

SAAKNOMMER: CC 482/85

PRETORIA

1987-10-28

A

DIE STAAT teen:

PATRICK MABUYA BALEKA EN 21

ANDER

VOOR:

SY EDELE REGTER VAN DIJKHORST EN

ASSESSORE: MNR. W.F. KRUGEL

NAMENS DIE STAAT:

ADV. P.B. JACOBS

ADV. P. FICK

ADV. W. HANEKOM

NAMENS DIE VERDEDIGING:

ADV. A. CHASKALSON

ADV. G. BIZOS

ADV. K. TIP

ADV. Z.M. YACOOB

ADV. G.J. MARCUS

TOLK:

MNR. B.S.N. SKOSANA

KLAGTE:

(SIEN AKTE VAN BESKULDIGING)

PLEIT:

AL DIE BESKULDIGDES: ONSKULDIG

KONTRAKTEURS:

LUBBE OPNAMES

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COURT RESUMES ON 28 OCTOBER 1987.

MR TIP: Pursuant to the leave granted by Your Lordship yesterday accused no. 1 is not in court, he is busy with his exams today. Secondly all the other accused are present, secondly may I approach you in connection with a variation of the bail conditions of accused no. 10 Mr Vilakazi. In terms of paragraph 2 of the conditions written consent has been granted by the investigating officer for him to visit his home and the Evaton cemetery during the coming weekend, 31 October and 1 November. That is in connection with his (10) mother who is not well and a ceremony connected with the unveiling of his late father's tombstone. If Your Lordship would consent and if I may hand up the document signed by Captain Botes.

COURT: Any objection Mr Jacobs.

MR JACOBS: No objections My Lord.

(20)

(30)

ORDER/.....

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF SOUTH AFRICA

(TRANSVAAL PROVINCIAL DIVISION)

CASE NO. CC. 482/85PRETORIA

1987-10-28

THE STATE

versus

PATRICK MABUYA BALEKA & 21 OTHERS

(10)

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O R D E R

VAN DIJKHORST, J.: The following order is made: In accordance with paragraph 2 of the conditions of bail accused no. 10, Bavumile Herbert Vilakazi, is granted permission to visit the Vaal for the period 31 October 1987 and 1 November 1987 subject to the following conditions:

1. He reports at Jeppe Police Station between 06h00 and 09h00 on 31 October 1987 immediately before leaving for the Vaal. (20)
2. He reports at Sebokeng Police Station immediately on arrival in the Vaal and thereafter between 18h00 and 21h00 on 31 October 1987, between 06h00 and 09h00 on 1 November 1987 and again immediately before his departure from the Vaal on the same day.
3. He reports at Jeppe Police Station as usual between 18h00 and 21h00 on 1 November 1987.
4. During his visit to the Vaal he limits his movements to house 552041, Zone 3, Residensia, the Evaton Cemetery and his reports to the Sebokeng Police Station./.... (30)

Station.

5. He does not enter the residential areas of Boiphatong, Bophelong or Sharpeville during the abovementioned period.
6. All other conditions of bail stand and are strictly to be adhered to.

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PAGES 17 422 AND 17 423 - AWAITING RETURN  
OF REVISED ORDER.

MOSES MABOKELA CHIKANE: d.s.s.

FURTHER CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR JACOBS: Mr Chikane at the first workshop in the Northern Transvaal did you convey to the delegates at the workshop what the ultimate aim of the UDF was? -- In the first workshop I spoke about the history of the workshop.

Of the workshop? -- The history of the UDF, I am sorry.

And did you also convey to them what the ultimate aim of the UDF was, why it was formed? -- That is correct, I told them that the UDF was formed to oppose the new constitution and (10) Koornhof Bills.

And what to achieve? -- To achieve a democratic constitution based on the will of the people.

As the ultimate aim of the UDF? -- The ultimate aim, that was what UDF was working towards. Because we were opposed to this constitution because it was not based on the will of all the people.

Did you convey to them that, what the immediate objectives of the UDF was? -- That is correct. We said they have got to strengthen the organisations and affiliate to the UDF (20) so that they can strengthen the voice of protest against the apartheid constitution.

Did you convey to them that they must mobilise the people in the different townships and in the rural areas? -- I may not have used that term specifically but I told them that we of the UDF are opposed to the new constitution and would want them to form organisations but to affiliate to the organisations that are affiliated to the UDF and then from there to oppose the apartheid measures that are embodied in the constitution.

Now what did you ... -- And Koornhof Bills. (30)

What/....

What did you tell them, how to oppose, and what to do to oppose? -- I did not get into those details. All I said is that if our organisations are strong we will have a much more bigger voice that the government would be able to listen to. I did not go into the details that you should do one, two, three and four.

Did you not tell them why they must form organisations, what the need of that was and that the organisations after affiliation to UDF must go out and mobilise the people? -- That is the programme of the UDF and I thought if they had (10) done so possibly they would be able to get into start too. At that particular stage my concern and my responsibility was just to tell them about the history of the UDF.

And did you instruct them or inform them about the politicising of the people, themselves? -- I did not get into the finer details but I told them that they should form organisations. I explained what UDF is all about and I told them that they should form organisations, those who did not have organisations, or others should affiliate to organisations that are already member affiliates of the UDF and then together we (20) should oppose the new constitution and Koornhof Bills.

Did you tell them about the issues and campaigns of the UDF and it is the duty of all affiliated organisations to take that up? -- As I say I did not get into the details but what I said is that I thought if they had affiliated they would be able to participate and again I did not have the powers to instruct them because they were not at that particular stage, some of them were not really from affiliated organisations. Even if they were I could not instruct them because the only body that can be able to arrive at a conclusion is the (30)

General/....

General Council of the United Democratic Front. As an individual I could not take that kind of a decision.

But was it necessary to take a decision? Was it not standing policy of the UDF? -- That is incorrect. Standing policy of the UDF is not for an official to instruct people.

Was it not part of the duty of the Secretary to go out and see that the organisations carry out the policy of the UDF and that it is part of the policy to mobilise the people? -- That would be so if those organisations are affiliated and they have participated in taking that particular decision. (10)  
We will go out to try to see if that decision is being implemented.

Were any ... -- And if not we will possibly want to know why and then from there so that we can be able to give a report.

Were any of the organisations at the workshop members, as affiliated organisations members of UDF? -- That is correct they were members of the AZASO Turfloop and I think there were two or so members of the Pfunane Women's Group, Pfunane I think is Venda. I will try to spell for His Lorship. I (20)  
am not quite sure of the spelling I will try. It is P-f-u-n-a-n-e, it is Pfunane Women's Group.

COURT: Also from Mankweng? -- No that is not from Mankweng.

From where were they? -- I think it is based somewhere in Tzaneen, around Tzaneen, area of Tzaneen.

MR JACOBS: Now ...

COURT: Well now there were members of AZASO Turfloop, they were affiliated? -- That is correct.

And the Pfunane Women's Group was that affiliated? -- That is correct because a representative of that organisation, (30)

as/....



as far as I can remember was present at the National Launch.

So these are the affiliated members but the others were not affiliated? -- The others were not affiliated.

MR JACOBS: Now this committee which organised this workshop was a UDF committee, it was known as a UDF committee? -- That is correct in the sense that some people were I would say sympathisers or sympathetic to the UDF and I think it was an initiative of those organisations that have affiliated to the UDF, the two that I have mentioned.

Mankweng in Pietersburg is a township, a Black township(10) in the district of Pietersburg, correct? -- Yes it is a township just next to Turfloop University.

Now do you know an organisation named MACA? I suppose it is Mankweng Civic Association? -- No.

Were they not part of this committee and affiliated to UDF? -- No they were not affiliated to UDF, certainly.

Did they affiliate later? -- Well in fact many organisations in that area did not affiliate to the UDF Transvaal. We felt that as soon as the area is constituted those organisations would form part of the organisations that affiliate (20) to that region of the Northern Transvaal.

And MAYCO I suppose that, MAYCO Youth Congress, Mankweng Youth Congress? -- I knew about it. It is one of the organisations that was going to affiliate to the region of the Northern Transvaal UDF as soon as it was formed.

Were they represented in this UDF organisation that was acting in the Northern Transvaal? -- I cannot remember specifically but I should think so because the list is, I am sure is, of organisation that were present is in ABA.17 or 18. I think the names of the organisations that were present in (30)

that,/....

that, that were taking part in those workshops are there.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): Is this now the first workshop?

MR JACOBS: The first workshop. -- Oh in the first workshop I am not quite sure if they were there.

And were they part of the, what was later on known as the Northern Transvaal Area Committee of UDF? -- In the area committee there were different individuals really. I never really got to know who came from which organisations but because that organisation existed I should take it that possibly they were. (10)

Well Mr Chikane you were instructed to organise in the Northern Transvaal, to go out there and assist the people there, is that not correct? -- That is correct.

So did you not try to find out what is going on there? -- No. I was working in this fashion, I would go up there, meet members of these committees and explain the policies of the UDF to them and then from there, because they had a problem of being able to satisfy the requirement of being able to get the organisations together I remember we talked, and to be able to constitute a region, we talked quite a lot about that, (20) that they should try to consult as many organisations as possible in that part of the area and then from there constitute a region. I did not really get to ask individual members from which organisations do they come from, that were constituting that committee.

Sorry? -- But I took it they should be from the organisations.

COURT: So could I just get clarity now. We know there was a co-ordinating committee also called an area committee also called a rally committee? -- That is correct. (30)

Was/....

Was a Northern Transvaal region ever formed? -- Up to the time of my arrest it was not formed but from, I think one of the exhibits, it looks like ultimately it was formed after our arrest or something like that.

But now if that is so that there was no Northern Transvaal region, and this runs from 1983, approximately the middle, to beginning of 1985, then surely you would be interested as organising secretary in which organisations were members or possible members of the UDF, affiliates of the UDF? -- In that kind of set up first you know that you had to affiliate and (10) then we banked, and we knew that, we banked on activists to try to get organisations organised in that particular area. And every time these people promised to arrange a meeting of organisations which ultimately took place I think on 3 February 1985 all those organisations were represented. But I never really got to ask each and every individual who was in the committee. I just took it that they came from organisations.

Yes but did you as secretary not have a list somewhere stating well these organisations are affiliated or are interested in affiliation? These are there aims, these are (20) their memberships? -- No. What we did is we were urging this area committee to try to organise a workshop representative of those organisations so that we can speak to them together in one meeting and this took place on 3 February 1985, and when I came back I was able to give the Executive the list of organisations that were present in that particular workshop.

MR JACOBS: Mr Chikane you have said in your answer before the Court asked you questions that you explained the policies of the UDF to them, to the organisations? -- That is correct. (30)

When/....

When was that? -- The first meeting in May 1984 I did that.

May 1984, the first meeting? -- And then I continued to do that because I went several times. In fact that is if we check the EXHIBIT S series it will reflect my trips to the Northern Transvaal and again I did it on 3 February 1985 in that workshop.

And every time, except for May 1984 and 3 February 1985, every other time when you went down there did they call the organisations together or did you go to the different organisations? What did you do? I just want to make, was it a (10) meeting ... -- Each time I went there I met members of the committee, members of that committee.

Now what, yes? -- The committee that we used to call area committee and as I said they resented that.

Did they convene a meeting every time that you went down? -- No I did not convene the meeting, I would go there ...

Did they, the co-ordinating committee, did they convene a meeting for you to address the other organisations in the area? -- No, no I would speak to the members of that committee, it is only on this workshop of 3 February 1985 that I (20) spoke to members, addressed members of the organisations in that particular area.

Now when you went down and explained the policies of UDF to them what did you explain to them on the policies of UDF? -- First I spoke about the history that UDF was formed after the call that was made by Dr Allan Boesak and then from there I went on to explain that UDF was opposed to the new constitution and Black Local Authorities and then from there I told them about the Declaration of the UDF that every organisation that wants to be a member of the UDF must read (30)

and/....

and endorse the United Democratic Front Declaration, and I told them that we had a Working Principle that works like a constitution for the United Democratic Front.

Yes. Did you tell them about the resolutions of the UDF?  
-- No I do not remember, at that stage it looks like I did not have the Resolution. I must say I did not have that.

Was not the Resolutions part of the policy of the UDF?  
-- That is correct but I expected that when they come to the General Councils if they affiliate they will be able to get that kind of booklet, the booklet that is A.1, to be able (10) to know what resolutions of the UDF are.

And if I understood your, I am sorry? -- They will be able to know what resolutions were taken in the National Launch of the United Democratic Front.

If I understood your evidence correct there were only two affiliated organisations then in the Northern Transvaal? -- That is correct.

And can you tell the Court then how is it possible that the co-ordinating committee or area committee can be a UDF committee without the organisations being part of the UDF (20) as affiliates? That is contrary to the working principles and the policy of the UDF? -- No, when we get to a new area where you have one or two affiliates and then you have maybe a lot of other people from organisations that are supportive, that are sympathetic to the UDF, those people can come together to form an area committee.

Even if they are not affiliated to the UDF? -- That is correct, because we were hoping in that particular circumstances that ultimately these people were going to be able to affiliate to the UDF or to affiliate to the UDF region in (30) the/....

the Northern Transvaal, otherwise they were quite happy to affiliate to the UDF Transvaal but that was not going to work because they would not be able to attend the General Council.

And is it then correct that UDF was willing to pay nearly R6 000 out for people not affiliated to the UDF? -- No that is incorrect. The UDF was paying that money because UDF had arranged a rally in that particular stage and it did not pay all that money. The money was to be used for the purpose of the rally, it was not paying to those organisations.

Now is it, do you know whether the UDF Transvaal (10) region opened a banking account for the area committee in the Northern Transvaal? -- That is correct, I think the first thousand Rand that was sent down there we asked those people to put it in the bank.

Under which name did it open the banking account? -- I do not know, it must have been one of those names of that committee, either Rally Committee or Area Committee. I cannot remember specifically as I stand here.

You will not dispute that it was opened in the name of the UDF Area Committee? -- No I will not dispute that. As (20) I say they used this name interchangeably.

Although there was no Area Committee? -- No there was. I said this structure used to be called Area Committee, Ad Hoc Committee, Rally Committee, Co-Ordinating Committee. Now we in the Transvaal we used to call them Area Committee but they resented that.

Now Mr Chikane at any stage did you convey to them the policy of the UDF as depicted in the resolutions of the UDF? -- I do not remember discussing resolutions with them.

Now at the workshop on 3 February 1985 did you not (30)  
deem/....

deem it necessary then when you explained the policy of the UDF to them to explain the policy of the UDF in full, how the UDF wants to achieve its ultimate objective? -- I did not have the resolutions with me and I did not.

If I understood your evidence correctly you only mentioned the constitution and Black Local Authorities to them? -- I mentioned the Declaration and the Working Principles to them and I talked about the history of the UDF.

But you said a few minutes ago when you explained to them the opposition to the constitution and Black Local Authori- (10) ties? -- Yes I explained that. I said we were opposed to the new constitution and the Black Local Authorities.

Did you tell them at least that the UDF was conducting campaigns around the constitution and Black Local Authorities? -- That is correct. After stating the history of the UDF those are, among other things I talked about that.

Did you explain to them that they must take up these campaigns of the UDF in the Northern Transvaal? -- No, they had to, their priority was to form a region first.

Can they only campaign against the constitution and (20) Black Local Authorities after they formed a region? -- That is if they want to do that under the banner of the UDF, they had to be affiliates of the UDF to be able to do it under the banner of the UDF. But as I have already highlighted that organisations like the Soweto Civic Association independent of the UDF had already taken a position against the BLA and organisations like FOSATU in the East Rand have already taken a position against the Black Local Authorities independent of the UDF. I believe even in this case organisations in the Northern Transvaal could have arrived at that particular (30) position/....

position but if they wanted to do it under the banner of the United Democratic Front they had to be affiliates.

Did you explain that to them? -- That is correct. I do not remember putting it in this particular sense but it was implied when I was explaining the Declaration, I said to work under the banner of the United Democratic Front you have to accept this document and adopt it and then from there affiliate to the United Democratic Front.

The rally that was held in 19, when was the rally? Is it 1984 August if I am correct? -- 5 August 1984. (10)

That was arranged by this Co-Ordinating Committee or Area Committee or whatever you call it? -- Or Rally Committee, it was arranged by that committee.

And what was the purpose of that? -- The purpose we were trying to reach the people in that part of the country and to ...

The people, you mean the ordinary public, not the organisations? -- Organisations and the ordinary public in that particular kind of area because we wanted to establish or to strengthen those, the region if they do form any. (20)

And this rally was organised under the name of this Rally Committee or Co-Ordinating Committee and so on, UDF Co-Ordinating Committee? -- Those people had to get the rally together but the rally was organised under the banner of the UDF. It was organised by us but those people were active in getting that rally organised. If we had posters I think posters had UDF Transvaal, either Rural Rally or Northern Transvaal Rally, something like that, UDF. It did not say Northern Transvaal Committee UDF Rally, it just said UDF Rally.

And who arranged for the speakers for this rally? -- (30)

It/....



It was the Executive of the Transvaal United Democratic Front in consultation with members of the Area Committee in the north, Area or Rally Committee.

And who were the speakers arranged? -- As far as I know we had Mosebetsi Bokala.

COURT: What is the first name? -- Mosebetsi, M-o-s-e-b-e-t-s-i.

Bokala, B-o-k-a-l-a. -- That is correct. It is either him or Mahopo if I am not, one of them.

Or Mahopo? -- Or Mahopo.

Spell that? -- M-a-h-o-p-o. Now those of them ... (10)

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): What is his first name? -- I never got to know his first name. Both of them were members of the Transvaal REC but they are people who have been, who know about the rural set up.

MR JACOBS: Mr Bokala ... -- Now it is either one of them, Mahopo or Bokala, and then from there ...

