

IN DIE HOOGGEREGSHOF VAN SUID-AFRIKA
(TRANSVAALSE PROVINSIALE AFDELING)

A

SAAKNOMMER: CC 482/85

PRETORIA

1988-04-18 en 19

DIE STAAT teen:

PATRICK MABUYA BALEKA EN 21
ANDER

VOOR:

SY EDELE REGTER VAN DIJKHORST EN
ASSESSOR : MNR. W.F. KRUGEL

NAMENS DIE STAAT:

ADV. P.B. JACOBS
ADV. P. FICK
ADV. H. SMITH

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:

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ABRAHAM SOKHAYA NKOMO, d.s.s.

EXAMINATION BY MR YACOOB : Dr Nkomo, are you presently a medical practitioner who carries on practice at Atteridgeville?
-- Yes.

For how long have you been practising at Atteridgeville?

-- I have been practising in Atteridgeville since 1970.

When did you qualify as a medical practitioner? --

I qualified at the end of 1967 at Natal University and did my internship at King Edward A Hospital in Durban for the year of 1968. Part of the year 1969 I practised in Durban(10) at the hospital and also did locums and started working in Pretoria in 1970.

Had you studied at any university other than Natal University? -- Prior to that I studied - prior to my studies at Natal University I studied for a science degree at Fort Hare University, attached to Rhodes University. The degrees were conferred by the University of Rhodes.

For how long have you been living in Atteridgeville? --

I have been living in Atteridgeville eversince I started practising there. Prior to that we lived in Lady Selbourne(20) which has since been removed at the slums act.

Do you belong to any church? -- I am a practising member of the Methodist Church of South Africa. I have served also for several years on sinodal committees of the Northern Transvaal and Mozambique district of the Methodist Church and I have also served on the national advisory committee of the president for the Methodist Church.

Before 1983 were you involved in any community activity in Saulsville/Atteridgeville? -- Yes, I did participate in the society for creative community. (30)

COURT/...

COURT : What is that? -- The intention of this society was to assist to achieve a degree of coherence and coerciveness in the community. We were driven to take the step because we were aware that Atteridgeville was a heterogeneous community in the sense that people were brought to Atteridgeville who were fetched from different areas, from Eastwood for example, from Mooiplaas, from the old Marabastad, or Cape location it was called and even from Lady Selbourne when the removal of Lady Selbourne happened, with the result therefore that there was this lack of coerciveness and the crime rate (10) was sorry, because people did not know each other. So, to that extent therefore we felt called upon to form the society for creative community. The one thing also which was very striking was the excessive amount of money people spent at funerals. So, the idea therefore was to bring it home to the people that in fact what went as culture was in fact not culture, but it was merely pandering to the god of commerce. To that extent therefore we held seminars under the banner of the society for creative community where we reminded people of their true tradition and culture. (20) We had university lecturers lecturing sociology and anthropology who came to address these meetings to remind the people of the true nature of their culture. Therefore the aim actually being to reduce the excessive amounts of money spent at funerals because the ordinary working person could not bear the cost of such expensive procedures, but at the same time we felt called upon to live up to the Jones's. So, to that extent therefore there was this need to ameliorate the burden under which the ordinary person was .. (Court intervenes) (30)

COURT/...

COURT : You mean die down to the Jones's , but now when was this? You participated in this society during what period?
-- I would say between the years 1981 and 1982 even into 1983 actually.

MR YACOOB : During late 1982 early 1983 did you become aware that a new dispensation as it came to be called, was in the offing? -- In 1983 it became apparent in the media and through circulars which we received that there was to be a new dispensation. Now this new dispensation would consist in the setting up of a new constitution for the (10) Republic of South Africa. It also entailed the introduction of what is popularly known as the tri-cameral parliament. In addition there were to be the so-called black local authorities act for the African population in particular. This was the new dispensation that we heard about in 1983 in the early part of 1983.

I want to refer first please to the new constitution which brought in the new tri-cameral parliament. Did you take an interest in this new constitutional dispensation proposal? -- Yes, I have referred to media articles which (20) referred to this. I personally also felt concerned about the announcement of this new dispensation.

Why were you concerned? -- The reason will be understood if the court bears in mind the fact that I stand against apartheid and in fact envisage a society where we shall have one person one vote. Having thought very carefully about this constitutional dispensation as announcement, there were four reasons why I saw that I could not welcome this new dispensation.

Yes, carry on. Could you please give the court an (30)
idea/...

idea of your reasons? -- First of all it became quite clear that this dispensation was being imposed upon my people, because there had been no consultation with African people in this context. Secondly, there was going to be no change as a result of the imposition of this new dispensation.

I was aware that for instance there would be no change in the amount of money that is paid to people, people would continue to live in the same areas ... (Court intervenes)

COURT : Do you mean in salaries? -- That is right.

Yes? -- People would continue to live where they lived before, pensions would remain the same on a four tier basis. (10)

MR YACOOB : Were African people to be included? -- This was the source of great sadness that my people were not to be included in the new dispensation, but what was even worse than that was that even if they were included in this dispensation in a fourth chamber, there was this other overriding principle that the constitution for the first time in the history of the country entrenched racism, whereas racism was part and parcel of our society. For the first time in this constitution was entrenched the principles of racism as we see for instance in the practice of own affairs and so on. (20)

COURT : You said there were four reasons. Are you still busy with the second reason or have you gone over to the third and possibly the fourth reason? -- Well, the first reason was the fact that there was imposition without consultation.

That is right. The second was they would be entrenched? -- The second reason was that in fact there was no consultation with my people. (30)

That/...

That was the first one. No consultation. The second was there would be no change. -- That is right.

Was the third one that Africans would not be included because you were interrupted by Mr Yacoob? -- That is right, they were not included.

Is that the third one? What is the fourth one? -- The principle of racism being entrenched.

MR YACOOB : Let us turn now to the black local authorities act. What did you think was going to happen in terms of the black local authorities act? What was the legislation(10) about? -- The black local authorities act whilst the dispensation promised new horizons for the other racial segments of our community, could be seen as something like a sob, because we were being given the vote under the black local authorities act, a vote which was seen by myself and many others as a substitute for what we were yearning for, which is a vote in the central government. So, this was completely unsatisfactory. Also we had seen that the black local authorities act came into being without consultation with our people and we had seen right from the days of the (20) native representative council, the NRC coming into the advisory boards, the community councils, now the town councils that always where new statutory methods were introduced without consulting the people, they came to grieve and had to be replaced by others and it was quite clear therefore that even this new dispensation which was being enacted and implemented without consultation was likely to come to the same doom, but without raising, without the problem that it would raise the anger of the people, this was a problem, but it would come to grieve, but it would have raised the anger(30) of/...

of the people. It was not a recipe for peace. In fact one could only see blooming disaster in the whole thing, especially for the first time a real slab was placed - was given to the people in the fact that they were not included in the new dispensation. This is how I saw the black local authorities act and in addition what it meant in essence was it was not providing a viable economic infrastructure. Whereas in the past our townships were attached for economic purposes to administration of the neighbouring towns, for instance Lady Selbourne was under the wing of the municipality of Pretoria(10) and therefore it enjoyed the same economic liabilities as the Pretoria community. In this instance Atteridgeville or other town councils were separated from the economic pool. Now what you do have is that you have a residential suburb which has got no commercial and industrial infrastructure, having to raise its revenue only from residences, rents and rates, services, charges for services. As a result of this then you find a situation where the only source of income would be the rent and we foresaw that this would create serious problems for the people who were already suffering(20) from the yoke of unemployment, low wages and high transport costs. In other words people who did not choose to be placed so far away from their place of work and therefore had to face high economic costs in the form of transport charges, now found that they had to pay higher rents which meant in other words they were actually being asked to subsidise apartheid.

