances to lesidential areas and factory gates - in and mund Uitenha .

A: e cmwd

converge on KwaNobuhle, government trays made no attempt to halt or disrugt it. n KwaNobu hle,

the scene after three (1 s of noting resemble a warzone: streets were blackened y petrol bombs, bani-

cadespalaally blocke main thoroughfares, and suspected allies of the white minority regim e smouldered

under a grey winter sky. . ' V

22 - 23 March gwargobuhle Beerhall is torched, as is the bottlestore there, owned by the EastCape Development

oar . a a

Memorial st0ppages happen at all factories inthe area - 97% of the workforce absent them selves on

the Thursda nan 97% on the Friday. .

The Rand ally Mail estimates that 46 councillors ve up their posts m the wake of the mass acre:

certainly in Port Elizabeth 8 dld, Including the past- ayor and the Deputy Mayor. _

Many councillors had their homes gutted, and possessions destroyed, by angry mobs of town ship youth.

27 March : Mr Justice Donald Kannemeyer begins his one-man enquiry into the massacre.

29 March The Security Forces prohibit outdoor gatherings in 18 magisterial districts in t he Eastern Cape.

. . For the first time, the ANC IS blagned when Depu Forei Minister Louis Nel tries to ti e t e ANC '

and the SAC? to the UDF, claiming 'uncontrovem le evi enee of an orchestrated attempt by forces

from beyond our 'border, joined by gadical elements inside the country, to make the count ry ungov-

ernable and to brmg about a revolutionary Situation." '1 n i '