Just a minute. This Mr Bokala was he also a member of the Soweto Civic Association? -- That is correct.

And the other person? -- Mahopo as well.

Both of them from the Soweto Civic Association? -- That (20) is correct.

Yes, and the other speakers? -- I think we arranged that the President of the Transvaal should speak there, Mrs Sisulu.

Did she speak? -- I cannot remember now, as I stand here I cannot remember who spoke but there were several speakers that were arranged. I do not know exactly who spoke and who did not speak. I cannot remember independently.

Did Mr Yacoob from Natal speak at this meeting? -- No certainly not. He was not there.

And Mr Curnick Ndlovu? -- No he was not there. (30)

Any/....

Any of the accused before the Court, 19 or 20? -- I think accused no. 19 was there.

As a speaker or what? -- I think he spoke. I am not sure because I did not really get, by when I was busy trying to pay for the buses and to see that everybody else has got food, especially people from the south. I cannot say that this one spoke, this one did not speak but I can speak about the speakers that were arranged beforehand.

COURT: Where was this held, in Pietersburg itself? -- In Seshego. (10)

In Seshego? -- And I thought I would get His Lordship the name of that cinema. I have forgotten about it. It is a cinema in Seshego.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): Did you not give the name a few days ago? -- No I gave the name of the cineman in Atteridgeville but I could not remember the name of this cinema.

Now I remember.

MR JACOBS: Were any other workshops, except for the two mentioned by you, arranged in the Northern Transvaal? -- No not that I can remember but I have been there several times. I (20) went there even on the 8th of March but that was not a workshop.

And do you know anything of a youth workshop being arranged in the Northern Transvaal? -- No I do not know about it.

Do you know Mr Chikane in Pretoria an Area Committee was set up in Pretoria? -- That is correct.

Were you also instrumental in setting up that Area Committee? -- That is correct.

And where was the offices or headquarters of that Area Committee situated? -- It did not have the headquarters or (30) offices./....

offices.

Did it not.... -- But we often used offices that were used by SAAWU where there is a Tote.

Were you in fact a member of that Area Committee? -- No at that time I was a member of the Executive so I could not be a member of a particular Area Committee.

And the offices with SAAWU who arranged for them to deal the offices with SAAWU? -- Sorry?

Who arranged for the Area Committee in Pretoria to deal the offices with, or use the offices of SAAWU in Pretoria? (10) -- Because a lot of organisations were occupying the same building it was very convenient, even the post from the UDF office used to be sent to this particular address in that building. So it is for that reason that even meetings of the Area Committee used to take place in that particular building. There was no formal arrangement so to say that things must be done that way.

Was it not arranged with SAAWU to use that office for the purposes of the Area Committee of the UDF in Pretoria? -- Well I do not know if maybe organisations that were in that build-(20) ing and organisations that were outside came to that kind of an agreement. I do not know. That would have been independent of me.

Did you visit the offices in Pretoria? -- That is correct. I attended even some of the Area Committee meetings there.

Did they keep a person in the office there when you want to contact anybody from the Area Committee in Pretoria? -- No but what we would do if we phone, we will either phone the EYE offices or we phone the SAAWU offices or we phone any other of the offices because some of them had phones and (30)

then/....

then we speak to them. But we did not have a person who was manning those offices.

COURT: Now which organisations were there together? -- There was the, the EYE offices were there, SAAWU offices were there, as far as my ...

MR JACOBS: Just a minute, for purposes of the spelling, SAAWU will not come out as...

COURT: I think for the purposes of the record that EYE is an ordinary EYE, E-Y-E.

MR JACOBS: And SAAWU is S-A-A-W-U. -- That is correct. (10)

Which you pronounce SAAWU. -- And MACWUSA or GUSA, because at one stage they were using the same official.

COURT: MACUSA is M-A-C-U-S-A? -- M-A-C-U-W-S-A. Motor Allied and Component Workers Union.

Yes? -- Of South Africa.

Or GUSA? -- Or GUSA, GUSA is the General....

How do you spell that? -- GUSA is G, I think it is G-W-, the last time I missed the W.

G-W-U-S-A. -- G-W-U-S-A.

Yes? -- And then what else. I can remember those as (20)  
I stand here now My Lord.

But there were other, other organisations? -- I think there were others because I remember. You see others were in this building next to the station there, other unions were occupying those offices. Now I might confuse these others that were there to be having in this, for being in this particular building. But there were other organisations in Pretoria, let me put it that way.

MR JACOBS: Is it also correct that any correspondence from the UDF was sent to that office of SAAWU and kept there? -- I (30)

am/...

am not sure were they really kept there, this correspondence.

And other documents of UDF that was ... -- I cannot say. I cannot say. I did not get to know exactly where they are keeping those documents.

But when you send documents to the Area Committee or UDF Pretoria you send it to that office? -- That is correct. But it was not a UDF office.

But it was used by UDF? -- UDF used to send the letters there. The Area Committee of the Pretoria area used to meet in that particular office. Now the reason why we sent (10) these things there it was because it was convenient. We knew that all organisations were meeting there. But it was not a UDF office.

COURT: Well let us put it this way, it was not a UDF office in the sense that the UDF paid the rental of the office but it was used as the address of the UDF in Pretoria? -- I think the UDF Pretoria did not have any office. It was used for organisations that were affiliates of the UDF in Pretoria.

I am not talking about an office, an address, postal address? -- No we would not write UDF Pretoria. (20)

Would you not write UDF care of so and so office, what building was it? Louis Pasteur Building? Pretoria? -- We will say Pretoria UDF Area Committee, Pretoria.

Just that? How would it reach them then? -- No we would write the building as well. I was just trying to give the general ...

Was it Louis Pasteur Building? -- I do not remember the name of the building. No, no, it is not Louis Pasteur. Louis Pasteur is up there. Well the last time when I said Prinsloo I should have said next to Prinsloo because it is not (30)

Louis/...

Louis Pasteur. I know Louis Pasteur where the Tote used to be before.

Yes. -- But now it has moved somewhere down here, it is corner of Prinsloo and something. I should have said corner Prinsloo and, I cannot remember that street now. It is three years I have been in here.

Very well. -- But it is next ..

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): Do the UDF organisations follow the Tote? -- No they have not been to the old Tote.

COURT: So there is no connection with the Tote? -- No there (10) is connection with the Tote now because the Tote is there where they are. But it is not in Louis Pasteur. I know Louis Pasteur where it is.

MR JACOBS: Mr Chikane can you tell the Court were you ever part or take part in planning any activities against Black Local Authorities? -- I do not understand the question. In what sense?

I ask you did you take part in planning any UDF activities against or in regard to Black Local Authorities? -- I know just before the election in Mamelodi I was part of the people (20) planned the protest, placard protest on that day of the election.

Is that all? -- That is all.

I would like you to have a look at EXHIBIT AM.3.

COURT: AM for Mary.

MR JACOBS: Yes AM for Mary, no. 3.

COURT: What is the admission in respect of this document?

MR JACOBS: It was in accused no. 21's possession, the witness' possession. Have you got it before you? -- I have got it before me.

(30)

This/....

This is in your handwriting? -- That is correct.

Now on page 1 there is sort of a history of your activities in the UDF? -- That is correct.

Now the first paragraph in that:

"I have been involved in planning of UDF activities around the Community Council election, Coloured and Indian elections."

-- That is correct.

Now you asked me what is the meaning of activities, can you tell the Court what are you referring to when you refer (10) to activities here? -- I was sitting in the REC of the United Democratic Front, I was sitting in the General Council of the, the Regional General Council of the United Democratic Front and I was sitting in the NEC, you know. Now when we opposed the Black Local Authorities we campaign for a boycott and we planned the campaign so that it should not fall out of the policy of the United Democratic Front. The same would apply to the Coloured and Indian elections. We planned what we were going to, what our, that is the structure of the democratic front, the General Council of the Transvaal for (20) instance planned what activities is UDF going to engage in on that particular day.

Now can you tell the Court which activities are you referring to, name them? -- I have already mentioned one that during the Black Local Authorities election in Mamelodi I participated in placard demonstrations, one of them. The same applied during the Coloured and Indian elections. People went to protest, placard demonstrations, there were protest meetings that were called and there were even suggestions that maybe letters need to be written to those participating or (30)

to/....

to candidates who were going to take part in these elections. But there were all kinds of protests that were planned to take place. Others were planned by the structure of the UDF, that is the General Council. Others were planned independent of the UDF possibly by the affiliated organisations.

I want to know those planned in which you had part in planning of the UDF activities? -- They should be appearing in the minutes. Out of hand I cannot, independent now I cannot remember all of them. I have mentioned those that I can remember. (10)

So must I understand that that planning was done in the UDF offices for the two campaigns, Community Council elections and Coloured and Indian elections? -- Boycott, protest meeting and so on was done by the General Council. In my memory serves me well, let me see, I think around, it should be EXHIBIT M.1, that makes mention of that. And the meetings of, as from July, in fact as from especially July of the General Council we would speak about exactly what has been planned.

So we must then understand that the planning is done (20) in the General Council and then they were carried over to the affiliated organisations? -- No the General Council is affiliated organisations. General Council of the UDF, I have explained several times that when we speak about the General Council, in fact when we speak about the UDF we speak about these organisations sitting together in one meeting. Now that one meeting is what we call the General Council. So there was no plan done by the UDF somewhere else and given to organisations somewhere else. That is not the case. When we speak about the General Council we speak about these organisations (30) sitting/....



sitting together under the banner of the United Democratic Front.

Now what did you plan in the UDF in connection with the Community Council elections and who carried out those plans?  
-- Organisations that participated in the General Council and they were affiliates of the UDF.

Yes? -- And they happened to be emanating from those areas where the elections were going to take place.

So ... -- For instance in Soweto we would expect the SCA to be able to campaign for boycott in that particular area.

The same applies for the Vaal? -- That is correct. (10)

You in the General Council planned activities to be taken in the Vaal and then it will be carried out by the people in the Vaal because they were members of the General Council? -- I am not quite sure because I know that, that is correct because the Vaal affiliated on 12 November. It was before the Black Local Authorities elections. Yes.

And after the election you also planned in the General Council activities in connection with Black Local Authorities and it was carried out by all the members, affiliated members who attended the General Council meetings? -- No, no. I said (20) after this campaign for boycott we could not, we were trying to organise a meeting of these organisations countrywide where we would be able to come up with some kind of a programme. We did not have a campaign.

But were you planning activities in regard to Black Local Authorities? -- No there was no planning.

Now after .... -- We expected, our plan was to try to get these organisations together.

After the election did you try and plan activities to get councillors to resign? -- No, I know that those things (30)  
came/....

came up from time to time. We did ask them to resign, we did ask people to go, we did think of an idea of getting people to collect signatures in wards and demanding those people to resign if we get more signatures because we would say we have much more support. But we did not plan. But the idea that came in the General Council from time to time.

Is it not so that meetings, mass meetings were planned in the different townships by the different affiliates of the UDF and it was reported to UDF at the General Council and it was discussed and part of a planning? -- No. I know that (10) organisations independent of the UDF at times organised meetings and at time invited UDF speakers to come and speak in that meeting. And some of them when they wrote reports they will tell us exactly what they have been doing. That is correct, but that was not planned in the UDF.

But is it not part of the co-ordination and planning done in the General Council of the UDF? -- It is, maybe possibly part of the co-ordination in the sense that information is co-ordinated. These organisations are sitting together. But it has nothing to do with planning. If it is co-ordina- (20) tion at all it is just that information is co-ordinated, everybody else gets to know what is happening in different areas because different organisations in different areas report in this very same meeting.

Now did UDF in the Transvaal region where you were a member first take up the issue of getting the councillors to resign? -- From time to time we thought that we should ask them to resign. That is the reason why that included that campaign of collection of, I mean that idea of collection of signatures by wards. It was not a campaign but it was just an (30) idea that we should go maybe idea/...

idea that we should go maybe into particular wards and collect signatures. If we get more signatures tell the representative of that particular ward, the councillor, to resign.

That is only the signature campaign in regard to Black Local Authorities but did you otherwise take up the issue in the UDF Transvaal to have councillors to resign? -- As I say sporadically but it was not a co-ordinated programme. We only asked them to resign.

Did you attend any of the big UDF meetings like the (10) UDF Rally, One Year Rally? -- That is correct I was there in the One Year.

Did you attend any other big meetings of the UDF? Held by the UDF? -- I think I attended one meeting in Lenz, which is Lenasia.

Which meeting is that? -- I do not remember but it should have been somewhere at the beginning of 1984. It was a protest meeting.

Protest meeting against what? -- The new constitution.

Now Mr Chikane did the speakers on the meetings that (20) you attended link up the Black Local Authorities with the constitution? -- I have already explained that in fact these things were linked you know, not only linked by speakers. I said in 1982 in the congress of the Nationalist Party the then Prime Minister said, you know, urban residents for their political representation has to be linked - I am not quoting him verbatim - has got to be linked with the homelands. So there was a link independent of what the speakers were saying there.

And at the meetings did the speakers speak out against (30)  
councillors/....

councillors and Black Local Authorities? -- As I stand here I cannot remember what every speaker said at that meeting.

No I asked you in general. Did they speak up against Black Local Authorities and councillors? -- As I say now, unless if I am shown a document really I cannot remember what happened at the beginning of 1984. We are in 1987, almost towards the end of 1987. I honestly do not remember whether they spoke particularly about the councillors.

Can you remember whether any of the speakers spoke out and blamed the Black Local Authorities for rent increases, (10) puppets and that they must resign on the meetings? -- I think in several meetings some of, even organised by independent affiliate organisations, some independent organisation outside the UDF that was a common talk. That they are puppets.

At the meetings, that they are puppets and they must resign? -- That is correct. That is in the meetings organised by affiliates of the UDF and even in the meetings that were organised by independent organisations from the UDF. People, they used to call them puppets and they said they must be asked to resign. (20)

Now Mr Chikane can we go back to your report here.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): AM.3 now?

MR JACOBS: Yes.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): May I just enquire Mr Jacobs, AM.3 has no equivalent in the AAB series has it? Because the documents found in possession of accused no. 21 and the other accused are in one volume. Mr Chikane can you remember?

MR JACOBS: No sir it is not, I suppose this one ... -- I cannot remember. Where each document was found really. I have already told His Lordship I think some days ago that (30)

several/....

several documents were taken from my place in different times.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): We have not referred to this particular document before? -- Not as far as I can remember, not AM.3.

MR JACOBS: No there is not other equivalent document. It seems that this is the only one that has been. Now the second paragraph:

"I am involved with the Executive which take policy decisions and sanction orders, ideas, that came from affiliates but stop short of planning programmes."

What is meant by this Mr Chikane? -- This is clear. What (10) I meant is that for instance affiliates, this structure that I am involved in is a policy decision making structure, the REC you know, and sanctions ideas. Let us say an organisation comes up with an idea. We have got to check whether it is within the policy of the UDF or not. If it is, it falls outside the policy of the UDF it will be rejected. And again I said I made it very clear, we do not plan programmes for the affiliates.

But what is "sanction ideas", what do you mean by that? -- You see an affiliate, let me try to think about an (20) appropriate example. Someone has come in the UDF General Council and says let us try to organise a defiance campaign, get into the Blue Train. We look at the idea and then we feel that if that idea is not going to win the United Democratic Front a lot of support and then we put it to the General Council, there is a debate. Ultimately maybe, and I am giving this as an example, if the majority of people favour on the idea it is still our responsibility to say in as far as our policy is concerned we can go this far with a campaign and if it involves let us say someone else says if they hit us we (30)

hit/....

hit them back. It will be the responsibility of the Executive to say look we are a non-violent organisation, that would fall outside the policy.

COURT: Now could I just have clarity. This seems to be notes for a speech by yourself, is that correct? -- Something like that although I cannot remember exactly where this was delivered or ...

Well when were these made? -- I cannot really remember as I stand here. I have seen this document before. I looked at it but I could not really place it, the time or the kind (10) of meeting where it was presented.

Well we know it is after the UDF Northern Transvaal Rally, that we know. Yes thank you. -- That should be August then, around August, November. Because the Northern Transvaal Rally was on 5 August 1984.

MR JACOBS: Mr Chikane in the next paragraph you say:

"I have been involved with organisation of rural areas for example the Northern Transvaal Rally."

Now tell the Court in which other rural areas were you organising for UDF? -- You see Northern Transvaal for instance (20) is big. If we talk about Northern Transvaal we talk about areas like Pietersburg, we talk about areas like Tzaneen, I have already mentioned the organisations that come from Tzaneen, we talk about areas like Zebediela, we talk about areas like Potgietersrus, Ga-Matlala, Gamolepo, it is quite a big area and all those are rural areas, you know.

So did you go down to all those areas mentioned now by you and organise for UDF in that area? -- I certainly went to for instance Seshego, I went to Mankweng ...

Just, the first one what is the name? It is? -- (30)

Seshego./...

Seshego.

Seshego? -- Yes, for the rally, where the rally was organised.

And did you go down there for the purpose to address?

-- No, the rally was there.

Or to attend the rally? -- That is correct, to pay for, no not to, to pay and make arrangements for the rally and later I was there to pay the buses and so on.

Yes, but what did you do in organising in the district of Seshego except for the rally? -- I spoke to people. (10)

What people? -- Those who were sympathetic to the UDF. I have already mentioned people who were supportive of this structure.

How did you meet the people, how did you get to the people, how do you know about them? -- This structure organised a meeting, for instance in May 1984 I spoke to them.

Is that at Seshego? -- No.

Well what ... -- Seshego I talked about the rally.

No, that is why I asked you was it only to attend the rally that you visited Seshego? -- That is correct. (20)

So you did not do other organising work in Seshego except for the rally? -- That is correct, if that is what counsel means that is correct. I went there to organise for the rally. And I paid for the buses that brought people in that particular stay, at the rally.