COURT : Was this a new situation, the economic separation of the townships from the white cities or was it an existing situation for a number of years? -- Well, with the newly announced independence the town councils were now given (30) complete/...

complete carte blanche they were now free completely from the town councils in the neighbouring areas. Now for the first time they were given town council status.

Had they not been made free from the white cities before that when they were brought under the development boards? -- No.

MR YACOOB : Did you then not find the black local authorities legislation acceptable? -- I found that it was not acceptable at all for the reasons that I have given already and also it would not actually be completely independent and able to (10) act as its own free agent, because for instance it was to be under the administration board which represented the door of the ministry of co-operation and development and as the act is analysed it will be seen in fact that the minister could do exactly as he chose. He could for instance close down a town council so that to that extent therefore there was no truth in the fact that town councils were to be completely free.

Did you decide that you would do something about the fact that you found the black local authorities act unaccepta- (20) ble or not? -- It became clear from discussions with friends and colleagues that there was a need for the mood of the people to be assessed, the readiness to accept the new dispensation and so then I spoke to several of my friends, including some who were later on closely associated with me in what we will describe later. I have here in mind like the Reverend Mosoma. We discussed at length this matter and having discussed this matter at length. So, we decided then that we would visit people, hear their views, explain to them what the new dispensation was and show that in fact it was (30)

a/...

a disadvantage to the African community.

Had you by this time come to any conclusion about whether people should vote for councillors under the black local authorities act or not? -- What was needed was a meaningful way in which to register our opposition, mine and those of people who thought like me to the dispensation and having thought about the matter very clearly and having discussed it and having read newspaper articles, it became quite clear that the only method to register our position with respect to the new legislation was to stay away from the election (10) booth. So, in consultation with many people in the community it became clear that we should actually form an ad hoc committee which ad hoc committee would then concern itself with making it plain to those who might be in doubt the true position of the implications of this new dispensation.

Who are the people you consulted in connection with the formation of the ad hoc committee? You have mentioned Reverend Mosoma. Could you give us the other names, please? -- Well, as I have already indicated before, we have the society for creative community. In the society for (20) creative community amongst other things we discussed health and we had a simposium to discuss the health matter, the imposition of the new law which categorised patients according to their earnings and so at this meeting there had been quite a number of people and I remember there that I had seen some very community orientated young adults and so, these are some of the people I consulted. People like Mr Ramano Dau, people who had interviewed me on matters of health as relates to the community, such as Mr Titus Mafolo, people who had gained the degree of prominence in the community, such as Mr John (30)

Legong/...

Legong who had participated in beauty and dance competitions. People like Mr Mothupi. Amongst others these are the people I consulted with.

Who constituted then this ad hoc committee that you talk of? -- We met from time to time and decided that perhaps the best only obvious method is to hold a public meeting where we would then meet the people and so initially what happened was that we went to the various sections of Atteridgeville and met in church halls and met various sections of the people in that way. Atteridgeville is divided into eleven(10) sections. So, then we held meetings in the various sections of the community and because we were the people who were coming to the people explaining the implications of the act, it so happened that we were then returned into office as the members of the ad hoc committee, the people whom I have just enumerated.

Before you had these meetings, did you - the meetings in the different areas - in fact contact the members of any other organisation to help you? -- No. The effort arose as I have said from discussions and conversations and it (20) developed a momentum of its own as we went to the different sections of the community and so there was no need for us to call other agencies because we were merely reflecting and articulating the grounds of opinion at a local level.

These meetings that you talk of which were held you say in each of the local areas in Saulsville/Atteridgeville, about how many of them were there?-- They were held over a period spanning from I would say May 1983 moving on towards October. There were meetings which we held amongst ourselves and then there were meetings which we held in the various (30) sections/...

sections of the community. I do not know exactly how many meetings we had but there was quite a burst of activity between May and October 1983.

The meetings that were held in each of the centres, where were these usually held? What sort of venue? -- The venues which were readily available were church halls. So, most of the meetings were held in church halls actually. Because they were being held in the church, the resident minister would actually open the meetings with a prayer, a hymn would be sung and then as chair person I would indicate the reason why the meeting was held, one or two members from the ad hoc committee would then expound the implications of the black local authorities act to the audience, after which then the meeting would reach the stage of comments and questions. Quite often there was unanimity on the matter of our position to the local authorities act. As I remember the committee would be applauded for the state it had taken to bring people together to share their views on this matter and as I recall this stage would be followed by the item where resolutions are called for and heard, read and adopted(20) and quite often the resolutions would actually support the ad hoc committee, urge it to call meetings in other areas so that the whole effort is not restricted to just sections, but to the whole of Atteridgeville and so arising from this trend, we were actually urged to call one big rally in Atteridgeville which actually took place if I remember correctly on 23 October 1983 on a Sunday afternoon I think it was.

COURT ADJOURNS TILL 19 APRIL 1988.

COURT/...

COURT RESUMES ON 19 APRIL 1988.

ABRAHAM SOKHAYA NKOMO, d.s.s.

MR YACOOB : My lord, I am sorry but I forgot to mention to your lordship yesterday that the next witness will be from Graaff-Reinet.

FURTHER EXAMINATION BY MR YACOOB : Doctor, yesterday, you gave the court just at the stage when we finished a broad general account of the meetings which were held during the period May to October 1983. Is that correct? -- That is correct. (10)

I would like to ask you a few more questions about those meetings. Firstly, who organised these meetings? -- These meetings were organised by myself and the men whose names I mentioned to the court yesterday. We constituted the ad hoc committee at that stage.

Have you ever heard of the Saulsville/Atteridgeville Youth Organisation, which is more popularly known as SAYO, it is abbreviated to SAYO? -- Yes, I have heard about it.

When did you get to hear about them? -- The first time I heard about it was at the health meeting I referred to (20) earlier yesterday which was held under the auspices of the community for society - the society for creative community.

COURT : When was it? -- That was at the meeting which I referred to in 1983.

MR YACOOB : When was that meeting held? -- It was held about May 1983.

And were people from SAYO present at this meeting? -- Yes, they were.

Who were the people from SAYO that were present at this meeting? -- If I recall well the people who were present (30) were/...

were Kgaugelo Lekgoro.

And who else? -- He was in the company of a Mr Masuku.

Did these gentleman participate in the meeting called by the society for creative community? -- Yes, they did.

COURT : Were they youths? -- Well, one could say young adults, in the early mid-twenties.

MR YACOOB : What was your impression of them? -- I was highly impressed by these two young adults.

Did the people from SAYO assist you later?-- Yes, they did. (10)

What kind of assistance did they give you? -- They assisted us in the matter of the distribution of pamphlets notifying the public about meetings.

How did it come about that people from SAYO began to give your ad hoc committee assistance? -- Having met these two gentlemen I have mentioned to the court, it happened that as we were planning at the ad hoc committee or campaign, it did occur to us that we might need pamphlets and that these pamphlets would then have to be distributed. When we were in this quandary, then I remembered that I had met these (20) young gentlemen and that may be we ought to invite them to a meeting of the ad hoc committee and suggest to them that they assist us with the distribution of pamphlets.

Did the committee agree? -- The committee did.

Did you go ahead and do that? -- They were invited and did attend the meeting of the ad hoc committee.

About when would you say was it that they started helping you distribute pamphlets? -- They started to help us distributing pamphlets in the run up to the meeting of October the 3rd, but of course also in the sectional (30) meetings/...

meetings I have referred to earlier on to help in the different sections of Atteridgeville and Saulsville. There was a need for the distribution of pamphlets and at this stage they helped us.

Who chaired - I am still dealing with the sectional meetings as you call them and these were the meetings held between May and October 1983 - these meetings? -- I did.