1 April -
 ' ShApril ,
 ' 5 April
 6 April
 6 April
 _ 11 April
 X 13.11le
 27 April
 Force IS in Cape townships.
 35000 mourners attend a funeral at Zwide for what was called in the Rand Daily Mail. 'the
 largest
 funeral in Port Elizabeth's memory." The com were draped with ANC flags.
 The Deputy Minister of Law and Order conEms that, for the first time, 'The South African
 Defence
 0 After the funeral there were clashes with the police.
 Police kills a youngster in Langa.
 The cycles of unrest and violence were now becoming uncontrollable. Youngsters were more
 and more
 to the fore, attackiwlpohee, counccillors, anyone felt to be an 'mpimpi' (sell-out). Polic
 e action become -
 lessandlesscontro ed._' . I ._ .- . . . - . . _ "
 In such a context the exertion of leadership, control and dzscxhne was next to xmpossrble
 : as the UDFs
 secretarial report conceded at the national conference on pm! 5: "In many areas organisat
 ions trail
 behind the masses thus making it more difficujt for a dxsciplined mass action to take pla
 ce. More often
 there is a spontaneity of aetxon m the townships. '
 A crowd, estimated at 7000, buried four youth killed in unrest, in Zwide, Port Elizabeth.
 .
 Teargas was repeatedly fxred_by the police at the crowd. A Mrs Cetu, previole a councillo
 r on the
 Ka di Commit!fl apologxsed to the crowd for 'oining the council and said 5 e had now resi
 gned
 "to on the side of e op e." Such funerals, wi resigmng councillors making public resignat
 xons,
 were to become a wee y event now. ,
 Over this Easter weekend, or: Easter'Saturday, at Patata Kani's funeral (a member of AZAP
 O), Rev
 Mzwandile Maqina claims hrs me was first threatened by COSAS youth. This begins, he claim
 s, the
 war that was to engulf AZAPO and the UDF.
 Police kill two people, one in Kwamkhele and one in Zwide, in eEorts to disperse crowds.
 60 000 mourners attend a funeral in Uitenhage for 27 people killed there - Fikile Kobese
 chaired the
 funeral, and the funeral was laden with emotxon.
 A crowd of 35 000 buriesjiunrest victims ih Zwide.
 . . a .'
 Youths carried the com"- o! 15 hnretl vle-
 thme shoulder-Mghzjo Zwlde cemetery on
 1 Fturdlyulelt: lmmombnnco at Mr
 . emll Mateu,"58, ehllrmanhol tho
 - mlundwenljlghef Prlmery Seheol com-
 - mlttuWWnn-ni
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 1 .-
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1 Sluch deaths and funerals became commonplace now - we will only record exceptional events from
 ere one. - h
 An attack was made on the home of Mrs Ivy Gdnmlaiesident of Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation (PEWO , a UDF grouping. 1 Mrs Gcma says N533. Mr Klaas and Mr Majongfsn of the
 t leadership 0 AZAPO entered er home, and were rep by her youth guard. Rev zwandtle
 ; Maqinggee se arate section of this report on Rev Maqma) appeared and tired shots mto the
 e guard. .
 1 She co ontetrhim and she and her da ter eventually repulsed them With hot water. Nguna's
 house is subsequently raided by UDF you - he was not at home and they left. .
 .SQApdl
 30 Aprll As pupils have not got the assurances they wish for from the BET, the schools boycott'recommen-
 - ces
 1 Ma . ' , t ' w
 ' y ' The Cradock, KwaNobuhle, Humansdorp and Nomyano Black councils are now not operating. as all
 . . councillors have resigned. . . I . - . _
 ' . The Evening Post wrote: 'A smmenng confrontation between affiliates of the UDF and the
 AZAPO h
 in Port Elizabeth has broken into the o n." .
 Edgar Ngoyi, regional chairperson of e UDF, has hishoqm petrol-bognbegl at night. - . .
 His front door was hacked, and he pushed a couch against it to prevent it being o ned. He was hit
 gt: thg-211 head with an iron rod. Three petrol bombs dn't penetrate the fine-mes burglar
 proofing,
 e sax . . . -
 In Ma ina's words: "Op 3 Mei 1985 het hlle hul 105 chars te Njold Plein, New Bri ton, waar UDF
 en 0 mekaar aanhoudend aangeval het." 1 AZAPO members move into aqina's home.
 rson of UDF, is petrol-bombed and his doors axed by what
 :5 daughter saw Maqina in the group.
 3 May
 4 May
 The home of Henry Fazzie vicee-ch '
 he describes as an AZAPC) gang".
 UDF personality Mono Badela was abducted lg 100 AZAPO youth, and taken to Maqina's home.
 .
 where he was assaulted and axed in the head. e had 10 gushes in his head which were stitc
 hed at
 Livingstone Hospital. Magma admitted the assault, claimmg it had happened because Badela
 had
 sent youth to stone Maqma 5 house.
 4 May
 8 May '
 Three members of the five man PEBCO executive Mr Qaqawuli Godolozzi, the President, Mr Sip
 ho
 Hashe, the Secret pnd Mr Chamgign Galela, disappeared while on a journey together to meet
 a .
 British Embassy 9 lcm! at the Port hzabeth . rt. 0 date, no evxdence as to their whereabouts
 uts
 has been concluswely estabhshed, and their f es are applying to the Supreme Court to make
 the
 ...'1 J.?1, "y
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 " Eh emohial samba
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 Hy JIMMY MATH!
 It mmmrlal urvlrr (M
 Mr Qaqawuli umlnlczl.
 lnrmer president ul the
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 . ' Port Ellzaheth lllark ('iv-
 lc Orgnnlsntluu, who dts-
 " _-' g d appeared last May. wtl1
 . . . 1 he held at the .1 C Mvus1
 Mrthotlill Chnrrh In
 Dalu. Kwnallcle. today.

A spokesman 'ur the
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gozi, said the ska-e.
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the urea committee.
Mr Madlinxozl said Mr
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retary lor Pebcn. who dis-
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mnu) would conduct the
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A AWULI GODOLOZI' second from left) wlth Mr CHAMPION GOLELA. asslstant secre-
tNaIkQaPFeb'eb."(Iemvr-HE(NRY FAZZIE, vlce-president ol the uor (Eastern Cape) and Mr
EDGAR NGOYI. (rlght) president at tho UDF (Eastern Cape) during a Press conlerenco ln
. Marsh tut year.

-____.-#-

, 8 May cont . SAP release them, as rumours Persist that they were seen in police custody afterwards. The SAP deny this, but rumour of police involvement in their disappearances persists. X

8 May The home of Elizabeth Hashe, wife of Sipho Hashe, attacked - bullets fired at it. .

10 May A large group of youths, led by Mkhoseli Jack, secure the release of 4 abducted youth held at Maqina's

. a home. - ,

. 11 May Peace talks between AZAPO and the UDF held, brokered by Rev De Villiers Segal. (See picture in section on Maqina). t .