So you did no other organising for the UDF in Seshego? -- No, I did not do house to house work, I did not do anything else.

Yes, that is Seshego, which other place? -- I have already spoken about Mankweng. (30)

Mankweng./....

Mankweng. -- I spoke to, yes.

COURT: Did you do house to house work in Mankweng? -- No but I spoke to members of this committee that was called Area Committee, Rally Committee, Co-Ordinating Committee.

MR JACOBS: Is that all the organising you did in Mankweng? -- In Mankweng, yes, because I was talking to those people and I was talking to those people participating in that particular meeting to understand what UDF is. This is what I mean here in this document. And then I spoke to that meeting on 3 February 1985 where organisations were repre- (10) sented from even much more wider areas. I think they had organisations from as far as Thabazimbi. Steelpoort, and so on and that part of the country, and I spoke about the UDF in that meeting, that was organising for the UDF.

Yes.

COURT: That was at? -- The workshop.

At Mankweng? -- No at Krans something, the Lutheran church now.

How far is that now from Mankweng or from Seshego or from Pietersburg? Where is that situated? -- I thought, my (20) estimate may be wrong but it is about three kilometres east of Turfloop.

But that is in Mankweng then? Is it not? -- No Mankweng is just, Mankweng is where the lecturers in fact, and the workers of the University of Turfloop stay. That is just one vicinity of Turfloop, Mankweng, that is the location just there.

So Kransenstein is beyond Turfloop to the east? -- Ja, it is to the east.

Beyond Mankweng as well? -- Ja Mankweng and Turfloop (30)

is/....



is one area. It is like, how can I put it ...

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): But is the residential area not separated from the lecturing facilities? -- I think some of the people who are working for, maybe administrative staff, stay in Mankweng. Turfloop is like, for instance if you see Wits and Braamfontein, that is a residential area of people who work in Turfloop, most of them.

COURT: Do the lecturers at Wits live in Braamfontein? -- Maybe I gave a bad example but I think some of them should be living in Braamfontein. But what I am trying to say is (10) something of that nature, that workers and so on, plus, some of the lecturers yes, they are staying in Mankweng in fact. Now I am not sure whether some of the lecturers of Wits stay in Braamfontein but that is the kind of set up that I was trying to depict.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): I have this difficulty Mr Chikane that I did go there on an occasion to have a look, just to have a look around and I went into Turfloop. So I have an impression that there is a sort of a residential area towards the west of the University complex and you are talking about Kransen-(20) stein to the east of it? -- That is correct, Karnsfontein is a different place.

And would Mankweng would be to the west of ... -- No Mankweng is that vicinity, you see as you go into Turfloop you pass some houses. Now those houses that are outside the University schoolyard are called Mankweng.

But they are more to the Pietersburg side of Turfloop is it not? -- Ja, Mankweng is, they are built on the western...

That would be on the western side? -- That is western side of Pietersburg, that is correct. Near, towards Pietersburg.(30)

Now/....

Now Kransenstein is east, east of Pietersburg. Now I estimate it about three kilometres.

MR JACOBS: Yes that is two places, you referred to Seshego and Mankweng? -- Now we are speaking about this Kransen something.

But ... -- At the Lutheran Church on 3 February 1985 I spoke to participants in that workshop, and I told them what UDF is all about, the history of the UDF. I was trying to organise them for the UDF and this is what is meant by this paper. (10)

It is only the three places? -- I can think of that. I can think of that as I stand here.

COURT: That is now the organisation of the rural areas? -- Yes that is correct.

MR JACOBS: You did not organise in any other places Mr ... -- No, I do not remember any other place.

Mr Chikane while we are at this I would refresh your memory that in AAS.2, that is the admissions, it was admitted in Schedule 1 of EXHIBIT AAS.2, point 18, that Mankweng Youth Congress, that is MAYCO, was affiliated to the UDF in August(20) 1984. -- August 1984. No, that may be so but, maybe I do not remember. As I say I was not working in the office. That is possible.

Yes and in the same document, item 29, it was also admitted that Mankweng Civic Association, MACA, in August 1984 affiliated to the UDF? -- As I say that may be so. I have never seen an updated list from that time. It is possible.

Now can you explain to the Court Mr Chikane, you as a person responsible for organising in the Northern Transvaal did not know or cannot remember that these two organisations(30) were/...

were affiliated to the UDF? -- You see in August for instance I was detained and I have already told His Lordship that the office was not functioning properly. Let me say ...

Which office? Just get clarity? -- The UDF office in fact. The Transvaal office and the national office, because of the detentions that took place at that particular time. The office was just not working properly. Let us say an organisation in the Northern Transvaal writes a letter of affiliating to the office. The letter arrives there and then we find the Administrative Secretary or the Secretary, and because of (10) the problems that existed he does not update the list of affiliates, or if he does he does not bring it to my attention. I would not be able to know that.

Yes but when you visited those areas you visited them again after your arrest in August, then I am sure Mr, and you were interested in organising for UDF and getting people to affiliate to UDF. Then you must have known and must have found out from them that they were affiliated to the UDF? -- That could have been an oversight because when you go to an area you go with a particular purpose, and as far as I (20) know as from that time I think we can refer to EXHIBIT S.20, it is handwritten notes. It is the meeting of 7 February 1985. Now the issue at that particular stage was the question of a region in the Northern Transvaal, people were really pushing me on the question of persuading the Executive to recognise them as a region, as an independent region. So I might have gone there to speak about the region without even getting to ask how many have affiliated to the UDF Transvaal, Southern Transvaal, for instance.

Just show us where you are referring to S.20, what you (30) are/....

are referring to Mr Chikane?

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): Whose handwriting is this Mr Chikane? It is not yours? -- No it is not mine. It must have been my co-secretary's. I am just guessing, I am not sure.

S.20 you said? -- S.20.

That is the very last one. -- That is correct. If you look at point 5 it is Moss, and then it is Pietersburg visit. Then it is "they want to be a region", and "affiliates" I think it is either "represented" or it is "separated", I cannot read this. (10)

MR JACOBS: Now to which affiliates are you referring to here, in your report here?

COURT ADJOURNS FOR TEA. COURT RESUMES.

MOSES MABOKELA CHIKANE: d.s.s.

FURTHER CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR JACOBS: Mr Chikane before the adjournment I asked you to explain ...

COURT: Did we determine S.20 what the admission is in respect thereof?

MR JACOBS: Not yet sir.

MR TIP: It was found with I. Mahomed in Johannesburg. (20)

MR JACOBS: And for the record purposes it is an REC meeting held at 7/2/85? -- That is correct.

According to the right-hand top side note there? -- That is correct.

And that is the minutes of that meeting? -- That is correct.

Now can you explain to, in regard to this Pietersburg visit of yours what did you convey to the meeting about the affiliates in the Northern Transvaal here? -- Although I cannot remember everything that happened but I knew that at that particular/... (30)

particular stage the people in the Northern Transvaal were, wanted to set up an independent region from the Transvaal region that we had and they wanted us to change the name of the Transvaal region to be a Southern Transvaal region so that they can be a Northern Transvaal region.

And the people, when you speak about the people do you mean the affiliated organisations? -- I am talking about those affiliated organisations that I have mentioned and I am talking about people who were sympathetic to the United Democratic Front. (10)

Because did you not refer to the affiliates in the Northern Transvaal here? -- That is correct. I say now that I am talking about those affiliates that I have mentioned and I am talking about even those organisations that were sympathetic to the United Democratic Front, those who were feeling that if a region is formed in the Northern Transvaal they will affiliate to it.

Now Mr Chikane you reported something about "still in sheds after it has burnt in 1976" in this same report of yours. To what did you refer to here? (20)

COURT: Now just a moment, which is his same report?

MR JACOBS: That is in S.20, in paragraph 5 of S.20. -- Oh this is, if you look at the word underlined, it is Ga-Matlala.

Ga-Matlala, spell it please? -- Yes it is H-a-m-a-t-l-a-l-a. Hamatlala, that is how it is spelt here but other people use, instead of H they use G, it becomes Ga-Matlala.

What is the meaning of Hamatlala? -- It is an area. In fact this is the area where I grew up. That is where my mother comes from.

Where is that? -- It is in the north, no east of (30)

Pietersburg/....

Pietersburg I think.

In the Northern Transvaal? -- In the Northern Transvaal.  
COURT: Is that now beyond Turfloop then? -- No that is, Turfloop is on the eastern side of Pietersburg. No this is south, I mean west.

Yes I thought you did not ... -- Western side, I am sorry.  
... know where the sun rises. West of Pietersburg? -- That is correct My Lord, I have been in jail for such a long time.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): Mr Chikane can you make out the word (10) after the word "Hamatlala"? -- No this one I cannot read. I can start from ...

Yes N something, Pastor, Moss or and then 1976 is clear.  
-- Yes. And even, I can read this is after or often and then this other word I cannot read and then....

COURT: The first word is "people", "People still in sheds".

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): In sheds?

COURT: In sheds, "after homes built 1976", "houses built 1976". It looks like that.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): Probably. -- I think it should have (20) been "burnt", unless it is ...

COURT: "Burnt". -- Yes. In fact one of the people who was affected by this was my grandfather.

But now why were homes burnt in 1976? -- At that particular stage they were relocating people, they were not really moving them but they were trying to settle them in a particular order where you will have streets and so on, although that place is rural areas and some people were using that move because it included reducing the land, the land, the fields that they used to plough, and it is those who (30)  
resisted/....

resisted, the houses were burned and their cattle, some of them, there was this thing of limiting numbers of cattle in rural areas and other people did not co-operate with that and as a result the cattle were confiscated.

MR JACOBS: Now why did you bring up this in this meeting Mr Chikane? Was it so that this can be taken up as an issue in the Northern Transvaal? -- No. At times when I report I give general information of what happened in an area.

Yes but why was this then necessary? -- It was. I visited this area. As I say my grandparents from maternal (10) side live in that area.

But what was the importance of this, why must it be reported then and for what purpose? -- Well I tell UDF that some of our people are struggling in this area, this is what happened. When I visited this area this is what happened, it is information.

Is it information in regard to removals, as an issue? -- I said the houses were burnt in 1976. I did not mention removals here.

And the sheds, and they are still in the sheds? -- That (20) is correct. After the houses were burnt. In fact until, because I went again in March, on the 8th, they were still living in sheds.

At any stage did you encourage the people in the Northern Transvaal to take that up as an issue against removals? -- No I did not speak about removals here.

At any stage? -- No.

Can we go back to EXHIBIT AM.3. -- Maybe before we go back I just wanted to highlight the fact that each time I visited especially the area of the Northern Transvaal the (30) purpose/....

purpose of the visit either would be noted before or thereafter and it would be made clear precisely why did I go there. For instance if you check S.7, point 8.

S.7. -- S.7. Under the heading, sub-heading "Northern Transvaal".

Just for the record before you refer to that S.7 is Minutes of a Regional Executive committee meeting held on 14 June 1984. -- That could be so. My copy here does not have dates.

And it was found in the possession of Professor I. (10)  
Mahomed in Johannesburg. -- That is correct.

Yes, and you are referring to the paragraph (a)? -- Yes under the sub-heading "Northern Transvaal".

Yes and what do you want .. -- It reads:

"M. Chikane and M. Valli would work in the Northern Transvaal for three days in order to assist in preparation of the Rally scheduled for the 5th of August 1984. It was also decided that the TIC and the Anti-PC be consulted on the work that must be done in the Indian and Coloured areas." (20)

Now I say in most cases when I go I go there for a specific purpose and when I come back I give a report about that specific purpose. Now I am trying to explain why I could miss some of the issues, I could miss exactly whether this organisation has written a letter to the office or whether something else has happened, you know, because I would have gone for a specific purpose in that area. I leave it there.

Yes, what work was to be done by you in the Indian areas and Coloured areas? -- No, I think counsel did not understand the paragraph. They said TIC and Anti-PC has got (30)

to/....



to be consulted to do work in those areas for the Rally. They did not say I was going to do the work in those areas.

Is it not the other way around Mr Chikane? "It was also decided that the TIC and Anti-PC committee be consulted on work that can be done" -- Yes.

Now ... -- Can be done.

Yes what work? -- We were trying to get people to get to the Rally, the Rally, that Northern Transvaal Rally on 5 August 1984. Now we were saying all these organisations can work in those areas, Indian and Coloured areas, to get people(10) to come to that Rally.

Now go back to EXHIBIT AM.3 Mr Chikane, the next paragraph:

"I have been co-ordinating activities on UDF Transvaal and national by virtue of me being NEC member."

Now what co-ordinating have you personally done that, and to which co-ordinating are you referring to here? -- The word should have been "virtue", "by virtue of me being a member of the NEC". We called for a boycott of the BLA for example and we arranged meetings, protest meetings, placard demonstrations and so on. The same would apply to the Tricameral elections. We arranged protest meetings, placard demonstrations and even people went to those, to monitor some of the polls. (20)

And also mass meetings arranged and so on? -- Yes when I say protest meetings in fact I mean mass meetings.

And also do you arrange and co-ordinate door to door visits, house meetings? -- No, those would have been done by the organisations that are operating in different areas.

Now the next part is:

(30)

"Overall/....

"Overall objective. To mobilise people against the constitution and attempt to educate them about the future society which is often described as a non-racial democracy (or democratic)."

Is this also, when you refer to overall objectives, part of a report of what you were doing and conveying the overall objective to the people? -- That is correct, we wanted a non-racial democracy to prevail in this country.

And that you conveyed to them and even in the Northern Transvaal to mobilise the people against the constitution? (10)  
-- I do not understand what counsel is saying now.

Well did you convey to the people in the Northern Transvaal that they must mobilise the people against the constitution?

C.988 -- We said the constitution embodies apartheid and we reject it because it is based on apartheid and ours, what we expect, what we hope to achieve it is a non-racial democratic South Africa.

Yes. -- And I do not know whether I addressed myself to this point in the Northern Transvaal per se.

That is the ultimate object, was to mobilise the people(20) against the constitution. Did you convey that message to the people? -- That is correct, when I was addressing the question of why UDF was formed, the history of the UDF. I explained that.

And also to educate them about the future? That that means to politicise them? -- The future society, yes. Counsel can call it politicise, that is correct because we are putting our point of view across. Other people were saying those people must accept that now they are Lebowa citizens and that was politicisation as well, and they have got nothing to (30)

do/....

do with White South Africa.

Now on the next page, on page 2, "Specific". What is meant here by "Specific" Mr Chikane? -- Specific Objectives, not specific alone. Now ...

COURT: Well counsel is referring to the second page, not the specific on the first page. -- Oh I see. It should have been "specifically". I do not know whether it was I have misspelt it this way or maybe when it was photostatted something happened. I do not know. But it should have been specifically. I was trying to talk about, if you look immediately after that what I did specifically. (10)

Is that in regard to UDF? -- That is correct.

Now what have you done in order to enhance the growth of the organisation, except for the organisation organising in Northern Transvaal? -- I have spoken to people here in Pretoria.

Where? In house to house meetings or where? -- No. I addressed a meeting of organisations that is around here in Pretoria, affiliates and non-affiliates. The meeting that we had referred to earlier under C.44 and I had for instance participated in, attended the workshop for instance in (20) Soweto, the Area Committee not the workshop, the Area Committee in Soweto.

You attended the Area Committee ... -- The meeting of the Area Committee.

Only once or more than once? -- Twice, I said twice. That is as far as I can remember.

For what purpose did you visit the Area Committee in Soweto twice? -- I went once to speak to them about when they were discussing the question of that Nobel Peace Prize and I think I went again to speak to them, there was an issue (30) that/...

that I had to talk to them about.

But what did you .... -- I cannot remember now.

What did you speak to, about what did you speak in order to have the growth of the organisation enhanced? -- All my activities as a member of the Regional Executive was to try to work towards the growth of the UDF. So all in all all I did was an attempt to achieve this goal. All my work.

And the next point there Mr Chikane:

"I have used CRIC resources for UDF."

That is a car, petrol and your salary came from CRIC, (10)

"Whilst I worked for UDF."

According to this statement of yours here in this document it seems that, as if you were much more active in the UDF than you try to convey to this Court? -- No that is incorrect. As far as this statement goes it is just that I was doing UDF work some time, of course sometimes it is not mentioned but I was paid by this organisation. I am sure I should have been explaining to people who understand that I was working for a different organisation.

COURT: Well actually you say "My salary came from CRIC whilst (20 I worked for UDF". -- That is correct.

So that would imply that most of your time was spent for UDF although CRIC paid your salary? -- If that is, I can see that but I think then it would be incorrect because I was working for CRIC and I used to work for the UDF. Maybe I did not articulate it clear here when I wrote it.

Was CRIC affiliated to the UDF? -- It was regarded as an affiliate until the UDF Transvaal took the decision that all service organisations cannot be regarded as members.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): That all what organisations? -- (30)

Service/....

Service organisations, together with newspapers.

COURT: I think that was in August 1984, approximately. July-August 1984. -- Around that time.

I think so. So up to that time they were affiliated? -- It was regarded as an affiliate, yes.

Well not regarded, it was affiliated? -- Yes it was sending people to the General Council.

MR JACOBS: Mr Chikane the next paragraph "Immediate Objectives". What do you mean by "Immediate Objectives" and under that you have got "mobilisation". -- That is correct. Most(10) probably it is that at that particular time we wanted to mobilise people maybe against one specific issue. What I cannot say, I cannot remember exactly what this paper was intended to ...

Is this not stating the immediate objectives of the UDF? -- That is correct.

So what were the immediate ... -- No, I would not say the UDF necessarily because all I am saying is that, you know what is written is immediate objectives, mobilisation. I could have spoken to an organisation and I am saying the (20) immediate objective is to mobilise.