Were there any speakers outside - from outside Atteridgeville or Saulsville who spoke at these meetings, the sectional meetings? -- There were no speakers from outside Atteridgeville/Saulsville. (10)

Were there songs sung at these sectional meetings? -- Yes, there were songs sung.

Can you please give the court some idea of the sort of songs that were sung if you remember them? -- I think if I remember well there was a hymn "Re a no boka Morena." "We praise you, Lord." That was a hymn that was normally sung at the beginning of the meeting. Then during the course of the meeting other songs were sung.

What were these other songs? Can you remember? -- (20) During the course of the meeting I remember "Senzeni na", "What have we done, Lord?" being sung.

Any other songs during these meetings? -- I think "Mayi-buye" was also sung.

How did - did the meeting end with any particular song or not? -- The general tendency was for the meetings to end with rendition of "Nkosi Sikilele Afrika" "God bless Afrika." Which is the national anthem.

Were there slogans chanted at these meetings? -- Yes, there were slogans chanted at the meetings. (30)

What/...

What slogans can you remember now? -- Well, a very popular one which I must remember I think is "Amandla Ngawethu."

What would you say was the age group of the audience of these meetings? Can you give any estimation? -- I would say the majority of the people who attended the meetings would be middle-aged to elderly people.

COURT : And what language was used? -- The vernacular quite often was used.

What is the vernacular in Saulsville/Atteridgeville? -- The speaker, depending what his language is, would speak (10) either in Northern Sotho or Tswana or Zulu or Xhosa, but people understand. When you are speaking your language people understand.

All these languages? -- That is right.

All the people? -- That is right.

MR YACOOB : Was the UDF mentioned or discussed at these meetings? Can you remember? -- I do not remember the UDF being mentioned specifically.

I want to turn now please to the meeting which was held in October - there was a larger meeting held in October (20) 1983, was there not? -- Yes, there was.

What was the date on which this meeting was held? -- The date was 23 October 1983.

COURT : Was that a mass meeting? -- Yes, it was a mass meeting for the Atteridgeville/Saulsville complex.

MR YACOOB : Who was this mass meeting planned by? -- This meeting was planned by the ad hoc committee to which I have referred earlier.

COURT : And where was it held? -- It was held at the Lutheran Church in Atteridgeville. (30)

MR YACOOB/...

MR YACOOB : What was the purpose of this meeting? -- The purpose of this meeting was to launch the ad hoc committee in the public eye.

Was there any discussion in your committee meetings about speakers for this meeting? -- Yes, there was a discussion about speakers.

Did you decide on any speakers who were not from Saulsville/Atteridgeville? -- Yes, we did actually think of one speaker from outside the Atteridgeville/Saulsville complex.

Who was it and why? -- It was Dr Motlana. (10)

Why did you choose Dr Motlana? -- Dr Motlana was chosen because he is a very prominent figure in our community. At the same time too he was and I believe is still the chairman of the Soweto Civic Association which was very well known to our people. So, his name was thought to be very ideal for the occasion.

Did the fact that he was connected with the UDF feature at all in your decision to invite him? -- We were not aware that he was associated with the UDF. As I have said he came to prominence because of his role in the Soweto Civic Association. (20)

Were there any outside speakers planned for? -- No.

I would like now please to turn to the meeting on 23 October 1983 at the Lutheran Church. Who chaired this meeting? -- I did.

How would you estimate the number of the audience? -- The press estimated - there were various ... (Court intervenes)

COURT : No, please do not tell me what the press said.

Give us your own estimation. -- Between two and three thousand.

MR YACOOB : Was Dr Motlana there? -- He arrived and did (30)
speak/...

speak.

Who arranged for him to be present? -- The committee asked me to arrange for him to come, which I did.

Can you recall broadly what he said? -- He spoke, if I remember well, about the black local authorities act and its implication to our people.

Can you recall anything else? -- I remember also that he spoke about a seminar which he had attended. This seminar had been arranged for civic leaders and it had been held at the university of the Witwatersrand. The subject of the(10) seminar was the position of the prospective development boards. He was struck by the phenomenal power that these development boards would actually wield and even as he spoke I was also quite shaken by this that I heard.

Did Dr Motlana speak on any other topic? -- No, that is what he spoke about.

Apart from Dr Motlana were there any other speakers at this meeting? -- I remember that the meeting was opened with a prayers by Professor Maimela who is a minister of the Lutheran Church and also the head of the department of siste-(20) matic theology at the University of South Africa, UNISA.

Any other speakers that you can remember now? -- Then after that there were speakers from the floor.

What decisions were taken at this meeting that you can remember? -- The decision was taken to further the anti-election campaign. That is the elections which were to be held on 7 December 1983.

What else? -- That further meetings should be held in this regard and the ad hoc was unanimously accepted by the community as represented there and actually launched by a resolution(30) passed/...

passed at that meeting.

COURT : Well now, was a new organisation formed or was just the ad hoc committee launched? -- The ad hoc committee was launched.

MR YACOOB : Was there any discussion or decision about whether you would vote or not at the impending local authority elections? -- This meeting resoundingly decided that the community of Saulsville/Atteridgeville should not vote at the impending elections.

Was there any money collected at this meeting or not?(10)
Can you remember? -- Oh, yes, I can remember, there was a mood of excitement and celebration almost and a young lady from the back of the hall stood up and said that well, this was a very good thing which had happened, there were so many of us there, the church needed to be cleaned and so there should be a collection for that and also that obviously the ad hoc committee must incur expenses in preparing for the meeting and would actually incur further expenses in running the anti-election campaign and in fact the meeting actually paused for this to happen and there was a sing-song, (20)
people marched to the stage, the platform to collect and money was raised.

Talking about expenditure, up until this stage had the UDF given you any assistance at all? -- The money required for pamphleteering and other administrative costs entailed was actually donated by the members of the ad hoc committee, the ones that I have mentioned yesterday.

But had the UDF given you any assistance? -- No.

I want to turn now please to the campaign against the elections. (30)

ASSESSOR/...

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : Just before we go on, Mr Yacoob.

Doctor, did this committee have a name? -- It was the ad hoc committee. It did not have a name.

COURT : Did anybody know what that meant? -- Well, it had come into being specifically for the purpose of the intended election and so we came together and seeing that we were coming on this ad hoc basis and did not know what the future would be, but just that we had been brought together by this particular purpose, we thought that the only obvious name would be that of an ad hoc committee. (10)

MR YACOOB : I want to turn now to the campaign in relation to the black local authority elections. When were the elections in respect of the black authorities held in Saulsville/Atteridgeville? -- The election was held on 7 December 1983.

When would you say your campaign in respect of these elections in fact started properly? -- It started properly I want to believe on 23 October 1983 at the launch of the ad hoc committee.

Can you please tell the court about what was done in respect of the campaign before election day? What were (20) the sorts of things that you did? -- We held house to house visits where we spoke to families about the black local authorities act, the coming election, the proposed institution of town councils for the first time. This is what we did. House to house visitations. At the same time ... (Mr Yacoob intervenes)

Before we go to any other thing that you did, I want to ask you a few questions about these house to house visits, please. Did the UDF ask you to conduct these house to house visits? -- No, this was a spontaneous decision, because (30)

to/...

to us it was the only obvious way to meet the people to popularise our message. There are so many examples of this kind of thing, the house to house visits being done. We know that for instance marketing research, when they want to know the opinion of people on a new commodity or a certain practice, they conduct house to house visits. We also know that the churches in their revival campaigns also conduct house to house visits. The furniture shops Ellerines, World and whatever, when they want to actually publicise, advertise their product they conduct house to house visitations(10) and so it was very obvious to us that it was the only effective way of actually meeting the people, this method of going from house to house.

Did you yourself conduct any visits? Did you go visiting homes? -- Yes, I did.