14 May . AZAPO youth apprehended with petrol bomb at Mrs Gdona's home - he tells her Maqina sent him to

. attacker. ' - .

19 May UDF executive Sigelo Apleni shot in his hand near his home. Assailant flees.

Elid 0' MI! Rev De Villiers Soga invites Maqina and AZAPO to an interdenominational service at Dan Qeqe stadium, to create peace. The crowd turns on Maqina who just escapes with his life. Afterwards he claims to have been tricked into going. '

The 15 month Cradock schools boycott, South Africa's longest ever, is called off in order to keep the schools open.

'3 June A petrol bomb is thrown at the home of UDF's Ququwuli Godolozj. who has anyway disappeared.

Mrs Gsodolozj believed Maqina was amongst the attackers, and claimed she heard someone referred to as "ergeant". " i

4 June Mr Justice Kannemeyer delivers his report to the State President (see section on Attitudes to Police).

5 June . UDF's Morio Badela has his home gutted in a petrol bomb attack. . _ .

Maqina blamed the "third force" - Badela said it was AZAPO behind this, the last in a series of attacks on him. He left town.

7 June ' UDF's Edgar Ngoyi's house was destroyed in a petrol bomb attack. Maqina said he was "investigating the incident , and warned the UDF to halt attacks on AZAPO homes.

8 June Pakamisa Nogwaza, a 24 year-old, was brought by his mother to Ngoyi's house to deny his involvement in AZAPO, and to obtain Ngoyi's blessing. Ngoyi is called off to telephone down the road, and in his absence his guard of young comrades murder . ogwazo. They accused him of involvement in the burns

ing of Ngo 5 home. a

Ngoyi and ' wife and seven others were subsequently arrested and charged for murder. Ngoyi was kept in custody until December.

12 June ' Mkali of SACC has his house again petrol bombed.

Two people members have their homes petrol bombed.

16 June Zamele Mazantsana, an ANC trained guerilla, hurls two handgrenades - one at Maqina's home, and one at his car. Maqina survives. .

18 June Ten youths were burnt when the home of UDF's Ernest Malgas was petrol bombed. It was the third

. attack in a few weeks on Malgas's home.

An attempt was made at the same time to bomb MACWUSA's Themba Dube's home. Both attacks were blamed on AZAPO, and Maqina blamed "the third force".

22 June Mourners pack the Nazareth Apostolic Church in Zwijve for the funeral of 5 unrest virtues.

They get teargassed afterwards.

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5-8 . . i

non who picked the Nazareth Apostolic Church

A section of the thousands of mourners

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8

27 June

4 July

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"117-, ' t root victims at Zwido mt-rdey' . ltemoon. ,

UDF's executive member Matthew Goniwe, CRADOYA's president Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto
and Sicelo Mhlawuliswho came from Cradock to Port Elizabeth in Goniwe's car for a meeting
, do not

germ? gome. Their urnt out car and four corpses, stabbed, hacked and burnt, are found ove
r a num-

er 0 ays.

In early July, the Ca e Times described Uitenhage thus: . . .

Stretches of the astern Cape resembled an operational area on the brmk of o n ch war. De-
scribing SADF actmttes near Uitenhage, a newspaper correspondent reporte that '... there
was

a redominanee of mihtary vehicles on the road. Armed police occupied the Casspirs while y
oun

w 'te faces conic! be seen m the Buffels and other armoured carriers that travelled in an
d out o

the black townships. Army tents have been pitched in the streets and the takeover of a sg
orts sta-

dium_in(;litenbhage for what appears to be a military base was a chilling reminder of w a
tl had

seen m vam o.

In May, the regions first consumer boycott of white owned businesses began in Port Alti'e
d and read

to other areas. A Consumer Bo oott Committee was forme with members drawn from F,
PEBCO, PEYCQ, C0848, MAC SA and GWUSA. FOSA adherents joined later. The spo-
kesperson for this committee was Mkhuseleli J ack of PEYCO. .

A consumer boycott began m Port Elizabeth on the 15th J une, and local and national deman
ds were

made for its 11 hftment. The boycotts 5 read like wildfire over the Eastern Cape, and the
n nationally.