And mobilise what? -- People.

All the Black people? -- No it is not written what type of people here.

Yes but I am asking you, that is why I am asking you Mr Chikane? -- If it was a non-racial gathering I could have said mobilise people, meaning all those who were participating in that particular meeting. If it was a meeting of African people only I would have mobilise people, meaning those particular people in their particular sector. (30)

And/...

And that means it is a mobilisation of the people, not being in the executive of the organisation itself but it is the ordinary people in the streets? In the townships? -- Well mobilising, when we talk about people we talk, it is all inclusive, you know. When you mobilise you talk about mobilising, let us say we mobilise people against the constitution, we speak to all those people not to support that particular constitution, you know. It is mobilisation of people against constitution, that constitution.

So, and the same applies for when the issue is Black Local Authorities, to mobilise against Black Local Authorities? -- That is correct. We say boycott the elections, do not support them. We mobilise them against the Black Local Authorities. (10)

And if it is against conscription then you mobilise the people against conscription? -- Whatever issue but I do not remember saying mobilise people against conscription.

And is it on a national basis? -- What?

The mobilisation? -- Unless if I know under what counsel interprets these two words, I would not be able to answer that question. (20)

Mr Chikane .. -- If you say it is national, unless if you say when you were mobilising against this particular thing was it national I would understand. But here we only have one word, it is mobilisation. You say was it national. I cannot answer you because I do not know what we were mobilising against here.

Mr Chikane I am not giving evidence. I am asking you because you are the person who wrote this document. I am trying to find out from you what you were meaning by it. (30)

So/....

So I am asking you where you referred to an immediate objective and you have said it is an objective of UDF was the mobilisation an objective, the immediate objective of the UDF mobilisation on a national basis? -- Mobilisation against the constitution because of apartheid, that it embodies apartheid was mentioned.

And what was the objective after you succeeded in mobilisation of the people? This was an immediate objective, and when you achieved that what was the UDF objective after the mobilisation? -- What is written here in this document, (10) page 2 of AM.3 is "Immediate Objective", political education and ideological, this is what is written here in this paper.

Is it not so Mr Chikane that the two of them were going together? At the same time you were mobilising the people, and at the same time also politicising the people, that is political education? They were going at the same time? -- Well I said here immediate, that is our medium, I talked about the immediate and I am talking about the medium. My understanding is that after that, after we have said people must not support the new constitution because it embodies apartheid then (20) we must be able to educate them, to show them what is wrong with apartheid, you know, and to do so we would be giving them a non-racial ideology, to convince them that South Africans can live together regardless of colour. It would be an ideological war against those who were saying South Africans cannot live together, Black and White. So it would be ideological in that sense.

And is it correct Mr Chikane what you stated here about the medium objective, about the, and about the immediate objective, and that is what you conveyed to the people when(30) you/....

you organised for UDF? -- No, I do not think I went around saying this is the medium, this is immediate and so on. I might have just spoken about this question in this particular, when I drafted this paper or maybe I might have just spoken in one meeting. I do not go around every time as if I am a programme for a computer.

Mr Chikane I would like you to have a look at this document.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): Are you going away from AM3 now?

MR JACOBS: Yes sir. (10)

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): Mr Chikane page 6 please. -- Page 6.

Just by way of interest the first two pages seem to apply to the UDF, do you agree? -- From page 6?

No, no the first two pages that we have dealt with now. They seem to apply to the UDF? -- The first two pages?

Yes. -- That is AM.3 the first two pages?

Yes. -- I might have spoken about the UDF but they apply to me, I think I was speaking about myself.

To yourself. -- In relation to the UDF.

With a sort of a profile for Mr Chikane and then also (20) something about the UDF? -- About the UDF.

Right, and then at page 3 is headed "Review". -- That is correct.

And then you also are dealing with general matters? -- That is correct.

COURT: Well possibly it is a review of what CRIC did. -- Yes from the look of things.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): Yes I am sorry, no that is quite correct. We have not got a page 5 just by the way. -- I have not got it either. (30)

Right./....



Right. And then on page 6 you are still dealing with CRIC here, and this is definitely CRIC, and you discuss, you make an assessment at first and you say that "there is a need to know what is taking place in organisation around us". That is now around CRIC? -- Yes as a service organisation.

Right. "And the need to be part to those discussion and the liberation as to get to know the feeling of people generally." -- That is correct.

Right? -- Yes.

Then in the second paragraph you talk about planning (10) priorities and the last part says:

"CRIC's role as to enable the progressives to overcome some of their shortcomings."

-- Under priorities?

Yes. Plannign priorities you say:

"The goals of the progressive movement."

In the first part of the paragraph. -- That is correct, I have got it.

And then "CRIC's role (it most probably is "is" but the word is "as") CRIC's role as to enable the progressives (20) to overcome of their shortcomings." -- That is correct.

And then under that again:

"Knowledge of the general plan and what it is aimed to achieve."

What plan are we talking about here? -- I am sure I was talking about the plan of CRIC as a resource organisation. I had already told His Lordship that we used to do research for the trade unions for instance, you know, and the information was used to, in negotiations with employers. Now most probably I was saying if you know about, you know if you (30)

have/....

have the general information about the organisations, you know about the feelings of the people that would be able to help you to have a general plan of what you as CRIC can do.

The next paragraph you deal with priorities and you have three ideas. Here the first is:

"Felt need of the people".

-- That is correct.

Do you mean to convey that the need the people experienced is to be taken cognisance of? -- Peoples experience, that is correct, if you work in the service organisation that is (10) very important.

Right. That is understandable. And then:

"The need of the organisations".

-- That is correct.

What organisations are we dealing with now? Still the progressive organisations? -- That is correct, it could be trade unions, it could be civic organisations, it could be student organisations, it could be anything.

Now the next idea under priorities is:

"Plans as seen by organisations and as seen by the (20) membership."

You have enlightened us about the organisations, what about the membership? What membership are we talking about? -- In organisations people do not have a, do not always people have the same views on maybe a particular issue. At times we find that an organisation has got this particular view on a point but some individuals within that organisation has got a different view. I can give an example for instance of Dr Connie Mulder, you know. He was a member of the Nationalist Party but I think at some stage although the party had a (30)

definite/....

definite view and definite plan of where it is going he had different views but he was still a member of an organisation. Now when I speak about, I am talking about views of individuals within a particular organisation.

So the membership that we are talking about here is the membership of the organisations? -- That is correct.

Not CRIC's membership? -- No.

Thank you. And then you have a paragraph with the heading "UDF - What was Implemented". -- That is correct.

You have got a boycott campaign first and then mass mobilisation. -- That is correct. (10)

And then a note which reads as follows:

"Little education as to how do we get to the stage of a movement."

-- That is correct.

What are you referring to here? -- Somewhere else I mentioned a progressive movement and my understanding of progressive movement is that all the anti-apartheid organisations in this country together they become a progressive movement. (20)

That would now be all the organisations? -- All the organisations.

Not the UDF affiliates only ... -- Not the UDF alone you know, I am talking about for instance organisations like FOSATU which was not an affiliate at that stage, I am talking about even organisations like Black Consciousness organisations which were not affiliates of the UDF, I am talking about CUSA, I am talking about NAFSOC.

What about CRIC? -- CRIC is a service organisation so it could not affiliate. (30)

Yes/....

Yes I appreciate that, it could not affiliate afterwards but the term that you use here is "how to we get to the stage of a movement". -- You see although ...

What is included in the concept of "we"? -- Oh "we". There is this tendency of how especially most people, and I am one of them, often say "we do this", "we do that". I refer to I and those who share the same views with me. Now I am saying we have moved from this stage, not that it was an organised by myself and somebody else. It is just a way of speaking. (10)

COURT: Was CRIC a democratic organisation? -- In my view.

Why do you say that? -- Because CRIC was, the process of decision taking in CRIC everybody has participated.

Now who were in the decision making body? -- We were all taking decisions.

Who were "we"? -- At that stage it was myself, Auret van Heerden, Jill Welbeloved ...

Jill? -- Jill Welbeloved. That is how it is spelt.

Welbeloved? -- That is correct.

Yes? -- Avril Joffe. (20)

Yes? -- Ja.

Was that the democratic decision making body of CRIC? -- Yes we were all workers and we were all taking decisions, participating in decision making.

So was that the boss of CRIC, you, Auret van Heerden, Jill Welbeloved and Avril Joffe? -- We were not really, we were workers of CRIC so to say but you see we shared responsibilities ...

But who was the boss of CRIC? -- Auret was co-ordinating but co-ordination did not mean that he just programmed everybody/.... (30)

everybody else without consultation with that person. That is why I say it was a democratic movement.

Now where did CRIC get its money from? -- At, we used to ask organisations to pay but we used to even get money from the church, donations from churches and so on. Here and abroad.

Yes thank you.

MR JACOBS: I would like you to have a look at this document.

It is a press statement dated 9/11/84. That is the original one I am giving to you, in your possession. It is on (10) resignation of councillors. Now this is a press statement, do you identify it?

COURT: Are we going to have a copy?

MR JACOBS: Yes sir I just want to see if he can identify it and then I will hand in copies. A statement issued by you Mr Chikane, do you identify it? -- That is correct.

COURT: Will this go in?

MR JACOBS: As EXHIBIT CA.17.

COURT: Just a moment let me just check. When last did you hand in a CA. (20)

MR JACOBS: 29 September. Can I have that one back, you can hand it over to the Registrar and then I will give you a copy. Edele met u verlof kan ek die oorspronklike wat op, die een wat in ons besit gekom het net vir u Registrateur, die klerk gee dat hy dit nou net by die ander ...

COURT: Well this will go in then as CA.17. The heading is "Press Statement 1984/11/09".

MR JACOBS: Now I will read it into the record Mr Chikane:

"Resignation of Councillors"

That is the heading. (30)

COURT: /....

COURT: "Resignation of the councillors".

MR JACOBS: "The UDF stands by its earlier position that the Tricameral Parliament and the Koornhof Bills which gave birth to the Town Councils are not acceptable to our people. They only serve to enhance apartheid rather than eradicating it. Low percentage poll is a pointer to this rejection. Harrassment of the residents organisations and the community at large has escalated violence meted by the police to our people, as also escalated. People in the Council structures are seen as cannon (10) fodders of apartheid, therefore responsible for the high rents and electricity bills and high water bills. We reiterate our position that these people have to resign their posts in these structures and join hands with the people to find acceptable methods to handle these problems that has led to the deepening crisis in the locations. We cannot hail the move of the eleven because of the reasons they advanced for their resignation, lack of protection from the government."

And then your name, M. Chikane, appears at the bottom of it?(20)

-- That is correct.

Now this was a press release issued by you yourself to the press? -- That is correct.

Now Mr Chikane can you tell the Court to which councillors were you referring when you issued this press release? -- As I stand here I cannot remember. Most probably maybe a journalist phoned and told me that so many councillors have resigned, what do you say about that and I made this comment.

Well can you ... -- It was on 9/11/84.

Now the second last paragraph of this press release: (30)

"We/....

"We reiterate our position that these people have to resign their posts in these structures and join hands with the people to find acceptable methods to handle these problems that has led to the deepening crisis in the locations."

Is it correct Mr Chikane that you restate the policy of the UDF in this paragraph? -- That is correct.

And that was the policy that the councillors had to resign their posts and join the people? -- No, here the statement says we reiterate our position that these people(10) have to resign their posts in these structures and join hands with the people to find an acceptable method to handle these problems that has led to the deepening crisis in our locations. Now this shows that the UDF in fact the intention was that a solution has got to be found, you know the crisis has got to be addressed. Everybody has got to join hands, including those people who were in the council structures, that is correct.

But the policy of the UDF that you said that was restated in this paragraph is that you restated your position(20) in the UDF that these people, referring to the councillors, have to resign their post, that was ... -- That is correct, they have to resign their post and join hands.

And that was the policy of the UDF, to achieve the resignation of councillors on 9 October, 9 November 1984? -- It was a call by the UDF that councillors have got to resign those unacceptable posts and to come join hands with everybody else so that we can find an acceptable solution or method to handle this problem that we are facing in the ghetto. Now that was a call that these people must resign, those (30) structures/....

structures are unacceptable.

And I put it to you it was part of the policy of the UDF and a continuation of the campaign against Black Local Authorities? -- I have said after the Black Local Authorities we did not have any campaign but we called those people to resign from those structures. So that an acceptable solution can be found, and the deepening crisis can be addressed.

COURT: What did you mean by cannon, c-o-n-n-o-n, forders, f-o-r-d-e-r-s, of apartheid? The middle of the statement.

-- The middle paragraph? (10)

Yes. -- It should have been cannons of apartheid.

Cannon forders? -- Cannon forders of apartheid, yes.

And what does that mean? -- Some structures are made for us in the ghetto that are not used in towns. In towns you do not have the Pretoria City Council having no budget, having now powers to buy land, you know. These people are put in a position where in these structures that have got no power and each time you go to them, each time you try to go to the higher authority they say no speak to your councillor there if you want a house. If you go to those people, those people(20) have got no houses, they have got no money, you know. So they have just become cannon forders in that particular sense. Because now instead of being able to address your grievances to the right man who has got powers to solve the problem you are addressing them to, you are barking at the wrong tree, you are addressing them to a man who has got no powers.

MR JACOBS: Is it not meant, the reference to cannon forders, that they will be the target of the people? -- No, this is metaphorical speech, cannon forders of apartheid. Now how apartheid works, I have explained. (30)

The/....



The last paragraph:

"We cannot hail the move of the eleven because of the reasons they advanced for their resignation, lack of protection from the government."

Why this Mr Chikane? -- I am sure as I say I should have been phoned by a journalist, most probably he said eleven councillors have resigned or he said eleven councillors have resigned and this is their reason. Now ultimately he or she will say what do you say about the fact that they have resigned. Do you hail them that now they have resigned, (10) and then I will say no I cannot for those reasons.

No but Mr Chikane you have drawn up this as a press statement to convey a certain message from the UDF to the public in regard to this. -- That is correct.

So what did you try to tell here, why can you not be satisfied when they resigned from the government instituted organisations or structures? -- You see this explains clearly what UDF is all about. You know we do not want kills, we do not want people just to resign and then that is the end of the story. We want people to resign to join hands with the UDF (20) and together with the government we should try to find an acceptable solution to the problem, the statement explains it.

Now how do you ... -- We are not happy if everybody has just resigned, there is no order in the townships. That was never the intention of the UDF.

But Mr, that is not the reason given by you. The reason given is the lack of, their reason for the lack of protection from the government was not acceptable to you? -- That is correct, if they, possibly they gave this as a reason why they resigned. They are not saying they are resigning in (30)

order/....

order to join hands to find an acceptable solution. Now I say because they are not resigning in order to join hands with people to find an acceptable solution, you know, they are just resigning because they feel unprotected. I cannot hail that.

COURT: Well can you not remember the instance because ...  
-- I cannot .

The resignation of eleven councillors must have been quite a momentous thing in your society, especially to the UDF? -- No. You know what happens with journalists, some (10) councillors resigned somewhere else or maybe this has taken a period of time. They suddenly discover, she discovers that up to so far, maybe they did not really resign once, up to so far so many have resigned. Then he says what do you say about that, he wants a story or she wants a story. And most probably that was the position. I cannot remember the precise ....

But now normally, if I have it correctly, when a journalist phones a person that person answers the telephone and gives his opinion. That is not a press statement. This is a press release. It is typed out and it is handed to the (20) press. -- In our case what used to happen is that at times they will phone the office and ask for a statement, you know. Especially because most of the time maybe Mahomed Valli would not be there, I would not be there, there would be only administrative secretary.

I see, yes. -- Now what you do is you compile a statement and then either you give it to the administrative secretary and say that when they phone back he can give them the statement. Or at times they phone, they find you, they give you the reason why they are phoning. You write that (30) down/....

down and then you say I will phone you later.

MR JACOBS: Mr Chikane on the, during February 1985 were you still in the UDF offices in Johannesburg? -- I was still, February 1985 I was still regarded as a member of the REC. I only ceased to be a member of the REC on 9 March 1985, in the Transvaal AGM.

Now I would like you to have a look at EXHIBIT C.110, that is in volume 7. The heading of this document is, the heading of EXHIBIT C.110 is "UDF and The Black Local Authorities". It was dated February 1985. -- I have never seen this document (10) before. I saw it as part of the exhibits in this court.

Mr Chikane is it not strange that so many important documents of the UDF were never seen by you or some of the other accused in the UDF? -- Counsel is making an assumption. He says the document of the UDF and we are arguing that some of the documents were drawn by individuals, not in the office of the UDF, because documents of the UDF are documents that are adopted by the UDF. Some of them are just opinions of individuals so I think we disagree with counsel when he says the important documents of the UDF. Some of them are not. (20) Now I am saying I have not seen this document before.

I am putting to you Mr Chikane that this is an evasion on the part of you in saying that this document is not a document of the UDF. It was found in the offices of the UDF, it was kept in the offices of the UDF and in the document it referred itself, in the heading itself, "UDF and The Black Local Authorities". -- That is correct. I see that, that is it refers to UDF and the Black Local Authorities. Let us say it was referred then by someone else who wanted to put it before the General Council of the UDF, you know, and it is not (30) adopted./....

adopted. You just draw up that paper there and then it is not adopted. It does not become a UDF document simply because it is found there.

Mr Chikane was this document ever put before the General Council? -- No.

Why not? -- By the time I was still a member of the Transvaal REC, in fact by until I was detained I have never seen this document.

Mr Chikane that is not an answer to my question. I asked you specifically why was this then not put before the, (10) if every document must be adopted by the UDF, either Regional or General Council? -- Since I do not know where the document originates, how it got to the office, when it got to the office. Now I cannot ask why not when I do not know where it originated from, how it got to the office, if it got to the office at all, when. How would I answer?