Apart from house to house visits, what else did you do in respect of the anti-election campaign? -- We also issued and distributed pamphlets to reach as many people as we could.

Any other steps you took? -- We continued to hold (20) meetings, these sectional meetings.

Can you recall how often you held these meetings? -- The sectional meetings were held initially - well, every week there was a meeting in a different section and we had one final meeting on the Sunday before the election.

COURT : One final mass meeting? -- That is right.

MR YACOOB : Is there anything else which you did that you can remember or does that complete generally the way in which you conducted the anti-election campaign? -- I think that is all that we did, unless if I am reminded of something (30)

else/...

else.

Was the UDF involved in any way in your anti-election campaign?-- No.

Did you distribute any documents that you got from the UDF at all in respect of the elections? -- I think perhaps in the very last week we may have received through SAYO some documents or posters - not documents, posters, banners perhaps in the last week of the election campaign.

Can you recall whether any pamphlets at all were received during the last week of the campaign or not? -- I remember (10) particularly the posters and banners.

COURT : That is now posters and banners of the UDF? Or what sort of banners were they? -- They did not have the UDF emblem on them. What they did do was merely to say what we had said "Do not vote", simple messages like that, but at that time we needed big posters and banners.

MR YACOOB : You said the people from SAYO in fact made these available and you thought they came from the UDF? -- That is right.

I want to turn now please to the election day which (20) was 7 December. What activities did you engage in on that day? -- On this day we monitored the election, how it was being conducted.

How did you do this monitoring? --Those of us who had the use of motor vehicles drove around from election booth to election booth to see how many people were turning up at the election booths. We wanted to see the fruit of our work, if the message had actually gone home. So, we did that monitoring by driving around and also there were people on the main routes who held banners and posters saying (30)

"Do/...

"Do not vote" and also at a convenient distance away from the election booth there would be people who actually would be counting the people as they went there, to see that there was no irregularly, no people were being coerced to vote, who did not want to vote who were just spectators. That is the kind of monitoring that happened on that day.

Did you do anything yourself on that day? -- I drove around and actually moved from booth to booth to actually see what was happening.

What would you say to the suggestion that people were(10) forced not to vote or did not vote because they were intimidated or chased away from the pole? Did you see anything like that happen? -- No, nothing like that ever happened. I drove from booth to booth and as I have said our people were near the election booths and we did not, when we compared note , find that there had been any attempt to prevent anybody from voting who wanted to vote. This would have gone against the grain of the spirit of the ad hoc committee.

Just to round off the anti-election campaign then. Do you know of violence which occurred in the township (20) during your campaign at all? -- There was no violence whatsoever.

Was there a report back meeting in respect of the elections which had been held on 7 December 1983 and the work that was done in connection with the elections? -- Yes. In January 1984 there was a report back meeting.

COURT : Was this now a committee meeting or was it a mass meeting? -- It was a mass meeting in reporting back.

MR YACOOB : Who decided to hold this meeting to report back to the committee - to the people? -- We, the ad hoc committee(30) felt/...

felt incumbent upon us to report back to the people.

What decision was taken at this meeting? -- The decision taken at this meeting was that the ad hoc should not formalise itself into a more permanent organisation and to that end should produce a constitution.

For what? For what sort of organisation? Can you remember? -- The name was -well, it was to be a civic association. Do you want me to give the name now?

No, did this meeting talk about a name or not? We will come to the name at an appropriate time. Did this (10) meeting talk about a name? -- No, it did not.

Can you recall who made the suggestion that the civic association should be formed or not? -- This was contained in a resolution adopted by the meeting from the floor.

Had you yourself by that stage given thought to the formation of a civic association? -- The idea was beginning I would say to grow in my mind as we were preparing for the anti-election campaign, that perhaps we might need may be something like a ratepayers association, but it was vague, this idea. (20)

And did the idea grow? -- It grew.

Did any purpose of such an association crystallise in your mind or not? -- Yes, I may so so.

What was the purpose as you see it of a civic association? at that time? -- It would be to look after the interests of the residents because in the past we had had organisations campaigning for the previous elections for the community councils and advisory councils and so forth and they had also claimed that they would look after the interests but they did not do so. So, it appeared to me that what we (30) needed/...

needed might be some kind of watch dog organisation which would look after the interests of the people.

Did you later begin to think that a civic association could achieve more or not? -- Certainly.

What were you thinking later? -- It came clear that our people faced problems in relation to housing, tremendous backlogs and housing, the state of their houses, the state of the roads and so they needed an organisation which would meaningfully and continually be able to exert pressure for these things to be changed and improved, the general state of (10) the people to be ameliorated.

COURT : On whom? -- The pressure would be made on the town council. We felt that we could not fight the town council at the expense of our people.

MR YACOOB : Did that mean that you would not fight the town council system at all or what? -- What we decided was that the town council had to be exposed for its inefficiencies. We would continue to monitor these inefficiencies and demonstrate them not only to the people but to the councillors themselves. (20)

You say that this meeting resolved that a civic association be formed and it is quite clear that you would have been in agreement with this idea? -- That is right. Initially as I have said I was not quite sure but well, when the people actually came up with this suggestion that we should actually form the civic association at that stage, then I saw that I must fall in line with the decision of the people. As I have said, the idea in my mind was still vague. It seemed as if we still needed to move a little bit further.

COURT : When was this suggestion made to you? -- At the (30) meeting/...

meeting held in January 1984.

MR YACOOB : Was there a meeting thereafter at which the civic association was launched? -- That meeting was held in February 1984.

Can you remember the exact date of this meeting? -- I cannot remember except that I believe it was in the first week of February.

Who chaired this meeting? -- I did.

Can you recall whether there were any outside speakers at this meeting, that is speakers outside Saulsville/Atte-(10) ridgeville? -- Well, Dr Motlana did come to either the January or the February meeting on invitation, per invitation and he spoke.

Is the position that you cannot remember at which of the two meetings it was? -- I am not quite sure which one it was.

Whichever meeting it was, do you have a particular recollection of what he said on this occasion or not? -- He encouraged the idea of a civic association having had experience himself in a civic association and the advantages (20) that it offers to the community. Outside that he did not say anything more significant or more momentous than what he had said at the meeting on 23 October.

Can you recall exactly who spoke at the meeting of the launch of the civic association? -- I remember Reverend Mosoma whom I mentioned yesterday speaking at this meeting and I think Mr Mothupi also spoke.

Let us take Reverend Mosoma first, not going into detail, can you remember anything in particular about what Reverend Mosoma said at this meeting? -- He thanked the people for (30) their/...

their co-operation during the anti-election campaign, the tremendous support that they gave and felt that the time was ripe for a civic association to be formed as recommended.

Can you remember anything particular about what Mr Mothupi had said? -- I think Mr Mothupi was rather interesting because he came from the Saulsville hotel where the migrant labourers live. He pointed out that he came from the Saulsville hostel which in the eyes of many is just peripheral and marginal to the life of the community of the Atteridgeville/Saulsville complex and yet inspite of that he felt that he (10) shared the same joys, the same fears, the same conditions, the same fate as the people of the Atteridgeville/Saulsville complex and therefore to that extent he extended a hand of support in the campaign of the people against the town councils.

Was this campaign as you understood it to continue? -- Yes, it was to continue.

You have already given the court some idea of how the council system would be fought. I just want to deal with one more aspect in that regard. Did councillors have (20) businesses or not in Saulsville/Atteridgeville? -- Yes, a few of them had business in the Atteridgeville/Saulsville complex. To name one for instance Mr Mashao who was mayor about that time. He had a butchery in the Saulsville area. Mr Tshibase had a general dealers shop which has subsequently become a supermarket.

Was any boycott of these businesses discussed at any mass meeting at which you were present? -- No, nobody mentioned it at any stage.