But they wor ed best in the Eastern ape, when, since the Lan a massacre, the UDF had set
up a

ackage of street and area committee structures which were Me for politicising the lgeople
and en-

orcilgtthe boycotts. Derek Swartz of the UDF executive descnbed these structures us:

' er Langa (21 March 19_85) when Le Gran e banned meetings of UDF organisations in the
whole area, people realised It was going to be icult to hold meetings and walk home in th
e dark

in the curfew areas, because the arm was now using more complicated tactics. We realised
that .

the answer was not to talk vaguely of uilding organisations, but to go down to grassroots
and form

structures. We realised that more leaders nright end_up like Hashe, Galela, and Godoloz
(three

Port Elizabeth leaders who disap cared while travelhng to the an'port). So we went to our
people

who have been supporting us un er very d erous conditions and involved them in democratic
organisations and structures and decnsion-m ' processes.

We said: in the streets where you live ll must ecide what issues affect your lives and br
ing up

issues you want your organisation to t e up. We are not in a position to remove debris, r
emove

the buckets, cian the streets and so on. But the organisation must deal with these matte

rs through 5

streets committees. ; ' -

In each street people came together and had a house meeting. These committees do not deal with

matters in the air. Some people are in prison, some are dead or missing, their fathers so metimes

have no buses because the buses cannot get into the townships.

' . 21 July

Ir

22 July

24 August

26 August

11 November

24 December

11 November

28 December

The street committees have to discuss these matters and make suggestions on how to deal with

them. From there each area will meet and co-ordinate the grievances of a number of streets. Originally

area committees consisted of UDF affiliates. But they stopped functioning because they

were harmed, and we had to form area committees from the street committees. . . .

Although the organisations are banned, they still exist: They show their existence in OW funeral committees of members from various organisations and at funerals themselves. They also

organise relief work for the townships. People who are grieved by the Situation in the township

' and the criminal element, constantly come to the PBBCO of Ece';

Just as the boycotts began to bite, the largest funeral ever held in the platteland saw Matthew Goniwe

and his three associates buried into a backdrop of ANC and SACP banners, and under an avalanche

of freedom songs and speeches. '

At midnight that night the State declared a partial State of Emergency over some of South Africa, and ,

most of the Eastern Cape, in an attempt to wrest back lost initiative and control.

I ' For three-and-a-half months the state detained, released, detained again. The Detainee Parents Sup-

; R11 Committee calculated

that nearly 60% of all detainees were from the Eastern Cape.

because if: executive of the UDF was jailed to the inane, and so were all other senior UDF people who could

own . i . . . ,

Allegations of mass torture by the security police were given credence in a report application that included a District Surrogate, Dr Wendy Orr as an applicant. (This is discussed in detail in

the section on Attitudes to the S Police). The matter was granted by Mr Justice Bheken.

Meanwhile the consumer boycott raged on, and the PE Chamber of Commerce (PECOC) released a

manifesto calling for black participation in central government, while its members reeled under huge

turnover drops. .

COSAS, the largest UDF affiliate with 42 area branches, was banned.

Tony Gilson, Director of the PECOC lobbied with Ministers and others for the release of UDF

personalities, in order to have someone with whom to negotiate an end to the Consumer Boycott.

I I In early November his requests were met, when most of the UDF executive, including Mkhutsheli Jack,

were released. The consumer boycott was suspended shortly after that.

Edgar Ngoyi came out of jail on bail; pending trial for murder. .

Maqalilana met Ngoyi, and cut a deal to get safety for the 100 AZAPO people living at Maqalilana's home,

which they did in January as they expelled Maqalilana. He says they did this to ensure their safety - he

claims he wasn't a member anyway.

At the end of 1985, the UDF was probably at its strongest.

If anything, this first State of Emergency led to a growth in the following and influence of the UDF..