Yes, and I put it to you that is a convenient means of evading the question and answering on this document? -- I am answering it very very clearly that I do not know this document. (20)

Well I am putting it to you, the first paragraph of this document, it reads:

"The last five months have seen heightened resistance to the Black Local Authorities in townships throughout the Transvaal. This resistance has varied from spontaneous protests to the five month long boycott of rent increases by over 300 000 households in the Vaal Triangle. It has forced over 37 councillors to resign and left the Black Local Authorities without a shred of legitimacy in the communities they are supposed (30)

to/....

to govern. Despite this the campaign against the Black Local Authorities is not over."

And I put it to you Mr Chikane that this document is a UDF document stating clearly what was the position in UDF that the campaign against Black Local Authorities was an ongoing campaign? -- Where was this document adopted by the UDF? Who compiled it? In what minutes?

Is that your answer Mr ... -- In what meeting was this document adopted by the UDF?

Is that your answer Mr Chikane? -- My answer is I have (10) never seen this document. Now you are putting it to me. I am saying that is incorrect in as far as I know.

And I put it to you further on page 12 of the same document, "The Way Forward" is the heading of that part that I want to read to you, further proof is this part that I want to read to you is further proof that the campaign against Black Local Authorities was an ongoing campaign in the UDF:

"The following issues need to be considered by the Front in taking forward its campaign against Black Local Authorities." (20)

And then it enumerated what must be done, what can be done to take further the campaign against Black Local Authorities. -- I see that what is written here.

And what do you say to my suggestion to you that this is further proof that the campaign of Black Local Authorities was an ongoing campaign in UDF? -- No I reject it. I can give an example of AM.3. It was written by me. Unless that paper is put before the structure of the UDF, I am talking about the UDF there, you know. Unless it is put before the structure of the UDF and it is adopted it does not become a UDF (30)

paper, /....

paper, it becomes a Moses Chikane's paper. So I reject that suggestion.

What are you referring to in AM.3? I am not so certain that I understand what you are referring to. -- AM.3, it is the exhibit that we have been using. It is headed "UDF".

Yes? -- That is the heading of the document.

Yes. -- UDF. Now I am saying the fact that it has got this heading UDF does not make this a UDF paper.

But Mr Chikane... -- It remains my paper until I can put this paper to the UDF and the UDF adopt it and then it (10) becomes a UDF paper. But if I have not done so, even if it is headed UDF it is still my paper, not UDF's paper. That is what I was referring to.

Mr Chikane you in the, you specifically in the UDF were appointed to the Education Commission or committee as a result of your special skills in workshops, and your experience in holding workshops? -- My Lord they ...

Is it correct? -- They did not give me specific reasons why they appoint me. Maybe that could be one of the reasons (20) but I do not know, they did not really say we think you are a special person with this particular category, therefore.

And is it correct that during the period that you were in control of the Education Committee certain documents were drawn up for the purpose of holding the workshops, handouts you called them? -- Yes that is correct, in some workshops we had handouts.

Yes. And those ... -- We drew up programmes, if you say certain documents we drew up a programme for the workshops, we drew up handouts wherever. For instance I remember on (30)

this/....

this meeting of Daleside that is where we drew a handout on Black Local Authorities. Now it was a document, I take, you take that handout and the suggested programme.

And is it correct Mr Chikane that the people who draw up the handouts must do and did so in line with the UDF policy? -- That is what was expected but as I said people have got their own weaknesses.

And they were conveying the policy of the UDF to the people at the workshops? -- They had to do it in accordance to the policy of the UDF. (10)

Yes. -- That is what was expected from them.

And those handouts were used to make the people attending the workshops conversant with the UDF policy and UDF programme of action? -- In most cases handouts because they address a specific issue they would be addressing that particular issue, they would be trying to be, it would be an attempt to make people to understand the specific issue that has been addressed.

An issue ... -- But in accordance to the UDF policy.

Yes, and those documents were never put beforehand (20) before the General Council to first approve them to be adopted by the General Council or the National Executive Council or by any council of the UDF? -- That is correct.

But they still remained UDF documents? -- No they ...

Given out at the workshops for the assistance of the people and teaching them skills? -- They remained the documents of that particular training committee. They did not become UDF documents because they were not adopted by the UDF structures. They remain the documents of that particular committee. (30)

Tell/....

Tell the Court was EXHIBIT CA formally adopted ...

COURT: C.8?

MR JACOBS: A.1.

COURT: A.1?

MR JACOBS: I am sorry. The booklet, was it ... -- I do not know. I only, as I said I have already told His Lordship that in fact I do not know but I know that some of the contents of that have been discussed and adopted. I cannot remember it being adopted as a document.

And UDF sent that document out even abroad as a UDF (10) document? -- That is if it did. I do not know. You see I was not dealing with publicity and I did not know what they said, where they sent it.

But it was regarded as a UDF document? -- Yes that was a UDF document.

But it was never formally adopted. -- It was published by the UDF.

It was never formally adopted at a meeting? -- It was, as I said I do not know about that. But it was published by the UDF. (20)

No ... -- My argument is that this document that is at C.110, we do not know who published this document.

Mr Chikane I would like to refer you to the next document. That is EXHIBIT T.15. That is the minutes of the meeting of the National Secretariat of the UDF held on 12 and 13 January 1985. -- That is correct.

You did attend this meeting? -- That is correct.

YOU did take part in the discussions of this meeting?  
-- That is correct.

I would like to refer you to page 7, paragraph 12. (30)

And/....



And that paragraph deals with the preparations for the NGC to be held on April 6 1985. -- That is correct.

Now paragraph 12.2:

"The framework for the Secretariat report. This report must be prepared by the two national officers."

Did you at that meeting discuss the contents of the Secretariat report to be handed in at the NGC on 6 April 1985? -- No. I do not remember discussing the content of that report.

Yes. Now on paragraph 12.3.4 that deals with the keynote address. -- I have got it. (10)

And the keynote address, in brackets:

"The NEC ratified the area to be covered by the paper."

Did you discuss that? -- No.

AT the meeting? -- We, from the look of, the way I see it and the way I can recall is that we said in the AGM there is a need for a keynote address and then we said the NEC must ratify the areas that would be covered by that paper.

Did you at that meeting itself discuss the areas to be covered by that keynote address? -- No, that was left for the NEC. (20)

And why was it necessary that the NEC has to ratify the area to be covered by the keynote address? -- You see keynote addresses are very important. If a man comes there and he has prepared a paper what is going to be read in a meeting of the United Democratic Front as a keynote address and he destroyed the policy of the organisation that would have done the organisation a great disservice and it would be irresponsibility of the NEC to let someone else read a paper which the NEC does not know what it contains, what areas it is going to cover. (30)

And/....

And is it also so important because it is a policy document conveying the policy of the UDF and the programme of action of the UDF to the delegates at the meeting? -- No I think the reason why it has to be so is that when you organise an AGM certain areas have got to be covered but I presume after you have told a man who is delivering the keynote address what areas to cover it would be, I expect that man would be the man who understands the policy of the organisation, to talk about the area. You say no talk about this or that and that, one, two, three, four points have got to be included in your paper. (10) But that man has got to be the person who understands the policy of your organisation.

Now in paragraph 12.3.5:

"Regional reports will constitute part of the Secretariat report."

Did you decide on what part of the Region's report must be taken up in the Secretarial report? -- No this was, I think just a formality. What happened is from an AGM, of course I did not attend the Cape Town one, what happened is that now if you are organising an AGM of an organisation like the (20) United Democratic Front, National, you have to be able to, your secretariat report has to be able to cover work that has been done by different regions. It has to be encapsulated into the one report.

And who supplied the information to the National Secretariat from the Transvaal? Were you party to that? -- I would have expected that it would be the Secretary or Secretaries of the region. But I was not.

Yes. Then on the next page, paragraph 12.5:

"Some issues to be .... (30)

-- 12.5?/.....

-- 12.5?

Yes on the next page, page 8, 12.5, paragraph 12.5:

"Some issues to be debated before the NGC. Regions must identify these issues and forward them to head office to be synthesized by the National Secretary."

Now Mr Chikane which issues were to be debated before the NGC and which were debated in the Transvaal Region? -- Well as far as I know issues like how many delegates Region are going to go to the conference and as we know the structures of the UDF were differing in sizes. Other regions were (10) smaller, others were bigger. We say now per region how many people were going to be going into that, and who is going to be taking what responsibilities, who is going to be taking the responsibility of arranging the venue, who is going to be taking the responsibility of seeing that there is food, where are people going to sleep, how are people going to travel, which regions carry responsibility for what. Now those are the issues that would be debated by the regions before the AGM and I think this was the ...

But that is included in paragraph 12.4 just on top (20) of that Mr Chikane. That is not part of the issues to be debated before the NGC? -- No I was giving examples. Maybe...

Well I do not want examples, I want what was specifically discussed, the issues, which issues were discussed? -- Specifically I do not remember. But ...

Were any discussed? -- I think issues like resolutions, proposals for resolutions or amendment of the constitution. That is for sure. The amendments, we said the amendments to the Working Principles have got to be circulated. That is proposed amendments by different regions. And then they (30) have/....

have got to be discussed before the National Launch, because you cannot go there, you will find that three regions, each one having its own amendment that has not been discussed by other regions.

So did you discuss the amendments in the Transvaal region of the UDF before the ... -- No they ...

.. NGC? -- They were on the agenda. They should have been discussed before the NGC but I got out on 9 March 1985.

So you do not know ... -- Out of the AGM Of the Transvaal.

So up to 9 March 1985 no issues were discussed in the (10) Transvaal Region of the UDF and after that you do not know? -- What was going to happen was first we had to have an AGM, REgional AGM before you can have a national AGM. Now the priority was that we should have the Regional AGM first and then thereafter the Regional AGM would be able to discuss what needs to be conveyed to the National AGM. So I went out when the, in the first AGM of the Transvaal after this meeting, that was on 9 March 1984.

Paragraph 12.6:

"The report of the Secretariat must include an assess-(20) ment of where the UDF is and where it is going to.

(b) An analysis of the present situation and situate the UDF therein."

At this meeting I am sure Mr Chikane the whole secretariat of the UDF must have discussed this, an assessment of where the UDF is and where it is going to? -- No but this is clear. The report of the Secretariat must include, that is this report that is going to be drawn to be presented at the AGM by the Secretary must include these points.

Well the Secretary's report must include that and my (30)

question/....

question was you, I suppose you did discuss this on this meeting, this specific meeting? -- No. We suggested that these topics have got to be given attention by the report of the Secretariat in the AGM. As far as I can remember.

COURT: Well the question is did you not discuss what was to be in that report? -- No I do not remember discussing that.

Well were you all ad idem, was it common cause where the UDF was and where it was going to? -- No my understanding is we gave the Secretary areas that had to be included in their report, that covered this area, area 1 and area 2. I do (10) not remember this meeting going into details that the content has got to be one, two, three, four and five.

MR JACOBS: Must we understand then Mr Chikane that the whole Secretariat of UDF left the whole matter over in the hands of accused no. 19? -- That is correct. They gave guidelines here to say a Secretariat report has got to include that. Now he has got to see how he fits that in the report.

COURT: You mean so on his own he has, accused no. 19, can decide on behalf of the Secretariat where the UDF is and where it is going to? -- That is, My Lord and ... (20)

And it is not discussed? -- It is going to be discussed at the AGM. If the report is presented then it is discussed there. But here the meeting was just giving him guidelines as far as I can see it.

MR JACOBS: At that stage what was the general accepted perception in the Secretariat about where UDF was at that stage and where it was going to? -- Can I get the question please?

At that stage, at the stage of this meeting what was the general perception in the Secretariat of UDF of where the UDF was at that stage and the second point where it was going (30)

to?/....

to? -- In as far as I am concerned at this particular stage it was after the elections had, the Tricameral election had taken place, you know. And the question of saying what UDF was going to be doing had been in the minds of people in as far as that meeting of Bloemfontein which is H.1. So people had possibly different ...

Can you be more specific, and not just refer us to H.1 but tell us what the fact was, what in fact was the position? -- There were people who were saying for instance, I am just giving the different views, there was not a common view. (10) That is the reason why we said the Secretariat must cover this and it must be discussed at the AGM. Other people were saying no man let us form, let the UDF become a unitary organisation, you know.

COURT: Well all the more so, was it then not the position that the Secretariat had to decide on what the stand of the Secretariat was on these questions? -- No the Secretariat it is not a decision making structure. All it does it can make certain recommendations, if it has any. Like in this particular case it has recommended that an assessment of where (20) UDF is going to and an analysis of the present situation be included in the report. It is just a recommendation. This is not a decision making structure of the UDF.

Well had it not been discussed amongst the Secretariat? Where the UDF was going? -- Not as far as I can remember. I cannot remember specifically what was discussed or, not as far as I can remember. I cannot remember specifically.

MR JACOBS: Mr Chikane you were active in the UDF at that stage, in the activities of the UDF at that stage, and I suppose you must have known what was the aim where UDF was going to?(30)

-- The/....

-- The decision was going to be taken by the AGM.

Well I am not asking you... -- I had my own views. Some people had different views but the decision was going to be taken by the AGM of the UDF.

And what was the idea, the aim of the UDF, where was it going to at that stage? -- At that stage?

Yes. -- After the Tricameral elections?

Well at the time of this meeting? -- At this time of this meeting we said this question needs to be addressed. So the Secretariat report was going to be presented to the AGM (10) has got to include this so that this issue can be discussed by participants in the AGM. The AGM would be able to decide where UDF is going to.

You are evading my question every time. -- I am not.

When I asked you a question to tell the Court what was the perception at that time, at the time of the meeting, where UDF was going to you said this question had to be addressed?

-- At that particular stage this question had never been addressed.

Never been addressed? -- As far as I can say it has, it (20) has been highlighted but there was no concerted position arrived at by all affiliates of the UDF where UDF is going to. That position was going to be arrived at at the AGM in April 1985.

You say it has been highlighted, this question has been highlighted. Tell the Court about how it has been highlighted?

-- I said H.1 which is the minutes of the National Executive Committee held in Bloemfontein highlighted this question.

No I am not asking what is standing in H.1. I am asking you to tell the Court what was the highlight given at any (30)

time/....

time about the future of the UDF, where it was going to?

-- Are you finished?

Yes, I am asking you not to refer me to a document but to tell the Court? -- No the reason I refer you to the document it can explain much more better than I can. You know I, and besides that document is the minutes of the organisation. It can explain it even much more authoritatively than I can. I am just an individual here. I can maybe misinterpret one or two words but if you refer to it, what is written there, it will be the view of the organisation. (10)

So you are not in a position to tell, by yourself to tell the Court at the time of this meeting what was the perception where was UDF going to? -- All that was said was that, as far as I can remember, if you want my personal opinion, is that after the Tricameral election the question of where UDF is going to needs to be addressed because UDF initially was formed to oppose the new constitution. Now the elections had taken place. Are we disbanding the UDF because the elections had taken place or what are we going to do.

Yes, and what was the perception, what were you going (20) to do? -- I said the question was going to be addressed by the AGM. It was never addressed before this AGM on April 1985.

Was it not that the UDF was going over from protest to challenge, was that not the perception Mr Chikane? -- No not when I was still part of the UDF structures, national structures that is.

This question of moving from protest to challenge, was it never broached before the NGC in April 1984? -- No.

Was it the first time that you heard there was a theme in the UDF of moving from ... (30)

COURT:/....



COURT: April 1985.

MR JACOBS: 1985. Was it the first time, when was the first time that you heard about the theme the UDF theme of moving over from protest to challenge? -- I knew that in the meeting of the Transvaal after the AGM of 9 March was going to be discussing, amongst other things, the theme for the National Conference, you know. But I did not attend that meeting so I do not know whether the theme came from other regions or not.

Mr Chikane....

(10)

COURT: Just a moment now. You say which meeting? The meeting of the NEC? -- The meeting of, the AGM of the Transvaal on 9 March ..

You say the meeting of the Transvaal AGM? -- Yes the meeting after that AGM was going to discuss ...

Now which meeting, of what body, of ... -- Meeting of the General Council, of the General Council of the Transvaal.

So the NEC meeting, of the Transvaal REC meeting? -- No the Transvaal RGC meeting.

General Council? -- The General Council.

(20)

Of the Transvaal would do what? -- Would discuss the theme of the conference.

When? -- That it was going to be a meeting that was going to be held after the AGM of the Transvaal. Now I did not attend that, you know the AGM was ...

I am sorry. The Transvaal General Council Meeting, that is the big body, was that to discuss the theme? -- Yes.

When was that to be held? -- After the AGM which was held on 9 March 1985.

But now how often did the Transvaal General Council (30)

meet?/....

meet? -- In normal circumstances it was six weeks but because of the pending National AGM the Transvaal organised another meeting shortly to try to prepare for the AGM. But I did not attend that one.

Just a moment now. When did you think that would be held?

-- I think the date was put but I cannot remember now.

So that is after what date, after ... -- Well after 9 March 1985.

Yes but it would not discuss the theme protest to challenge, it would discuss what the theme would be? -- Yes (10) the suggestions from the Transvaal.

Is that correct? -- And there will be suggestions of course from other areas, and then all those things maybe they will, some organisation will arrive at some, some region arrive at a common position and then whatever theme that gets support of more regions would be the theme for the conference.

But now would a theme be determined by a General Council Meeting or would a theme be determined by an Executive Meeting? -- Well suggestions have got to come from affiliates, not the Executive. Bearing in mind that especially the Transvaal (20) the Executive was very new at that particular stage. And I think in many other regions, because before you can organise a national AGM you have to organise Regional AGMs, new people come in.

COURT ADJOURNS UNTIL 14h00.