Do you have any knowledge of any campaign boycotting (30) councillors' / ...

councillors' businesses conducted by ASRO.

COURT : I have never heard of that before.

MR YACOOB : I will take that question a little bit later.
I am sorry.

COURT : Why do you not quickly give us the name of the civic?

MR YACOOB : Was a civic formed on that occasion at that February meeting or not? -- Yes, it was.

And what was it called? -- It was called the Atteridgeville/
Saulsville Residents Organisation. Popularly known as (10)
ASRO for short.

Before we get into more detail about that, did ASRO ever conduct to your knowledge any campaign which involved the boycott of councillors' businesses? -- No, it did not conduct a campaign of that nature.

This civic association, who was to be on it? Do you remember? Who was to be on the executive committee?

COURT : Who were. Not was to be, who were?

MR YACOOB : Who were? -- Reverend Mosoma was elected to office. The committee decided on the positions they held. (20)

COURT : What was he? Were you the chairman? -- Well, let me give the names of the people who were elected.

The Reverend Mosoma? -- Reverend Mosoma, Mr Mothupi.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : Dr Nkomo? -- Yes, I was also elected. Mr Ramano Dau, Mr Titus Mafolo and a Mr Khumalo, Francis Khumalo.

MR YACOOB : You said earlier that the committee itself then decided what positions different people would hold? -- That is right.

Can you please give the court an indication of who (30)

was/...:

was to hold which position? -- Mr Dau, Ramano Dau was to be the treasurer. No, I think I am making a mistake, Reverend Mosoma was the treasurer. Mr Khumalo was the secretary. Mr Mothupi was the vice-chairman. I think I have forgotten Mr Legong, sorry. Mr Legong was also on the executive. John Legong.

Was Mr Legong appointed to any position or not? -- Initially not. He was just a committee member. Mr Mothupi was the vice-chairman and I was appointed chairman.

What was Mr Legong elected as later and under what (10) circumstances? -- Later on in 1986 he was elected vice-chairman.

You said there was a resolution and ASRO was in fact formed. Was there any other decision of note taken at this meeting? -- The meeting of the launch of ASRO?

Yes. -- Oh, yes, at the launch of ASRO, this is the February meeting, there was a suggestion, let me say not a suggestion, a motion from the floor ... (Court intervenes)

COURT : Which was accepted? -- Which was accepted.

As a resolution? -- Yes, that ASRO be affiliated to (20) the UDF, the United Democratic Front.

MR YACOOB : Had you thought about ASRO affiliating to the UDF before this date? -- Personally it had crossed my mind but I thought we were not ready for it because we did not have anything really to show except that we had been involved in only one campaign, the anti-election campaign and I was not quite certain at that time that we should do that..

Did you express your views when the motion was proposed? -- I thought of doing it, but then I thought well, seeing that my thoughts were being outweighed by the majority, I (30) should/...

should just keep quiet.

You are talking of your thoughts being outweighed. What was the reaction to the suggestion that ASRO should affiliate to the UDF? -- There was a standing ovation.

Did ASRO in fact affiliate to the UDF? -- We did affiliate. We wrote a letter of seeking affiliation.

Did you get information about the UDF before you affiliated? -- At the end of the meeting now that this resolution had been adopted, I asked one of the young members of SAYO seeing that they were affiliates of UDF, if they could (10) not get us some documentation which he did. He brought it to me.

Did you read some documentation? -- Yes, the declaration of the UDF, the working principles.

Did you have any objection of affiliating after you had read these documents? -- We discussed it. We got this documents which were brought to me and then I took them to the committee. We discussed it at the committee and we were very pleased that at least we were offered organisational independence by the declaration. It gave us the leeway. (20) ASRO would therefore not be limited we thought and we were quite happy that we held this organisational independence.

Did you consider that the UDF would - did you consider after you read these documents that ASRO would be obliged to carry out the campaigns of the UDF? -- No, there was nothing in the declaration that actually compelled us to participate in the campaign and projects, but morally speaking, now that we were affiliated we did feel that it would be correct, it sounded correct for us to participate.

Do you know whether an affiliation fee was payable (30)

or/...

or not? -- I know that - the affiliation form was brought and there was a fee of R50,00 payable.

COURT : Are we concerned whether it was payable or whether it was paid at all?

MR YACOOB : I am sorry. Do you know whether the affiliation fee ... (Court intervenes)

COURT : Are we interested? Does it matter?

MR YACOOB : Probably not.

COURT : Well, do not ask the question.

MR YACOOB : You affiliated then to the UDF. I want to (10) now deal very briefly with the period between February 1984 and June 1984. Did your committee meet during this period? -- Yes, our committee did meet.

Can you give your general idea of the work that your committee did during this period? -- At this time there was some - there were disturbances on the school campuses in the Atteridgeville/Saulsville complex.

COURT : Do you mean thereby boycotts or merely disturbances without class boycotts? -- I encompass all that happened on the school scene by using the word disturbance. At times (20) there were boycotts. At times there were no boycotts.

Stone throwing? -- No, I do not know of any violence.

I want to know what you meant by disturbances? Shouting at teachers? -- Well, there were boycotts.

Does that go along with shouting at teachers? -- No, I do not know.

Disturbances are boycotts inter alia. What else? -- These were the things that happened at the schools.

Is disturbances merely boycotts? I want to know what you mean by disturbances? -- Well, there were boycotts, that (30) is/...

is children not going to school at all. At the same time the children did go to school but did not attend classes. So, I do not know what that is called.

So, we have school boycotts and class boycotts. Anything else? -- Then of course we did hear about a death of a child at one of the schools. D.H. Peta I believe.

MR YACOOB : I will come back to the work that your committee did in relation to the education issue when I deal with the education issue in detail later on. What else did your committee do during this period that you can remember? (10)

We are talking about the period from February 1984 until about June 1984. Did you hold any seminars? -- We did hold a seminar which seminar we were worried about the movement of our people. There was this urban areas consolidation act I believe, I may be mistaken, but any way, it is the act which regulates the movement of people from one magisterial district to another and it has got certain clauses which are popularly known as section 10. That is 10(1)(a), 10(1)(b) and 10(1)(c) and so it was of a great concern to our young people in Atteridgeville, so we held the seminar. (20)

Who spoke at this seminar? -- We invited Sheena Duncan who was then the president of the Black Sash to speak at this seminar.

Did you participate during this period in any campaign of the UDF? -- Yes, I remember that there was this million signature campaign and we participated in it.

In what way? -- We had collected signatures from people. This was done by our people actually collecting signatures at places where large numbers of people were, like taxi ranks and so forth, bus ranks and so on and we also (30)
actually/...

actually held a meeting where the purpose was actually to collect signatures.

Can you recall exactly when this rally was or not? -- No, I cannot remember when exactly but it was in the first half of 1984. I actually chaired at the meeting where the signatures were actually collected.

I would like to now please turn to the rent increases during 1984 and what was done about them. When did you hear about the rent increases? When did you get to know about the rent increases during 1984? Do you remember? (10) -- In June 1984 a circular was delivered at my house which announced that the rent would be increased.

I would like to show you please a copy of a circular. Is that the copy of the circular you received? -- That is right.

Could that please go in as EXHIBIT DA125.

COURT : Yes, certainly. It goes in as EXHIBIT DA125.

MR YACOOB : What reasons were given in that circular for the rent increase? -- Amongst other things it was indicated that as a result of the increased expenditure which came (20) about because of the introduction of the town council, the rent would be increased.

What was your reaction to the fact that the rent was going to go up? -- I was very concerned.

Were you concerned for yourself? -- For myself and for the people.