The Department of Constitutional Development continued to deal with the Langa Co-ordinating Committee-

mittgillach Dgaghatel-ggtaeg t3: Emergency. (The Langa boycotts had hit the magistrates' court on

was 0 months after the appearance of business representatives to the Mkhutsheli

Jack who was in detention. Eastern Cape UDF people had been brutally tortured by the Security

Police, and Judge Eksteen had had to put an end to that With the famous endy Orr Interdis
t." UD
leaders were both elated at their success, and morally superior to their enerlhyj And, be
st of all, most
major black trade umons had, in.November 1985 merged to form COSA , an enormous "super-
union", claiming more than a milhon worker-memhers, and now well able to test the other p
owers of
the workplace. The Emergency, if anything, had helped the UDF.
In Port Elizabeth, as the UDF rose, so the Ibha ' Council fell. It was now in tatters. It
was time for
Mayor Thamsanqa Linda to go, and he did. irst to the Holiday Inn, then off council, then
to the
Transkei for a new life, if only for a while. - .
But some thin went on as usual. On the final Saturday of 1985, Edgar Ngoyij fresh from cu
stody,
WI
made a triumph ant entrance at yet another funeral of two unrest victims in e.
In 1985, 349 peeple had died in unrest in the Eastern Cape. Probably two-thirds were from
Port Eli.
zabeth/Uiteuhage.

128611281 The trend: of revolt and repression that were to characterize township politics dating 1985 continued
 'n 1986, but showed a lessening trend later into the year as the state security apparatus crushed visible
 W E7 black revolt. Consumer Boycotts, deaths in unmet, Metal: - these all continued, but later in the year.
 Xx) slowly receded. A: we have understood the bend: in our coverage of 1985, I will not fill this document
 with unnecessary detail, and will only document highlylym).

6 January ' AZAPO make a public statement dissociating themselves from Rev Maqina, who they claim to have
 "expelled". _

15 January Maqina claims he was never a member of AZAPO anyway, and remarks privately about their expulsion .
 of him is in order to allow them to return to their homes in solidly UDF areas. ' they'do , and the
 AZAPO/UDF truce more-or-less holds from now on. Certainly the hostilities never again approach
 the levels of mid-1985. '

21 March ' A memorial headstone for the 27811 'acks who died in the Lang: Massacre and surrounding violence,
 is erected in KwaNobuhle in Unenhenge. Possibly 100 000 people attend the highly emotional ro-
 ceedings there. 99% of Blacks stay away from work over this day in response to a community .
 ' March ' Henry Fanie and Mkh;us_eli Jaciathe two most popular UDF leaders in Port Elizabeth, are served
 ' banning orders from Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange. Both say they will contest these in
 22 March ' the Supreme Court declares Minister Le Grange's banning order illegal, and Jack is 'unbanned' by
 the court.
 Fanie was also, later.

_I 28 March The Minister of Law and Order prohibits, in terms of the internal security not, all outdoor public
 ' gatherings for a year. .

5 April A funeral for 8 Blacks killed by security forces while they (the Blacks) raided township bottle stores,
 was very tense. 4 000 people packed into a hall in New Brighton, and police and crowd continually
 provoke each other.
 ' hundreds of mourners, par: :4 .1 procession at the weekend funeral, pour down a hill in Njoli Road towards the Zwundel
 cemetery in defiance of the order by a magistrate that all mourners be transported in mechanically operated vehicles;

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A m victim carried black either. You've got I -. m two mum, to a...
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me lo tell" .u Cantu. . pundlntothehulldln .- mm-mmll; :_.:'
11 April The State President announces in parliament that the ass laws are scrapped, and
offenders in jail will
. be released. Minister Le Grange acknowledges that 00 000 people Were arrested in 1935 a
lone.
24 April The_government puts the Public Safety Amendment Bill before parliament, which wo
uld allow the
Minister to declare separateareas "unrest areas" whereby the mmister would receive wide s
ecurity
powers in that area ("regional state-of-emer ency'). The Laboy: Party refuses to support
the legisla-
tion, delaying its avallabxhty to the security orces m an mcreasmgly rebelhous country.
The Thursda Ma da sta wa calledb UDF bodies, is extended until the Monda the 5th. n
1 May) The stayawags cahecrnatygnalry' for 1 WK! , is the country's biggest ever. The Lab
hur Monitorin
Group 111 Port Elizabeth reported an almost 100% stayaway. The extention is subsequently
called 0 '
by the UDF. '
Meanwhile a renewed Consumer Boycott was gripping Port Elizabeth's north end traders. .
A deep recession was ipging the economy - vehicle sales slumped, and the Eastern Cape wor
kforce
was retrenched consi era ly.