COURT RESUMES AT 14h00.

MOSES MABOKELA CHIKANE: d.s.s.

FURTHER CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR JACOBS: Mr Chikane before the adjournment you had not yet answered my question. I asked you when was the first time that you heard about the UDF theme of moving from protest to challenge? -- I saw that in the papers reporting on the conference.

Was that only after the conference that you first heard about that? -- That is correct.

COURT: That is now the conference of April 1985? -- 1987. (10) 1985, you are right. I said these years always play games with me.

MR JACOBS: Mr Chikane can we go to the next paragraph of the exhibit, T.15. That is paragraph 12.7 on page 8. -- I have got point 8.

Now this 12.7 reads:

"Recommendation for amendment of Working Principles.  
Amendment proposals must be worked out by the National Officers."

So this is not altogether correct what you said that it (20) was one of the issues that had to be discussed by the regions? -- I stand by my evidence, it has to be corrected by regions, they say, all what this says is that those amendments, those recommendations, recommended amendments have got to be worked out by National Officers. Let us say an organisation B in the Border Region want to make a particular amendment and Organisation C in the Eastern Cape want to propose something and organisation D in the Northern Cape want to propose a different thing. The National Officers have got to work out that amendment. (30)

And/...

And must the organisations then send their proposals for amendment direct to the National Officers? -- That is correct.

So it is not the Regions then that must discuss it but the National Officers? -- You see amendments can be made in a meeting of the United Democratic Front, that is the Regional meeting of the United Democratic Front, and then those regions, those regions that wants to make amendments they will send those amendments to the National Office.

Now the National Officers, who were they? Were they the two Secretaries, the National Secretary and the Publicity (10) Secretary? -- That is amongst them yes but ...

Or who were ... -- ... those were full time employees of the National Office. But National Officers if you want to take it broader to be all members of the NEC. But in this case I think they were referring to the two National Officers.

You say you think so. Do you not know or what is the position now? -- They say it must be sent to the National Officers. That should be the position. You see I cannot remember details of every point that we discussed in January 1985. (20)

No I am not asking you to give me details. I am asking you who were the National Officers, if it is ... -- Those two included were the National Officers.

Those two were included ... -- That is the two accused no. 19 and accused no. 20 were National Officers.

And were they part of a bigger body? -- They were part of the NEC.

And the NEC are they National Officers? -- That is correct, they are National Officers of the UDF.

Now then under the proposals ... (30)

COURT:/....

COURT: Just a moment, are you talking of officers or officials? Or is that the same thing? -- Maybe I have got it wrong but as far as I know officers and officials to me is one and the same thing.

So are you saying then that 12.7 means amendment proposals must be worked out by the NEC? -- Ultimately. That is what I think.

Yes, thank you.

MR JACOBS: Now after the 12 and 13 January did, and before 9 March when you were no longer part of the UDF Transvaal (10) Region did the NEC meet in a meeting during that period, between 12 and 13 January and 9 March? -- I think there was a meeting somewhere of the NEC somewhere in February but I did not attend it.

Why not? -- I cannot remember the reason as I stand here but I did not attend that meeting.

And during this same period from 12 and 13 January 1985 did the General Council of the Transvaal Region convene, that is between 12 and 13 January and 9 March 1985?

COURT: Could you just give me the dates again? (20)

MR JACOBS: Between this date of this report, 12 and 13 January 1985 and 9 March when, from which date he was no longer a member of the Transvaal Region.

COURT: So your date is 12 January 1985?

MR JACOBS: Yes 12 and 13 January.

COURT: Well let us give it one date, 12 January 1985 to 9 March 1985. Did what not convene?

MR JACOBS: The Transvaal General Council. -- As I stand here I cannot remember.

Now other proposals should include, there is the third (30)

one/...

on there:

"Address the question of National consciousness. This is something the UDF has not achieved yet."

Now what is meant by this and what did you discuss under this Mr Chikane? -- I do not remember the details under this topic.

Do you know what is meant by "national consciousness"? -- I have got my own interpretation of this if counsel is interested in that I can give it.

But can you not remember anything at all that was (10) said at this meeting about national consciousness? -- I cannot remember the details.

Can you remember nothing, not details, nothing at all? -- I can remember that this national consciousness issue arose in that meeting but the detail thereof as I stand here I cannot remember.

You cannot even tell the Court what is meant by it? -- I say I have got my own opinion.

COURT: Well give your own opinion then? -- Well my own opinion is national consciousness is that consciousness (20) to make people to feel to belong in one's country, to be of service to a country. In short that is what I understand.

MR JACOBS: Mr Chikane will you go to the next page, page 9, paragraph 12.9. -- I have got it.

It reads:

"Keynote addresses must include amongst others attitude to imperialism, structures of apartheid, organisational discipline, self sufficiency, democracy etc. UDF offensive determine programmes. Strategic areas of work, pass laws, housing, food prices, rentals. (30)

REgions/....

Regions must send reports on removals and relocation and conscription."

Now it seems Mr Chikane if you were wrong again when you said it was the NEC who had to decide on the areas to be covered in the keynote address. It was done at this meeting? -- I said this meeting can make suggestions. The decision has got to be taken by the NEC. This structure, the Secretaria, it is not a decision making structure of the United Democratic Front. It can only make recommendations.

Yes but here it was already, it said "it must include".(10) So I put it to you that decisions were already taken at this meeting? -- In fact if you look at the topic, it is keynote addresses. Let us say someone else was speaking in general. When we talk about keynote addresses these points would be very important. Keynote addresses must include this.

Now what was discussed at this meeting about the attitude to imperialism and structures of apartheid? Can you tell the Court? -- I cannot remember the details of every topic but I seem to think that the major concern was that, at this particular stage, South African government is creating so-called (20) States, homeland States, around with no resources of their own and then from there those people have got to come and work for the bigger empire which is the so-called central government. Now that is establishment of an empire because when you establish satellites around you and then from there those satellites to survive have got to depend on you perpetually. I think I seem to remember something of this nature.

COURT: Are you referring to the homelands, the independent States or the self-governing homelands? -- I am referring to both of them.

(30)

Both/....

Both of them? -- Yes.

And why is it called imperialism? -- It is because we saw the South African government as being an empire.

An empire? -- Yes.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): And what about the Lesotho people who work here Mr Chikane, how do you see them? -- I think there is that as well, in the context that I have explained. If Lesotho has got no resources and people work here, you know and Swaziland and even Malawi most probably. South Africa becomes an empire of those countries. But I do not remember (10) us addressing those because we think that the development of those countries does not depend necessarily on South Africa, it depends on the governments of those countries. But the development of homelands, so-called, depend on South Africa. Homelands remain the responsibility of South Africa.

MR JACOBS: So is it then correct that at this meeting in regard to the keynote address you did discuss the homelands and the independent States as imperialism structures of apartheid and that must be taken up in the keynote address? -- I am giving my opinion. I cannot remember specifically (20) how we discussing these things. I might be mixing issues.

Then there is another one:

"UDF offensive, determine programme."

What did you discuss under this Mr Chikane? -- Where are you reading, UDF offensive?

It is the second point later on. -- Ja I see it. My understanding of this is that UDF has got to be able to take initiatives. It should not wait for something to happen and react thereafter. That is it must be able to initiate programmes. Now I cannot remember how it was discussed (30) precisely/....



precisely in this meeting but I have got this kind of an idea.

Yes and what did you discuss that UDF must go on the offensive or what must it do? -- UDF must initiate, must take an initiative, must not be reactive to things.

COURT: Well now as at January 1985 were you just reacting?

-- Yes for instance the constitution was not initiated by us, it was initiated by the government and then we were just organising to boycott it.

MR JACOBS: So then when you were reacting by January 1985 (10) then you now had to move over to the offensive, not only reacting but to be on the offensive? -- No here we say, we are talking about what keynote addresses have got to include.

Yes. -- And amongst other things we talk about the UDF offensive and determine programme. Now I have explained what I understand by this.

Yes and if I understood you correctly you said that UDF must not only be reactive but it must also be offensive? -- It must be able to take initiative.

Yes. So it must go over to the offensive? -- It must (20) be able to take initiatives, that is correct, if that is what counsel means that is correct. If it is something else I disagree with you. Take initiative, not to be reactive, but if counsel means something else I disagree.

And what is meant by determine the programme? What programme are you referring to here in this ... -- UDF programmes. I am sure it should have been UDF programme. But this man is just talking about what had to be included in the keynote addresses.

But it was discussed in the meeting is it not so, (30)

this/..

this is only the minutes of the meeting, or what you discussed at the meeting? -- That is correct, yes sitting in a meeting and we say you know keynote addresses have got to include point 1,2, 3, 4 and 5. You know, for it to be complete.

Yes but I suppose you did discuss it what had to be included? -- From time to time we would say what we really mean by this what we really mean by that. But as I say I cannot remember the details thereof.

And let us go to the next paragraph: (10)

Strategic areas of work. Pass laws, housing, food prices, rental."

What were discussed at the meeting in this regard and why is this, let us take them one by one, strategic areas of work.

Why did you regard pass laws as a strategic area of work?

-- Pass laws have been a pain for the majority of our people.

These pass laws that were making other people to stay unemployed forever. Some of them were not allowed to live in one area, some of them were not allowed to have houses where, next to their area of work. Passes were a problem. (20)

Now that is a general ... -- And it is on those basis that we felt that UDF has got to be able to address this problem that is experienced by our people around, created by the pass laws.

Can you explain why this is a strategic area? For strategic in what sense, in what regard? -- Strategic in the sense that UDF is an anti-apartheid movement and we believed that passes are created by apartheid and if you address, if you want to be able to eliminate apartheid you take issues that are created by apartheid, they become strategic issues, (30)

in/...

in order to attack apartheid.

In order to mobilise and politicise the people? -- That is correct.

The same applies also for housing, food prices and rentals? -- That is correct.

And also in politicising the people against the government, these were to be linked up to the government as the cause of all these areas, strategic areas of work? -- It is wrong that we are mobilising against the government. We have got nothing against the government. I said we are mobilising and organi-(10) sing against apartheid. If this government was to decide that they abandon the policy of apartheid, this very government, it will be acceptable to us.

And is it not so Mr Chikane, in the UDF, and regarded as such in the UDF that the government, the existing government is responsible, is held responsible for the pass laws, is held responsible for the housing problems, is held responsible for the food prices, increases in it, it is also held responsible for the increases in rental? -- I think not only is it the view of the UDF but that is correct, because it is the (20) government that introduced this law. The question of lack of houses and housing policies is a question that is a government issue. Who determines the price of food is the government, who determines even the rent is the government. The cost of living of many people.

And it is important for the people to understand it as such and to regard the government as the enemy? -- No to regard apartheid as the enemy. If apartheid is reflected in any of these issues like, let me say food prices. You raise the GST, you do not increase the earning power of the majority of the (30) working/...

working people, their money is below, what they earn is below a living wage. Because of the colour of their skin. Obviously the government would be responsible.

And their enemy? -- Not their enemy. We have never regarded the government because it is the government the enemy. We regard apartheid, this policy of apartheid we regard it as the enemy of our people because it is this apartheid policies that have terrorised our people for years.

And the next paragraph:

"Regions must send reports on removals and recloca- (10)  
tion and conscription."

-- That is correct, I see that.

And to whom must reports be sent? In this regard, to the person writing the keynote address or to who? -- That is what needs to be included in this keynote addresses. It must be amongst other things reports that are sent by regions and specifically about some of these issues. Maybe what they plan to do with them ...

Yes. Did the Transvaal send any report on this at the time, while you were still there in office? -- No, not (20)  
when I was still there in office.

Nothing at all? -- Not when I was still in the office.

And then paragraph 12.10, that is the theme, it says here:

"Referred back to the Regions for discussion."

Now which theme was discussed at this meeting that was referred back to the Regions? -- That was the theme of the conference.

Yes, but what theme? -- No you see in fact, this point makes it quite clear. They were saying Regions must come (30)

up/....

up with a theme for the conference. Now every Region had to suggest what theme do they want for the conference, that is the April 1985 conference, you know. Now suggestions would be made and then the popular theme would be accepted as the theme that can be used for the conference.

COURT: But as it stands here it appears that the Regions has already discussed the theme, possibly to a certain extent only, that the matter was on the table here, that you were not quite happy with the various themes which were proposed and that you referred the matter back to the regions for dis- (10)  
cussion. -- No my understanding is that "Theme - referred back to Regions for discussion", that is ...

Yes I say that because the word "back" is used. -- That is correct. It is on the question of the theme, discussion on the them of the conference is referred back to the, for Regional discussions. That is how I understand it.

MR JACOBS: I put it to you Mr Chikane if that was the case then it would only have stood, then you would only have stated it as the theme referred to the Regions? -- Well people write differently and I say this is my understand- (20)  
ing because once you have a theme and it is agreed upon there will be no point to send it for discussion, you will have that theme what for? Or else you can send it to the Regions if you have it.

COURT: Well did you not discuss possible themes, whether they originated with the Regions or not? At this meeting? -- Normally what we would do is that UDF operated in this manner, that on key issues discussions have got to emanate from the affiliates in the General Councils.

MR JACOBS: Only from them? -- On key issues that was what (30)  
was/....

was supposed to, that was the standard procedure on key issues, and the theme was important.

I put it to you Mr Chikane that what was discussed at this meeting was the theme of the UDF, of moving from protest to challenge and that was then referred back to the Regions and then you people, the Secretaries on the Secretariat, could go back and also explain at the Regions, the meetings at the Regions what is the feeling of the Secretariat? -- I deny that and I can even use the State's argument that it would have been written here to say protest to challenge is the theme, (10) we are referring it back to the Regions. It is not reflected and it is not what I seem to remember having been discussed in that meeting.

COURT: Well did nobody have any idea of a theme at this meeting? -- You see ideas in the UDF, people participate as members of affiliated organisations. Now even if an individual has got an idea that idea still has to be canvassed within his own organisation and as a structure the Secretariat could not, an individual in the Secretariat could not come up with that theme. (20)

Well the Secretariat came up with the contents of the keynote addresses. -- Suggestions, recommendations on the content.

Yes. -- But I do not remember them ...

So you did not discuss any theme at all at this meeting? -- They said the discussion of the theme must be referred back to the regions. I do not remember them discussing that theme.

MR JACOBS: And if I understood your evidence before the adjournment correctly it was, you said that the theme (30)  
would/....

would be discussed after the meeting of 9 March 1985 where the new Executive of the UDF Transvaal was chosen, is it correct?

-- That is correct. In the Transvaal that was the case.

Now ...

COURT: What is the date? -- 9 March, when he was no longer, 9 March 1985. -- You see the first thing is that we had to arrange the Regional AGM, elect the new Executive, discuss the programme of the National, that Executive so that it can discuss the programme of the AGM, National AGM.

MR JACOBS: Mr Chikaneon 9 March at this meeting which you (10) attended was it then decided that the new Executive, and the new General Council of the UDF, Transvaal Region, will have to discuss the theme of the NGC? -- That is correct. In fact I remember they said even the question of representation in the AGM would be discussed in that meeting.

And did they ...

COURT: Just a moment now. That meeting of 9 March 1985 was that a General Council Meeting? -- AGM, that was ...

That was the AGM? -- The Annual General Council of the Transvaal. (20)

Now why was the theme not discussed at that AGM? -- The AGM had a lot of problems because it had to make sure that it finished all the business of the year, of the previous year. New executive has got to be elected and they felt the question of the AGM would need, this new Executive now, to be able to take it up. In fact that is why Regional AGMs took place before the National AGM. So we would not elect them and expect them to take decisions there and then.

Just a moment now. If it referred back to the Regions, it goes to be discussed by the affiliates? -- That is (30)  
correct./....

correct.

Now the affiliates only get together in the General Council? -- That is correct.

Well this is the opportunity. So at this meeting the affiliates should have been told we would like to have suggestions for a theme? -- No they said the business of the AGM, National AGM, would be referred back to the meeting that would be set on the particular date. I cannot remember the date now as I stand here, you know. Because the business of the whole year took all the time that we had for the day, amongst (10) other things.

So you say that at the meeting of 9 March 1985 it was decided that this sort of business would stand over till the next General Council Meeting which was to be held when? -- I think it was going to be held shortly thereafter, before the April meeting. I cannot remember the date.

Yes?

MR JACOBS: Now after the Regions discussed a theme without knowing what theme each of them were proposing who will decide then after that on the theme? -- Can I get your question (20) again?

You say that each Region, there is no theme that was taken up beforehand, it was only a general idea referred to the Regions, that they must decide on a theme, some theme or other. So I suppose if each Region discussed a theme there will be a lot of different themes emanating from the different regions. So who will decide afterwards on which theme to adopt? -- You see even suggestions from different Regions would be sent to all those Regions and ultimately you find that one theme is acceptable by the majority of the Regions. (30)

That/....



That would be the theme of the conference.

I cannot understand that Mr Chikane, I am very sorry. Were all the different Regions, everybody with his own ideas, how would, how is it possible that they will all then at different meetings, at different places, at different times decide on the same thing? -- I can explain it. Let us say you have six Regions like the UDF, one Region says no the theme is forward to freedom, one region says no the theme is Away with apartheid, and so on and so on. All you do after you have received the themese from these regions you say, you print (10) a pamphlet with all those themes as suggested by different Regions, you say Border region suggested this theme, Eastern Cape suggested this theme and so on. You send those forms to all the Regions and then you say now choose which Region you think is more suitable, out of now these six Regions, themes that have been suggested by six Regions. Then from there the REgion, I mean the theme that gets the majority support would be the theme for the conference.

COURT: Well has that ever happened in the past? Or are you just surmising? -- I am surmising because I was not party (20) to these discussions.