What was your concern? -- Well, the people had been promised that the rents would not be increased specifically. No, they were being increased. Another reason is that we had a high rate of unemployment at about that time and (30)

even/...

even now there is a high rate of unemployment in the Atteridgeville/Saulsville complex and also in addition to the unemployment. The people were not actually getting higher wages. In fact their wages were low and there had also been announced the increase in the sales tax and the price of certain commodities like bread and milk I think at the time.

Was the matter discussed at an ASRO committee meeting?
-- Yes, it was discussed.

What decision was taken? -- It was decided that we should hold a public meeting and discuss this rent issue (10) with the people.

Did you hold this public meeting? -- It was held.

When was it held? -- It could have been in June or July but it was held soon after the announcement in the rent hikes were made.

Were you present at this meeting? -- I chaired it.

What decisions were taken at this meeting concerning the rent increase? -- It was decided, I think somebody from the floor actually suggested that there might be something legally invalid about this. So, the meeting charged ASRO (20) with the responsibility of contesting the legality of this rent increase.

Was there any decision taken at this meeting not to pay the rent or anything of the sort? Not to pay the increase?
-- It was decided to take the matter legally.

Did you then discuss this decision at a committee meeting?
-- We did.

Was anybody appointed to take the decision of this meeting further? -- Mr Titus Mafolo at the time was asked to take this matter up with the legal resources centre. (30)

Did/...

Did he report back at your committee meeting concerning what he had done at that stage? -- He had approached the legal resources centre and the legal resources centre had actually taken the matter up legally and communicated with the Atteridgeville town council.

Had this communication been done orally or what? -- He went to the legal resources centre and spoke to them and presented letters and documentation.

Did he produce any letter at your meeting or not? -- He did. (10)

What letter was this? -- It was a letter from the legal resources centre to the Atteridgeville town council.

I want to show you a document, please. Is that a copy of the letter which was presented to the committee meeting? -- This is.

And is it a letter from the legal resources centre to the Atteridgeville/Saulsville town council dated 30 July 1984? -- That is right.

My lord, may that letter please be handed in as EXHIBIT DA126. (20)

COURT : It goes in as DA126.

MR YACOOB : Was there a reply received to this letter by the legal resources centre in terms of report at your meeting? -- Yes, we were advised that the Atteridgeville town council had replied to the legal resources centre in respect of this matter and had taken the point and had then rescinded its decision to increase the rents.

Is that your understanding of the letter that you saw? -- That is my understanding of the letter.

COURT : Did you see the letter or did you merely have a (30) report/...

report to that effect? -- We did see it.

MR YACOOB : Did you see a letter? -- Yes, we did see a letter.

COURT : Not we, you? -- I did.

MR YACOOB : I would like to show you a document please. -- May I point out, if I may?

COURT : Yes? -- That in the body of the letter from the legal resources centre to the Atteridgeville town clerk the reference to Tembisa is erroneous.

MR YACOOB : The witness refers to DA126. Your lordship (10) will see in the body of the letter the reference to increases in Tembisa.

COURT : Yes.

MR YACOOB : Please have a look at the letter which you now have before you. Is that the copy of a letter which you saw dated 7 August 1984 addressed to the legal resources centre by the Saulsville/Atteridgeville town council? -- Yes.

My lord, could that be DA127.

COURT : Yes.

MR YACOOB : In DA127 it is clear, is it not, that the (20) council indicates that the rent will not be increased at that stage. Is that right? -- That is the position.

Did that position remain exactly as it was or did it change a bit later? -- It did change I think in the last three months.

COURT : Of what year? -- Of 1984.

MR YACOOB : What was the first indication that you received of the change? Was the rent to be increased or decreased or what? -- It was to be increased. (30)

COURT/...

COURT : Did you get notification of that? Were you notified about that? -- I remember seeing that in the media, in the paper, the newspaper.

MR YACOOB : Was there a notice in the newspaper? -- That is right.

Did you discuss this notice in the newspaper at all?

-- We did at a meeting.

At an ASRO committee meeting? -- That is right.

Did you decide to do anything about it? -- We did instruct Mr Mafolo to communicate with the town council and lodge (10) an objection.

On behalf of ASRO? -- That is right.

Did Mr Mafolo report back to the committee meeting about what he had done? -- He produced a copy of the letter which he had written to the town council.

Was this letter produced at your meeting? -- It was produced.

COURT : Was that letter effective, because if it was not effective I do not want it before me. Where is this leading?

MR YACOOB : I want specifically ... (Court intervenes) (20)

COURT : So far we had an effective action. Now where is this letter going?

MR YACOOB : There are two reasons why I hand in this letter. I want to show that the Saulsville/Atteridgeville - I am sorry, I want to show that ASRO was prepared to negotiate with the town council and I want to prove the terms on which that particular letter was written, which would in fact indicate the attitude of ASRO to the town council to talking to them, et cetera, et cetera. (30)

COURT/...

COURT : Yes, very well.

MR YACOOB : Would you have a look at the document that I am now showing you. Is that a copy of the letter which you saw? -- This is.

I hand that up as EXHIBIT DA128.

COURT : Let us just date it. It is a letter written to the town clerk of the town council of Atteridgeville by Titus Mafolo secretary - on behalf of the secretary. -- On behalf of the secretary.

And it is dated 21 September 1984. (10)

MR YACOOB : Could you quickly read that letter into the record, please. -- I will. "The town clerk, town council Atteridgeville 0008. Re rent increase. We of the above mentioned organisation - that is the Atteridgeville/Saulsville Residents Organisation ..." (Court intervenes)

COURT : You must not clarify which is typed if you are reading the letter into the record, because then it would appear if it is typed in the record that the words you have just added are part of the letter which they are not. You are merely asked to read the letter. -- "We of the above (20) mentioned organisation hereby wish to lodge an objection regarding the rent and service charges amounts on 3 September by the town council. The increases come at the time when many of our people are faced with the high cost of living. The general sales tax has been increased to 10%. Bread which is a basic foodstuff for most of our people will be increased by 11c at the end of the month. Transport fees are on the up search. We do not see any need for the increased in electricity, water and service charges because there has never been any qualitative improvement of these (30) services/...

services. Yet, the charges have been going up. At the moment there is widespread unhappiness and dissatisfaction about rent and service charges all over the country. The increases are an indication of the council's lack of sensitivity to the misery and poverty affecting our community. We therefore call on you to scrap the proposed increases indefinitely. Your respectfully, Titus Mafolo, pp secretary."

COURT ADJOURNS.

COURT RESUMES.

ABRAHAM SOKHAYA NKOMO, still under oath

FURTHER EXAMINATION BY MR YACOOB : Doctor, we finished (10) at the stage when you said that DA128 is an objection to the rent increases written by Mr Mafolo on behalf of ASRO and which was sent as a result of the decision of a meeting ? -- That is right.

I want to take your mind to that meeting. Were there any other decisions taken at that meeting which necessitated action by Mr Mafolo? -- Yes, there was the matter of the proposed removal of the residents around the - who lived around the Buys-Mbatha Square. These people were supposed to move, it was circularised, they were supposed to make (20) way for a proposed industrial and commercial development. There were objections by these people which were made known to ASRO as a consequence of which it was - Mr Titus Mafolo was instructed to take up this matter also on the very same day with the town clerk, the town council.

How as he to take it up? -- By writing a letter stating the objection.

Did you see a letter which he wrote?-- I did see it.

My lord, I would not be handing in this letter. I would please like EXHIBIT AAW5 to be placed before you. I am (30) putting/...

putting before the witness a pamphlet in respect of the meeting convened by ASRO, the mass meeting of 4 November 1984. Have you got it before you? -- I have.

Is that a copy of an ASRO pamphlet? -- It is.

Is that a meeting called by ASRO? -- It is a meeting which is called by ASRO.