10 May A funeral for 11 youths killed by police in unrest was held at the Nazareth Apostolic Church in Zwijerburg.

A white monitoring group reports on a "fragile truce" between police and people.

10 June For three months the State strategised out a long term plan, a Second State of Emergency which

when called by the State President on the 12th June 1987, was a 'no-end, battle to the end at peril

of repression. This time, the State meant business.

I

In David Webster's words:

The new emergency showed signs of leniency and careful planning. On the night before it was declared, security forces swept through 15131 communities detaining thousands. By June 1987 - - over 26 000 people had been detained. In 8 months of this emergency, Security Police detained

as many people as the total held under previous emergencies and security legislation for the past

Nearly 26 years. Internationally, South Africa is now second to none on an index of repression.

Of these 26 000 detainees, nearly 80% were from UDF affiliated bodies, and another 12% from

Cosatu. 36% or 9 000, the largest number by far, are again from the Eastern Cape.

IQ,

16 June
3 October
7 October
22 August
2 October
July
' Juity

An "almost total" Black work-stayaway was held to commemorate "Soweto DaY". UDF leaders went into jail or into hiding - either way, the press could report little. Meanwhile, New Brighton was entirely encircled with rolled razor-wire. Three entrances were main-
tained manned 24 hours a day and all cars entering or exiting from New Brighton were searched. Security forces began distributing a new and unique identification card, without which access to or from New Brighton was to be denied. The card bore the crest and the name of the Ibhayi Town Council, and had space for an "official stamp of the SAP", who said that the cards were "part and parcel" of the security operations within the area. Previously, Ibhayi Town Council enlisted help from Security Forces in the implementation of what were seen as Conner's tasks. Now, patently, a partnership had been forged to make the State of Emergency work.

In August, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, visited Ibhayi and its Mayor. General Malan was accompanied by the head of the Police Counter-Insurgency and Security Units, Major-General Bert Wandrag, the local defence force officers. Issues discussed were "matters of common concern", said the new Ibhayi Town Clerk, Mr El. Pullen, who had recently replaced Mr Sholtz.

Then State President P.W. Botha visited the Ibhayi Town Council accompanied by General Malan, and Ministers Heunis and du Plessis. At last, the ramshackle barricade was inspected, but no statement was released as this version was not mentioned "as a publicity stunt".

In the month of Emergency. In New Brighton no more than three minutes: In the evening open. and all million: Chh'u On and Alnpix.

Warrant Officer De Villiers and Constable Goosen of the Riot Police led a 10-man unit to the Cra-dock African township to monitor and control a funeral there. The activities of this unit on these days led to De Villiers and Goosen later both being sentenced to death. (This is covered more fully in the section on township attitudes to the Police).

2

From July to December 1986, the KwaNobuhle Town Council moved 7200 families, or nearly 50 000 shack dwellers, from Langa to KwaNobuhle in conditions that were described by a doctor as "graceful". Workers in Uitenhage stay away from work in protest against this "force removal". KwaNobuhle officials say it is "voluntary".

h I
- 15 July
. . End of August
15 September
4 January 1987 .
May/June 1987

Another work stayaway gripped Port Elizabeth, apparently linked to school issues.
awaship unrest continues to boil over, and the regional chairman of AZAPO, Sonwabo Ngxale
is

C . S .

Mkhushli Jack, in hiding until now, is detained.

The consumer boycott in Port Elizabeth is called off, for the last time.

From now on, unrest subsides to very low levels.

Fatalities in Political Conflict

1985 1986

JANFEIMMAPRMAYJUNMMIEPWTNOVM

mum:

Ama-Africa Rev Maqina's new Africanist movement set to sign on Maqina . launches a full-scale at-

tack on UDi: cop and then possessions in KwaNo uhle, Uxtenhagc. Po cc COUUSIOII is alleged.

(See section 0 Attitudes to Pohcc, for fuller story) .

Various of the accused participated in attempts to kill Rev Maqina, and in an attempt to ambush municipal police. A hmpct mm: 18 also place on a bus.

/4