MR JACOBS: Because I put it to you Mr Chikane that somebody was responsible, some final body must have been responsible for selecting a theme and I put it to you the way you explained it it could not have happened like that and that the themee of the UDF NGC for the future was known all the time? -- I disagree with the last suggestion that it was known all the time and in as far as counsel is saying it could not have happened. I have given a method on how it can happen.

COURT: Well you in MAC, Mamelodi Action Committee, what (30) theme/...

theme did you suggest? -- That is correct.

What did you suggest? -- I did not go to the last General Council.

No, no what did the Action Committee of Mamelodi suggest as a theme? -- I did not attend the meeting so I do not know. But I know that they sent a representative to this meeting, to the General Council before then where the theme was discussed.

MR JACOBS: I put it to you also Mr Chikane that the keynote, the theme was known before the time because it was also (10) taken up in the keynote address? -- Well I do not know exactly when the keynote address was finalised. I have never seen that keynote address. And for those reasons I suspect that most probably the keynote address would have voted for the theme. To be agreed up by Regions.

And I put it to you further Mr Chikane that this theme was known all along because the same theme was also taken up in the Secretarial Report to the NGC? -- I am saying, well I do not know about that, I was not, as far as I know that was not the position. Not in my presence. (20)

Do you know when the last NEC meeting was before the NGC meeting? -- I said I think it must have been around February. I do not know if there was another one because in March I went out of office. I do not know if another meeting was arranged before April. I cannot say.

Now in February the NEC ... -- Met. I knew about that one, yes. And then whether they met in March before the April AGM, 1985, I do not know.

You see Mr Chikane I put it to you that if I remember the evidence in this Court correctly there was no NEC (30) meeting/....

meeting after the one in February. Not one in March, not one in April. -- I said I do not know.

You see, and if the keynote address had to be ratified by the NEC then the keynote, the theme of the NGC was known all along and that the keynote address was then ratified in the February meeting of the NEC? -- I did not attend that meeting. I do not know what was done in that meeting. So I do not know.

COURT: Where were you in February then? -- I have been trying to remember for the last time, I cannot really remem-(10)ber what was happening, why I did not attend that meeting, but I did not.

MR JACOBS: And I put it to you further Mr Chikane that your evidence must be wrong then if the theme of the NGC was known to the person delivering the keynote address and it was ratified in February then it could not be so that at the meeting of 9 March it was decided that the next meeting of the Transvaal Region, a General Council Meeting of the Transvaal Region must decide on the theme? -- No I am right on that one.

COURT: Do we have a minute of the Transvaal deciding on (20) the theme? -- No I have not seen them, I think the last minute we had of the Transvaal is K. but I do not think we have the minutes of 1985, General Council.

MR JACOBS: Mr Chikane can we go on with the exhibit then and go to paragraph 14 on page 9. -- Page 9 paragraph 14, I have got it.

"Removals." -- I have got it.

There is, the second and third points:

"Regions must organise volunteer corps."

What was discussed under this and who must be the volunteers(30)

to/....

to do what? -- I do not know. I cannot remember.

Did the Transvaal Region compile information on areas or removals, dates and places etcetera? -- No but I know that organisations like Black Sash had that information and I think there was an organisation that was compiling that and Transvaal UDF used to get information from the organisations that were involved in removals. But I do not remember about the date and so on. On areas that were threatened by removals. But I cannot remember Transvaal saying the dates and so on.

And then the next point is: (10)

"MJ be asked to work out proposals for political work in areas of removals."

Who is MJ? -- I do not remember these initials here, who do they belong to.

COURT:

Naidoo? Can it be M.J. Naidoo? -- He was not a member of, the reason why I cannot I know that he has got that, somebody with that initials but he was not a member of the National Exec. And I know that there was another M.J. Fusile, I am sure in the Border Region. Now I do not know exactly which one was being referred to here. (20)

MR JACOBS: I suppose then you also do not know what proposals were envisaged for political work? -- No.

It seems as if you cannot remember much Mr Chikane, is that correct? -- After three years it is not very easy to remember what happened in one meeting in January 1985, almost three years now that I have been in jail.

I would like to refer you to the next exhibit Mr Chikane, that is EXHIBIT C.53 in Volume 4. Edele ons het tussen die etensuur, dit was nie op my lys vanoggend, het ons gegaan na die klerk toe en vir hom gesê hierdie dokument sal ek na (30)

verwys/....

verwys.

HOF: Enige ander dokumente wat u wil ...

MNR JACOBS: Nee Edele dit is die enigste wat ek hom gevra het om vir u te bring na die hof toe. Mr Chikane do you know this document? -- I have never seen this document before until I saw it as part of the exhibits in this court.

This document is a document, EXHIBIT C.53 is a United Democratic Front, UDF Unites Apartheid Divides. It is a report "Furture programme and budger proposals of the UDF". Now will you, do you want to tell the Court you as the Secre- (10) tary of the UDF who had to see that the policy programme of the UDF must be carried out have not seen this document? -- I have not seen it.

Can you give to the Court any reason why not? -- I had already given the Court reasons why I did not see some of the documents. I was not ...

No but I am asking you about this one. -- This is just one of the documents. I was not working in the UDF office, I was working, I had a permanent job. Some of the papers that were found even in the UDF office, I do not know where (20) this one was found, I was seeing them for the first time in this case.

But was it not important for you to be in possession of such a document as this in order to carry out your duties and to see what is going on in budgeting? -- If I knew that it existed I am sure I would have had interest to read it. But I did not even know that it existed.

And I put it to you Mr Chikane it is only, you are only trying to evade by saying that you had a full time job because in that report of yours that we have read this morning you (30) stated/....

stated clearly that you received a salary from CRIC but you were working UDF work? -- That is right, that is what is written there and I have testified in this court that I used to use the resources of CRIC to do UDF work. I do not see any contradiction at all.

Now will you have a look at page 5 of this document.

-- Page 5.

There is a campaign against forced removals. The second paragraph of that. -- Page 5?

Yes. -- Alright, I had a wrong page. But there are (10) two page 5's there.

COURT: Look at paragraph 1.2.2. -- That is correct. I mean the page after that it must be page 5 as well because then there is page 6.

No it is merely duplicated. You see there are two, actually the one next, beyond 5 is 6, not a 5, and we have two 6's. -- Oh I see.

So we are looking at page 5. -- That is correct.

MR JACOBS: Just before we read it can you tell the Court of any reason why this specific document would have been with-(20) held from you Mr Chikane? -- First it was a proposal, to start with. Maybe the Treasurer drew this paper with a view to present it to the NEC or somewhere else, you know, it is just a proposal.

But there is no reason that it would have been withheld? -- But I did not see it. What I am saying is that I did not see it.

Now the second paragraph, 1.2.2, the heading is "Campaign against forced removals" and the second paragraph:

"The work against forced removals had taken the UDF (30)  
into/....

into the rural areas. Organisation has increased against forced removals with the name of the UDF foremost in this resistance."

Is that a correct statement of fact Mr Chikane? -- I know that when organisations, especially in the Western Cape region started to go to Khayelitsha some of them were affiliates of the UDF. There were even stickers say "No to Khayelitsha", something of that sort.

Yes, what I asked you is a simple question. You can say yes or no Mr Chikane. Is this a correct statement of (10) fact of what took place? -- In as far as the Transvaal goes that is not the case.

And countrywide? -- Countrywide I can only remember this example that I have given.

Let us read the next paragraph:

"Some of the campaigns for example Huhudi had successfully resulted in staving off removals and many campaigns, for example resistance to Khayelitsha, still continues. The UDF attaches much importance to this area of work because of its ability to link town and (20) country and spread resistance to give our struggle a more national character."

Is that a correct statement Mr Chikane? -- Yes, if you take into consideration that we are talking, the first paragraph speaks about a single unified form. It means that these activities or these campaigns, it was campaigns of different organisations and that could be correct. Now the first, the last line, "This militates against a campaign taking a single ununified form".

Yes? -- Now this is what the author of the paper says.(30)

Now/....

Now it means that most probably there were campaigns by organisations in the Northern Cape and Khayelitsha there was another organisation that was engaged in some campaign against removals.

And what is meant by "with the name of the UDF foremost in this resistance"? -- Maybe those organisations saw themselves, others were affiliates of the UDF and saw themselves as members of, as potential members of the UDF. I do not know exactly what the author meant.

Yes. And can you go to the next page: (10)

"The National Executive Committee had decided to employ rural organisers to work specifically on removals.

Unfortunately this decision had not been implemented due to insufficient funds for salaries and vehicles."

Now after this report can you tell the Court, at a later stage did any funds become available and were any rural organisers employed by the UDF? -- No, but I know that the Transvaal employed Madison Morobi(?) to be the Rural Secretary and before he could even work because of the problems, I think one problem was that those people were determined (20) to become an independent regime and they felt that was a threat to their position of being independent from the Southern Transvaal, they rejected him when he went down there and for that reason Transvaal abandoned his service. Now I do not know if in other areas Regional, I mean other Regions whether somebody was employed. I cannot say.

Now on page 8, paragraph, section 2, have you got it?

-- I have got it.

That is paragraph 2.1 "Democracy versus The State":

"The UDF was conceived as a body which would co-ordinate(30)  
active/....



active struggle against the apartheid government.

Many organisations had been waging struggles at local levels around higher rentals, the housing crisis, rising electricity, rates, dummy bodies etc. but these were being conducted in isolation from one another.

Today these organisations are united to a mammoth force under the banner of the UDF."

Is that a correct statement? -- That is correct. That these issues were taken up by organisations before independent of each other. Now under the banner of the UDF they would be (10) able to, those organisations that have affiliated that have been carrying out these issues and are affiliated to the United Democratic Front would be able to work under the banner of the United Democratic Front.

Yes. And then again on page 9, section 3, "UDF and the Future" and paragraph 31.:

"Resistance to removals.

Intensifying work of the previous period and working to the point of a campaign of a more national character

building UDF structures in the rural areas." (20)

I put it to you Mr Chikane that it is clear from this that in the past UDF conducted a campaign against removals and it was going to intensify this campaign in the future, according to this? -- Counsel says according to this. I said I do not know this document to start with. Now he is getting to some statement that I do not know where does it, this document manifests from, but I am saying UDF had interests into organising in the rural areas. The author of this document is right on that point. But I am saying this document I have never seen it before and I do not think it is a UDF document because I (30)

have/....

have never seen it before.

And on page 10:

"Struggles in the Education Sphere"

and it says:

"It is likely that the past campaign for an adequate equal and relevant education will be intensified. Our affiliates from the educational sphere have already launched an education charter campaign to consult our people on the nature of the educational system demanded. Also as a spin off of the new constitution the govern- (10) ment has decreed that the community shall bear the cost of education. We understand this move as a further attempt to weigh the education system against our impoverished communities. This campaign will afford us the ability to unite parents and students more around common problems which confront them."

Is this a correct statement of the factual position in UDF Mr Chikane? -- I do not know where this document originates from and I do not know, I do not remember UDF discussing this subject of education in this particular context, that is (20) discussed here by this author.

I will ask you again is this stating the correct factual situation in the UDF or not? -- In this particular fashion, no.

What is wrong in this? -- Well this person speaks of also as a spin off of the new constitution the government has decreed that the communities shall bear the cost of education. I do not remember that for instance the UDF discussed this question of the decision that has been taken by the government, especially on education. I cannot remember that.

Do you know whether that was the perception in the UDF? (30)

-- Certainly/....

-- Certainly if it was the perception it would have been the perception of some individuals within the UDF. It was not my perception and UDF has never taken this perception as an organisation in as far as I can remember. Obviously I was not present in all the meetings.

So I put it to you Mr Chikane that the rest of that paragraph is factually correct? -- I will have to read it all then if that is the case. I will start from the beginning. Well the author speaks about the past campaigns for an adequate equal and relevant education will be intensified. Now I (10) do not know what campaigns is he referring to carried on by who, when, where.

So I will put it to you straight Mr Chikane that the UDF was conducting a campaign against Black education in the educational sphere and it was co-ordinating the running of that campaign by the youth, by AZAPO and COSAS especially? -- I said counsel was going to give me a chance to read this but if counsel is satisfied it is okay. I am saying ...

COURT: Well if counsel is satisfied with your answer it is okay. -- That is ... (20)

But I wonder what counsel will be satisfied with. He is not easily satisfied. Read the portion first. -- Thank you. And then he goes on to say "our affiliates in the educational sphere have already launched an educational charter campaign to consult our people on the nature of the educational system demanded." I agree with that statement that affiliates of the UDF launched an educational charter campaign, not the UDF.

MR JACOBS: But is it not so Mr Chikane that the UDF only gives leadership in the campaigns and the UDF only (30) co-ordinates/...

co-ordinates the activities of the affiliates in the running of campaigns and that the campaigns themselves were run by affiliates? -- Those campaigns are decided in the meeting of those organisations sitting together under the banner of the UDF, under the banner of the UDF or in the structure of the UDF. They remain, unless if that is the position, those campaigns would remain campaigns of the affiliates. For them to be campaigns of the UDF they have to be decided in a meeting under the banner of the UDF by all affiliates participating. Maybe a General Council structure. (10)

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): Can you say who the affiliates in the educational sphere would be? -- That would be maybe NEUSA, COSAS, AZASO and NUSAS.

COURT: When you say under the banner of the UDF does that mean that where pamphlets are issued the logo of the UDF is used, it is not under the banner of the UDF if the logo of the UDF is not used? Is that what you mean? -- Can I get that question again?

Yes. You say well some campaigns are run only by the affiliates and not by UDF, some are under the banner of the (20) UDF. Now when you say banner of the UDF it would not mean physically a banner held aloft with the words "UDF" on it. Does running a campaign under the banner of the UDF mean that the documentation bearing the logo of the UDF is used, that sign which says "UDF"? -- No I mean that the decision is taken by these different organisations as UDF that they are going to embark on that particular campaign.

Well were there campaigns which were not under the banner of the UDF in which UDF publications were used? -- No but there were campaigns that were embarked by affiliates (30)

of/....

of UDF where the logo was used of the UDF in their documents.

Well the moment the logo is used can one not say it is under the banner of the UDF because the public sees that the UDF is involved? -- That would be wrong for the public to say so because all the banner was meant to signify was that that particular organisation it is an affiliate of the UDF.

Well does the banner not signify that the UDF has put its stamp of approval on this particular agitation, if you may call it that, or campaign or whatever it is? -- That would be wrong. In as far as we understood it it would only mean (10) that that particular organisation is an affiliate member of the UDF.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): What would you then say Mr Chikane, what meaning could be attached to the phrase "under the banner of the UDF"? -- Under the banner of the UDF my understanding is that something that is done with the consent and approval of the UDF. But it could be wider, I agree.

COURT: Now let us just get the thing straight now. Would you say only a campaign which is decided upon at the NEC, National Executive Council level and is run by or controlled (20) by the UDF is a campaign under the banner of the UDF? -- No. I will say the campaign that is agreed upon by affiliates of the UDF sitting together in one meeting that is called General Council of the UDF, that would be the campaign of the UDF.

So nothing else can be done under the banner of the UDF? -- In my understanding of this particular context if it is not that then it is not under the banner of the UDF. It may be done by the affiliate of the UDF. As I say this can be broad, can be broadened.

MR JACOBS: Is it correct Mr Chikane that at the National (30) Launch/....

Launch of the UDF a lot of affiliated organisations, including COSAS, NUSAS and AZASO, decided on taking up the issue of Black education and the resolution in that regard was adopted? -- I do not remember if that resolution was, exactly how it was phrased but I know that those were organisations that were concerned about education even before the National Launch.

Well I am only interested at the National Launch. You referred to that all the organisations must decide together in one big meeting on an issue ... -- That is correct. (10)

So now I put it to you then that the education question, the question of Black education was decided in a big meeting of affiliated organisations as an issue to be taken up by the UDF and its affiliates? -- Well they participated in that and we drew a resolution. A resolution is just a document, a statement of proposed ideas, you know, and in fact the author of this paper makes it quite clear. He says affiliates from the educational sphere have already launched. He does not say the UDF has already launched. He says the affiliates in the educational sphere have. (20)

COURT: That is not the question. The question is at the National Launch of the UDF a resolution was passed, adopted. -- I agree.

On education. -- That is correct.

Now is an education campaign then not under the banner of the UDF? -- No because the resolution was adopted, this organisation independent of the UDF now, on their own they go around and organise this campaign and they have not said they are relating it specifically to the resolution of the UDF. (30)

MR JACOBS:/....

MR JACOBS: Now Mr Chikane can you tell the Court why the UDF appointed Curtis Nkondo as the Education Officer if it was not interested in a campaign against Black education? -- I said Curtis Nkondo was appointed to head the commission, Education Commission to try to find facts around the education.

For what purpose? -- No just to know exactly ...

Just for the knowledge of it? -- No most probably after that those facts were going to be evaluated by the UDF and possible to see what the UDF can do about those facts. But unfortunately the campaign never, I mean the commission (10) did not report back.

What did the UDF do about it, the Regional Council of the Transvaal? What did you do and ask him to report back now. He was appointed and why did he not report back. -- As at that time after he was elected we were caught up with for instance the mobilising people against the Tricameral Parliament and after August people were arrested and as a result, you know, UDF has never got to ask him why he did not report but I know that he was reported sick immediately after he was appointed.

Now Mr Chikane is it correct that in the Transvaal (20) COSAS and AZASO and NUSAS attended General Council meetings regularly? -- COSAS branches that were affiliated to the UDF and members of AZASO, especially from Medunsa, sometimes from the University of the North as well or colleges, some colleges around like Soweto College of Education, they used to attend meetings regularly, fairly regularly some of them but not always.

And NUSAS? -- And NUSAS as well but that would be reflected by the minutes. I cannot say exactly how regularly. The minutes can tell us. (30)

And/....