What was the purpose of this meeting? -- It was to announce to the people the fact that ASRO had emerged victorious in the effort to reduce to get - emerged victorious in the effort to get the rent hikes rescinded and it called(10) the people to hear this meeting.

COURT : But were you victorious at this stage? This is now November 1984? -- We were victorious and have planned this meeting.

MR YACOOB : Which victory were you speaking about? -- The fact that the rents were no longer being increased as of 1 July.

That was a letter dated 7 August, EXHIBIT DA126 which was handed in. Is that correct? That decision was conveyed in EXHIBIT DA126 on 7 August. (20)

COURT : I am sorry, I thought on 3 September there was a mere notice ... (Mr Yacoob intervenes)

MR YACOOB : No, no, no, I am dealing with that. I asked him which increase does he say - what was the victory and he said the victory was that the rent had not been increased on 1 July 1984. I am now putting to him that the victory he refers to refers to the decision contained in the letter of 7 August which is EXHIBIT DA127.

COURT : Yes.

MR YACOOB : Why was this meeting in respect of that (30)
victory/...

victory being called only in November? -- It was the first opportunity we had to call a meeting because there had been a blanket ban on meetings in the magisterial district of Pretoria for a period something like six to eight weeks. I cannot remember exactly but there had been a blanket ban and we did not have an opportunity to meet our people.

You said there had been a notice on 3 September in the press that the rent was going to be increased to which you had objected. Had the rent again been increased in fact or not? -- It had not yet become operational. The increase (10) that is being referred to subsequently had not yet become operational.

So, the purpose of the meeting was to celebrate the victory in connection with the rent increase. Was there any other victory that you wished to celebrate at this meeting? -- Also the fact that the people who lived around the Buys-Mbatha Square were no longer to be removed from that area to make way for the shopping complex.

You have already referred to the letter which was written in respect of this removal. Can you please tell (20) the court briefly what steps were taken by your committee about these removals in addition to the letter which had been written? -- We - The committee asked Mr - a delegation which included Mr Titus Mafolo and Mrs R. Mphahlele to go to the legal resources centre and take this matter up of the proposed removal of the people. The consequence of this is that the town council after communication with the legal resources centre also backtract on this particular move.

Where was this meeting of 4 November held? -- This (30)
meeting/...

meeting was held at the NG Kerk at the corner of Masemola and Sehloho Streets.

Were you present at this meeting? -- I chaired the meeting. I was present and I chaired the meeting.

Can you recall what sort of attendance there was? -- The attendance was according to my estimation about one thousand five hundred.

Who reported back on the victory? -- I think it could have been the Reverend Mosoma.

Did you in addition to chairing the meeting speak at (10) this meeting or not? -- I indicated the purpose for which the meeting was being held but seeing as I am not a domineering chairman I gave way to the other speakers.

Did you at that meeting encourage any violence against councillors? -- At this particular meeting I did not encourage any violence against the councillors and at no other meeting before or after did I encourage violence against councillors.

There had been evidence in this court that there was violence in relation to councillors' properties during (20) October and late November 1984. What would you say to the suggestion that the meetings which you called were responsible for this violence? -- It goes against the grain of ASRO to further any violence. It has not emerged from any platform of ASRO that any violent campaigns should be entered upon. In fact our position and my position also personally on this fact that these events happened can be ascribed only to the hooligan thuggish elements in our community, but certainly not to the type of person that has attended and participated at ASRO meetings. (30)

Did/...

Did you at that meeting encourage the scholars to boycott classes? -- I did not.

Were you at that stage and I want to remind you that we are talking about November 1984, talking about schools boycotts at public meetings or not? -- My own personal position was limited in the matter of the school boycotts, because my own personal stand is that the children should go to school and I have worked for the return of normality to school campuses but my position was limited for reasons which I can disclose later. (10)

I will just repeat the question. At that stage were you actually talking about schools boycotts at public meetings? We are talking about November 1984 now? -- We did not talk about school boycotts at public meetings.

You personally, did you talk about it? -- Not I personally.

Why not? -- I could not participate in this matter because a campaign of vilification highly personalised was being orchestrated against me by certain propagandists. So, it was based on the fact, this orchestrated campaign of vilification, that my own children attend private schools and so (20) there was this word, this whispering that while my children were attending school undisturbed I was actually telling other people's children not to go to school.

Was it true at that stage that your children were at private schools? -- It was perfectly true.

Was it true that at that stage you were encouraging other people's children not to go to school? -- I did not I could not have. It would have been absolutely reprehensibly immoral for me to participate in that kind of activity.

Can you recall whether any decisions were taken at (30)

this/...

this meeting of 4 November 1984? -- Decisions in regard to?

K1305

Whatever? Were there any decisions that you can recall at this meeting where the victory was celebrated? -- The organisation if I may remember was instructed to contest any further increases in the rent. This is what I can remember at this stage.

Will you please look at EXHIBIT AAW6. Have you got it before you? -- I have.

That is a notice advertising a mass meeting for 17 February 1985, is that not? -- That is true. (10)

Who called this meeting? -- This meeting was called by ASRO.

Were you present at the meeting of the committee which discussed the calling of this meeting? -- I was present.

Firstly, what was the context in which this particular meeting was called? -- This meeting was called in the context - the context that prevailed at the time was that there had been an announcement of an increase in the rent.

When was the rent to go up? -- As of 1 March 1985.

COURT : Was that the announcement in September? Was it a (20) notification on 3 September 1984 to be effective on 1 March 1985? -- It was only then going to be operative.

Yes, but it was the one of September. Did they give virtually six months notice? -- That is right.

MR YACOOB : What was the purpose of this meeting? -- The purpose of this meeting was to work out a response to the announced increase in the rent together with the community. Assess their feeling on the matter and hear a response.

Did your committee itself discuss what you would like the response to be? -- We did have a view at the committee (30) level/...

level as to what approach should be adopted.

What was the view of the committee? -- The view of the committee was that only the increase in the rent should not be paid, but the rent itself should as prior to the announced increase, continue to be paid.

Did you go to the meeting of 17 January 1985 as advertised in AAW6? -- I did not attend that meeting.

Was there a committee meeting after the meeting of 17 February 1985? -- There was a meeting of the committee.

Did you receive a report at the committee meeting? -- (10)
The committee received a report of the decision taken at the meeting of the 17th.

And had the committee's wishes been satisfied? -- The proposal of the committee had been defeated. The people had opted for not paying the rent at all.

Was the committee happy with this position? -- The committee was not happy with this position.

What did the committee then decide to do? -- The committee felt that it should continue - it should begin to persuade the people to realise that they could not take such a (20)
dire step and that they should reconsider the decision taken. This was the decision of the committee to do that.
and it was done.

How were the people persuaded? -- We had some of our people and ourselves, I also participated in this going to see people in their houses and persuading them that perhaps the decision they took was taken in anger but it was not in their best interest not to pay the rent at all. So, by this process of persuasion we hoped to get the people to rescind the decision they had taken. (30)

I would like you now to please look at EXHIBIT AAW7.

-- Yes, I have got it.

Is that an ASRO pamphlet? -- It is an ASRO pamphlet.

And does it call a meeting, a mass meeting on 17 March 1985? -- Yes, it does.

What was the context in which this particular meeting was called by ASRO?-- This meeting was called under conditions that prevailed at the time that the people had decided not to pay the rent at all, whereas ASRO felt that they should change that decision. At the same time too (10) it refers to this - handbill refers to the taxi rank which was being removed from the town to Marabastad.

Let us just take the first matter first. By this stage, that is by the time you decided to call this meeting, had people already gone into the community to talk to the people about their attitude to payment of the rent? -- Yes, they had already begun to do so.