And is it correct that they attended the General Council meetings as affiliates of UDF? -- They were affiliates of the UDF and they attended some General Council meetings.

And did they regularly, when they attended meetings, report back to the UDF on what they were doing in connection with Black education, in the sphere of Black education, their activities in that regard? -- Every organisation was expected to give a report of what they were doing.

Every month? -- And since they were organising, I mean they were organisations that were concerned with the educational sphere that was expected of them. (10)

So why must they then report back to UDF on what they were doing in a campaign that has nothing to do with the UDF? -- You see at that particular stage for instance we had MSC which was the campaign which was agreed upon by these organisations sitting together. The UDF expected to know how its affiliates are faring on that particular campaign but people would often give, as I have already mentioned, much more information of what other activities they are engaged in, more than this campaign that has been agreed upon by the UDF. (20)

Mr Chikane they are not always reporting on the Million Signature Campaign but is it not so that they reported on what they were doing in connection with Black education? -- As I say it may be so but that would not have been the purpose of the UDF to say now come report about the Black education because UDF did not have a campaign at that particular stage on that particular issue. But UDF would say maybe report on the MSC, report on the campaign that we have agreed upon, on the anti-Tricameral election, what you have done. And then they will report about other things that they were doing. (30)

I/....



I put it to you Mr Chikane that you are not honest with the Court in this respect because these organisations when they attended the meetings they reported back on their activities in regard to the education campaign and the UDF evaluated that and that UDF then made decisions on that? -- I am not denying that the report contained this issue of education. What I am denying that they reported because that was a UDF campaign.

Yes. Now on the same page, 3.5:

"Anti-Conscription Campaign. As outlined earlier the (10) anti-conscription campaign was an important buttress to the campaign against the elections. The government will, however, have to implement the conscription of Coloureds and Indians in its attempt to strengthen itself militarily. Extensive preparation is necessary to prepare the community for a more intensive campaign whilst the campaign in essence might not be immediate the preparations is."

Now I put it to you Mr Chikane according to this document it is stating the correct position in the UDF and the anti- (20) conscription campaign was conducted by the UDF? -- No counsel is misunderstanding this paragraph altogether. The last sentence of this paragraph says "whilst the campaign in essence might not be immediate the preparation is." That is the campaign has not been conducted.

And I put it to you that the words "extensive preparation is necessary to prepare the community for a more extensive campaign indicates that it was an existing campaign and because it must be more extensive that is why it is said here the campaign in essence might not be immediate, the (30) preparations/...

preparations is. -- No counsel has completely misunderstood this paragraph. I understand it differently. My understanding is that the campaign has not started but it might start. Now we need to prepare our people, you know.

Mr Chikane do you know ... -- So I disagree with what counsel is suggesting on this paragraph that there was a campaign. Anyway there was no campaign.

Do you agree that at the launch of the UDF a resolution was adopted on the Defence Force and conscription by the meeting, by the whole meeting, all the affiliated organisations and the Executives chosen at that meeting? -- In the National Launch? (10)

Yes. -- Because I did not participate in the National Launch but I think I saw something to that effect in one of the exhibits, EXHIBIT A.1.

Did the UDF in the Transvaal, in the General Council of the UDF Transvaal, did the UDF address this question of conscription? -- That is correct.

Did it take decisions on this? -- That is correct, I remember at one stage UDF Transvaal called a meeting. In fact they tried to set up a committee and they called a meeting. Only four people attended and the position is made very clear by that report that I have said had a lot of mistakes in it on this question. (20)

Did the UDF ... -- Sorry I was just trying to remember what exhibit it is. The AGM report, I have forgotten the exhibit number.

Did the UDF hold any workshops in regard to the anti-conscription campaign and the conscientious objectors? -- Can I just be given a chance to find this exhibit that I am (30)

referring/....

referring to. It is T something but I will get it now.

Oh T.15.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): Must we take it out again Mr Chikane?

-- No I just wanted to say the position of the Transvaal in relation to this campaign is made clear in that report.

MR JACOBS: My question is Mr Chikane did the UDF Transvaal take any decisions to hold a workshop on anti-conscription, the anti-conscription campaign and conscientious objectors?

-- That is correct.

Yes. Did the UDF Transvaal Region appoint an commissions (10) or committees on anti-conscription? -- That is correct. The reason why they organised that workshop.

No committees, commissions or committees? -- The reason why they organised that workshop they were hoping that it would be able to attract people from the affiliates and then they will be able to form a committee but only four people turned up, you know. And as a result it means that the intention to try to start this campaign just fizzled out. The campaign on conscription.

Did the UDF in the Transvaal, that is the Transvaal (20) Region of the UDF, gather any information and have it available, draw up papers and have it available for people, assist organisations with information? -- On what?

On conscientious objectors and anti-conscription campaign? -- No. All I know is that UDF used to from time to time get publications from the churches on those particular issues. I do not know if maybe some of them were reproduced or anything but I know that the information was compiled by different independent organisations like the End Conscription Committee, Churches and so on. (30)

Do/....

Do you know whether the committees like the Media Committee, or the Education Committee, did they compile any reports or papers on conscription and conscientious objectors? -- Not to my knowledge.

Do you know whether the issue of conscription was specifically linked to the new constitution? -- That is correct. I remember some of the Parliament ministers saying we cannot hope, if the Coloureds are going to be part of this Tricameral Parliament they obviously would expect them to be conscripted to be in the army as well. (10)

And was it part of the campaign ... -- Something along that sort, I do not try to put it verbatim, I am not pretending to be quoting them verbatim.

And is it so Mr ... -- So it became an issue of the election, I mean during the time of the referendum that was an issue, the White referendum.

And as part of a campaign against conscription and the Defence Force? -- No I think people were addressing themselves mainly to the conscription, not the Defence Force. And as I say UDF as an organisation did not have any campaign around (20) this issue.

And I put it to you Mr Chikane it was done, this was done to get the people to reject conscription and in order for them to become antagonistic against the government who must conscript the people? -- That is not correct. I disagree with that.

And to put the Defence Force in a bad light? -- I disagree with that.

In the meetings held, the public meetings held on behalf of the UDF I put it to you the question of conscription was (30) always/....

always taken up and the people were told, the people who attended the meetings were told that if people were conscripted into the South African Army they will have to fight against their brothers and fathers in this country? -- It never happened at a meeting that those words were used as is used by counsel now.

And the principle, have you heard that before? -- No.

Have you read it in any of the publications of the UDF, UDF News or anything like that? -- No I did not see it. But I read it I think in some of the exhibits in this court. (10) I cannot remember which one, for the first time.

Did the UDF take up the issue of UDF on, did it take up the issue of anti-repression focus against the police force, the courts? -- I think anti-repression focus was not a campaign, it was a suggestion that was made in one of the meetings that now people are being detained, the members of our affiliated organisations are being locked up, some have got charges, some are just locked up without charges. And then they said, there were suggestions that maybe we should set up a campaign around that issue. But I do not remember any campaign being or- (20) organised on that particular issue. We never worked.

Was it taken up in UDF publications like UDF News, taken up in meetings organised by the UDF, by speakers at the meetings? -- I do not know ...

Harrassment and was that taken up in order to influence the people against the government and the police force? -- Your question has been so, it is long now, I cannot remember what counsel said for the first time because you said something before I could answer, you add something. Can counsel just start again so that, break it down so that I can answer (30) each/.....

each and every area.

Was it correct that the issue of repression and harrassment was taken up in order to influence the people against the South African Police, the security forces and even the courts? -- That is incorrect. The suggestion was made and there was no campaign on that issue. So the suggestion was not effected.

Was that issue never taken up by the UDF? -- I do not know if independent affiliates or maybe some organs of the UDF like maybe the Media Committee or anybody else could have (10) written about it. I do not know, I did not see that.

My question was was it ever taken up by the UDF, either nationally or regionally? -- It was never a campaign of the UDF, if that is what counsel means.

Was a campaign conducted by the UDF and taken up by the UDF in the Transvaal to get the political prisoners and exiles from this country, to have them released and the banning of the exiles to be uplifted? -- That is correct but that was not a campaign but there was a call that, for us to arriveq at a peaceful solution everybody else has got to participate, (20) the exiles have got to return, the banned have got to be un-banned and so on.

Was that the only reason Mr Chikane? -- Yes the reason, in fact the reason was that we wanted a national convention where South Africans can sit together to resolve the problems that have been created by apartheid.

Can you tell the Court, have a look at page 12 of this document. Page 12. -- I have closed the document, I cannot remember now.

EXHIBIT C.53. -- I have got it, thank you. (30)

"In/....

"In essence then we project our work in the next period to focus on issues pertinent to our people. We are committed to linking up these struggles into national campaigns. Simultaneously we believe that this form of struggle lends itself to the development of organisations. Central to our approach will be correcting the existing unevenness amongst organisations by first providing more resources to the development of organisations in the rural areas and secondly addressing the lack of resources in the African township which so restricts the growth (10) of organisation."

Is that a factually correct statement of the position in the UDF? -- The word I think is "restrict" but I agree with counsel it must be "restricts".

COURT: Mr Chikane if one looks at this document it would appear to be drafted by somebody in the National Secretariat, either the Treasurer or the Secretary because it contains a budget at page 14 and 13 of the Head Office expenses. Could you conceivably think of anybody who would do this sort of work just for the fun of it? -- No, no, it could, I agree (20) it should be someone else who was informed about the UDF.

C.990

Well apart from that nobody who was just informed about the UDF would draft a budget for the UDF? -- Maybe it could be a Treasurer.

A Treasurer? -- Yes.

Of the UDF? -- It is possible. But it was never presented before the UDF. That is why it is not a UDF paper.

MR JACOBS: Will you go to page 15, 4.4, it is notes on the budget, 4.4.1 "Head Office":

"The UDF Head Offices as a linkage between the (30)  
different/.....

different regions in addition its role can be broadly defined as initiating campaigns, information and contact with the international community. Head office employs two officers viz the National General Secretary and the National Publicity Secretary as well as an administrator."

Where it speaks of head office here Mr Chikane do you agree it is referring to the leadership in the UDF, that the NEC, the people, the chosen people in an NEC, is it correct?

-- No I think it should be referring to an office here.

Now is it the duty of the office to, its role can be (10) broadly defined as initiating campaigns, information and contact with the international community. Would that be the duty of the office? -- I disagree with the author of this document. NEC was not initiating campaigns.

Who was initiating campaigns? -- Affiliates, General Council would initiate campaigns. Either Regional or National General Councils.

So the General Council can decide on themselves when it must be a National campaign? -- That is the General Council can take a position and then tell, instruct the officials (20) to put that resolution into effect.

Now which General Council are you referring to now? -- Either National or Regional General Councils.

Then on page 16, paragraph 4.4.2:

"National functions. There exists within the UDF a divide between national and regional functions. The regions advance campaigns and the UDF within the province. A fair amount of money for this work is raised locally. UDF national tends to the overall development and advancement of the Front. This (30)

division/....



division will be clarified later."

COURT: Could this document have been a document which was, which accompanied I think it was Mr Valli overseas when he was looking for funds? -- I do not know what documents he had.

When did he go overseas? -- What is your question?

When did he leave for overseas? -- I cannot remember but it does appear in the Minutes somewhere.

Well, very well we will look it up. -- Thank you.

What is your question?

MR JACOBS: I have read that paragraph to him. (10)

COURT: And what was the question?

MR JACOBS: I will just see the paragraph again. Is that, what I read to you, paragraph 4.4.2, that regions advance the campaigns is it true and a correct version? -- Well I do not know in what sense did this author write this sentence. So I find it very difficult to answer.

Mr Chikane can you tell the Court is it the duty of the Secretariat of the UDF to see to it that the decisions, policy and campaigns of the UDF were carried out? -- What, the national Secretariat? (20)

No the Secretariat of UDF. You were a member of the Secretariat is it correct? -- Yes correct.

A body existing consisting of the national secretariat and the secretariat from each region, is that not the Secretariat of UDF? -- Yes alright, I understand. That is correct in fact we were expected to see to it that the duties or ideas that are agreed upon by General Council, national or regional and National Executive are executed.

Yes. And is it important then therefore for them to meet regularly, the Secretariat to meet regularly in order to (30)

see/....

see to the carrying out of their duties? -- No, but I know that they did, the National Secretariat met whenever it was necessary.

How many times a month did they meet as a body? -- I was talking about the National Secretariat or are we speaking about secretaries of the regions?

Secretariat, the body known as the Secretariat of the UDF? -- National?

Is that the national body? -- Yes, there is a National Secretariat, now I just want to get it clear whether counsel referred to the National Secretariat or he just referred to (10) secretaries like myself and Valli were secretaries of a region.

Let me put it this way Mr Chikane. We have read through a lot of reports here of meetings of the Secretariat of UDF. What is meant by that Secretariat of UDF where you attended and the other secretaries attended? -- Of other Regions as well?

Yes. -- That is the National Secretariat.

Is that the National Secretariat? -- Yes. But there are other reports that are written Secretariat. You will find (20) that they are Regional Secretarial report either to the National Secretariat or to the National Executive Committee.

Yes, and to be clear on this, and we are referring then to the National Secretariat, it consists of the two National secretaries, the Publicity Secretary and the National Secretary as well as the secretaries from each Region, is that correct? -- That is correct.

Then we understand it, then it is the National Secretariat. Now how many times in a month did they convene? -- In a month?

Yes. -- I do not think they were meeting monthly. (30)

They/....

They only met when it was necessary.

Now during the period that you became a member of this National Secretariat did you convene at a monthly basis or not? -- No we did not convene at a monthly basis that is for sure, but we met whenever it was necessary.

Does it happen then in actual fact that you have sometimes convened more than once in one month? -- No.

Or that you convened at least once a month? -- There are months that we have met but I do not think we were meeting every month. We were not meeting every month. (10)

And was the purpose then of meeting each other was to then at a meeting of the secretaries do you report, each Region reports to the National Secretariat on what was done in each area of each Region? -- You report to the Secretariat, to the National Secretariat. You do not report to the National Secretary necessarily. That is correct.

And did every, the secretaries from every Region then report on what was taking place in carrying out the decisions and the policies and the campaigns of the UDF in the different districts of different towns by the affiliates? -- That is (20) correct.

And then what happened, did you discuss what was taking place and then did you go on to plan for further action, the carrying out of the decisions and the campaigns of the UDF? -- If I understand counsel's question what would happen is that after every secretary has given a report this assists the National officers to be able to compile their report which would be given to the National Executive Committee meeting, or NGC if there is any NGC.

And another point is, if say for instance it is said (30)  
that/....

that such and such decision of the UDF had to be carried out and was not carried out say for instance in the Transvaal then you will discuss the matter and you will decide on it that this must now be carried out? -- If the decision was taken by the General Council or by the decision making structures of the UDF and then we discover that maybe one area has carried on that activity we will try to motivate them to carry on the activity.

Yes. Now Mr Chikane, so is it correct then that the secretary is conversant with the whole spectrum of activities of the UDF and the affiliates of the UDF? -- It is conversant with issues that are reported to it, that is it is informed, if by conversant we mean the same thing. (10)

In the whole country, of what is taking place in the whole country. Each secretary will report on what is taking place in his area? -- I would not agree with counsel when he says in the whole country because in some parts of the country we did not have affiliates and we did not have presence and as a result we did not know what was taking place in those areas. (20)

But in areas where .... -- But where we had affiliates, where there were Regions, structures of the UDF, we used to get reports and I cannot say we got everything that was happening there because it depends on what is being reported to this structure.

And is it also correct that it was part of the duties of the secretaries in the different regions to go out to the different affiliates and to see what was going on and to check on the activities of the affiliates? -- Can counsel repeat the question please? (30)

Was/....

Was it also part of the duties of the secretaries in the Regions to go out and visit the different affiliated organisations in the different townships? -- That is what was expected, as officers of the organisation, to get to know exactly what organisations were doing and so on.

Did you do it in the Transvaal? -- I did visit some of the organisations.

And do you know whether it was done in the other regions, whether it was reported done in the other regions? -- I do not know, I do not remember a specific report where a secretary (10) of a region says that I have visited organisation X and Y. I cannot remember as I stand here.

Mr Chikane I would like to refer you to certain aspects now. In Huhudi the organisations affiliated to, in Huhudi that was affiliated, the organisations that were affiliated to the UDF were HUCA and HUYO. HUCA is Huhudi Civic Association and HUYO is the Huhudi Youth Organisation, is that correct? -- Unless if I see A.1. Independently I cannot remember each affiliate of a different region.

And I would like to put it to you that these affiliated organisations to the UDF did organise and mobilise the people in the Huhudi area. (20)

MR TIP: Before My Learned Friend proceeds on the basis that they were affiliated perhaps that question should be cleared up. My recollection is that there is no admission to that effect concerning those two bodies.

COURT: I will not know Mr Tip.

MR TIP: I am sure My Lord. It is just something that should be cleared up before the cross-examination proceeds on that basis. (30)

COURT: /.....

COURT: Is there an admission Mr Jacobs?

MR JACOBS: I will check it. I have not checked on that but can we get it clear was there a Region formed in the Northern Cape, a UDF Region formed there? -- I think there was some sort of structure there that was formed.

Was a Region formed? -- We used to refer to that structure as a Region but in fact in some of the Minutes, national Minutes, they said they do not even, that Region does not qualify to be called a Region. But at times you find that they refer it as a Region, at times they refer it not as (10) a Region.

Do you know ...

MR TIP: Sir, I am rising again just to correct myself. In fact I see that in the admissions document there is an admission concerning those bodies in relation to the Northern Cape. I was looking at the Transvaal. I apologise.

COURT: Thank you. As the song says a small interruption once in a while keeps us all alive-o.

COURT ADJOURNS UNTIL 29 OCTOBER 1987.