Have you made any assessment about the effect of your work in this regard? -- We had and we wanted to make a further assessment at this meeting. (20)

The second issue - what was the second issue about? Just give the court briefly an idea of the taxi rank and what was going to happen and why the dissatisfaction? -- If I may translate this "The residents are being called to ..."
(Mr Krugel intervenes)

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : There is a translation attached to it.

MR YACOOB : Just give the court an idea of that issue. Where was the taxi rank and where was it to be moved to? -- The taxi rank was situated at Boom Street in the city of Pretoria.(30
Corner/...

Corner of Boom and Prinsloo I believe.

COURT : Van der Walt would be more correct. -- Between Van der Walt and Prinsloo.

MR YACOOB : And where was it to be moved to? -- To be moved to Belle Ombre railway station which is in Marabastad.

Did you go to this meeting? -- This meeting also I did not attend.

Did you get a report back? -- I did get a report back.

Had any decision been taking about the rent? -- At this point the decision of 17 February still prevailed, however, (10) there had been a significant forward movement which was - the house was divided. About half of the people said the decision should be rescinded. Others said it should not but it marked a significant improvement and there was hope that in fact the decision would be changed at the next meeting.

Was another meeting called? -- Yes, it was.

Did your committee stop doing work in the meantime in relation to persuading people? -- It continued until that meeting where the decision was actually taken that our (20) people should pay the rent. I think that in fact our people started paying rent in June 1985 as a consequence of the decision taken at the public meeting.

COURT : When was the meeting? -- This meeting I think was in May 1985.

The resolution was then to pay the old rent but not the new rent? -- To pay the rent completely.

Plus increase, that was the new resolution in may 1985? -- That is right.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : When you say rent increase, were you (30) still/...

still talking about the R8,80 that consisted of R2,00 for electricity, R3,00 for water, R2,55 for rubbish removal and R1,25 for sewerage? -- I cannot remember exactly what the precise figures were but there was a position that the rent would be paid.

It is still the same increase we are talking about? -- I am not sure about the question.

Are we still concerned with the increase that we started off with in DA125 that was put before you? -- No, we are talking now about - this was the original one. (10)

That was the original increase? -- That was announced in 1984 in June. That was the original one and the council backtract on this one.

On 3 September there was an announcement in the press that it would go into effect on 1 March? -- This was completely new.

Was this completely new? That is why I asked the question.

COURT : So, the quantum was different. It was a new proclamation, that I understand, but the quantum was also different. (20) We know the previous quantum was R8,00, the increase was R8,00 something. The new quantum of the increase was that ... -- I am not sure but I believe that it was different.

You believe it was different? -- Yes.

MR YACOOB : During the period - did you go to this meeting in May 1985, this mass meeting when the people decided to continue to pay the rent or start paying the rent again? -- No, I did not. You would have noticed that the public meetings as I have indicated - you asked me about this, the one in February and March and so forth. I did not attend public (30) meetings/...

meetings, because this campaign of vilification had now reached dangerous proportions and I was receiving death threats telephonically.

You were receiving death threats telephonically. Did anything happen after May which had the effect of decreasing your activity? May 1985? -- Substantially. On 15 May 1985 my house was the object of an arson attack.

Were you at home? -- I was at home and asleep.

At about what time were you woken? -- I was woken up at about 14h00. (10)

Can you please tell the court concisely and briefly what happened? -- We were asleep. Then we heard stones raining on the roof. When we enquired why or tried to find out what was happening, then we heard people screaming urging us to get out of the house quickly because the house was on fire. We then tried to get out of the house through the kitchen door. The fumes were too strong for us. So, we then went out of the house through the front door. We were then able to open the gates and people came rushing in with buckets of water to extinguish the fire. (20)

What was the extent of the damage to your house as a result of that fire? -- The carport was burnt out as was the car which was in the carport and the kitchen was also partially burnt. Was that the only attack upon property which you occupied? -- There was another attack on 27 May 1985 when the surgery situated in the yard next to the house was gutted.

Can you again as briefly and concisely as you did the last time give the court or tell the court what happened? -- At about 05h00 on a Monday morning, that is the morning of the 27th, we were woken up again by stones raining on the/... (30)

the roof, people screaming that we should get out quickly, the surgery was on fire. We got out, opened the gates and people rushed in again and attempted to extinguish the fire. By this time my phone was no longer operational because the main of the phone was situated in the surgery and the extension was situated in the house. The surgery and house are just next by. So, we then phoned from the house of residents who were also awake and got the fire-brigade to come. The fire-brigade came but when they came they found that they had to send for reinforcements because the water in the (10) first fire-brigade vehicle was used up.

Alright, but the fire was put out by them? -- It was put out.

What was the extent of the damage on this occasion? -- The extent of the damage was extensive, because only the walls, the shell, was left standing, otherwise everything inside was burnt out. The actual financial figures, it was actually R25 000,00.

Were those the only two attacks against your property? -- No. On 23 October 1985 my other surgery in Atteridge- (20) ville was also the subject of an arson attack.

At that stage were you living in Saulsville or Atteridgeville? -- At that stage I was still living in Saulsville. I moved to Atteridgeville on 30 November 1985.

Did you receive a report on this occasion or were you present? -- On this occasion this surgery was very far from my residence. So, we received a report from a man who was travelling in a taxi to work and as the taxi drove past the surgery he noticed that the window was open ... (Mr Yacoob intervenes)

(30)

You/...

You do not have to tell us the terms of the report but you learnt that something was happening at your surgery? in Atteridgeville. Is that right? -- That is right.

Did you go and have a look? -- I went and have a look.

What did you see, again briefly and concisely? -- I noticed that the window had been bashed in with a stone which was found inside the surgery and all the walls and the ceiling were covered up in soot and inflammable liquid had been thrown in.

What effect did these various attacks have upon your(10) activities as a part of ASRO? -- My activities were completely reduced because I had now to relocate myself, re-organise my business and console my family to recover from the shock.

I want now please to turn to the education issue. When did you first hear of troubles at schools? --

COURT : In Atteridgeville/Saulsville?

MR YACOOB : Yes. -- Towards the end of 1983 I heard that there had been some unpleasantness on one of the school campuses in Atteridgeville.

When did you first get involved in the issue? In the(20) problems of the schools? -- I first got involved when I was asked to be present at a meeting, peace meeting which was to be held at the Roman Catholic Church in Atteridgeville.

When would this be? -- This would be two to three days before the funeral of Emma Sathekge who was a pupil at the D.H. Peta Secondary School.

I think it is common cause that the funeral of Emma Sathekge took place on Saturday, 18 February 1984? -- That is true.

And you got involved in the issue during the period of(30) that/...

that week. Is that right? -- That is when I got involved.

Had there been by that stage already any allegations made against you or not of the sort you have spoken about concerning your children and your involvement in what was happening at the schools? -- There had been.

Despite that you went to a meeting in connection with this matter. Is that right? -- Now there was a death.

This meeting that you attended, the peace meeting as you called it, you say it happened two or three days before 18 February? -- That is right. (10)

Who called it? -- This meeting was called by the UDF.

How were you informed of this meeting? -- I was informed about this meeting by a Mr Deacon Mathe.

COURT : And what was his function? -- He was a member of SAYO referred to earlier.

MR YACOOB : Did he tell you that the UDF was calling a meeting? -- He did.

Were you invited in your personal capacity or what? -- I was invited as the chair person of ASRO.

Was ASRO represented at this meeting? -- At this meeting ASRO was represented by myself and Mr Titus Mafolo. (20)

Who else was present at this meeting? -- At this meeting Professor Ismail Mahommed spoke. He is a professor in mathematics at the university of the Witwatersrand.

What were the terms of his speech? -- He called upon the students, the pupils and scholars, to return to school. He indicated that they should be aware that if they disrupted their own education then they placed the future of our people into dire straits because we would then find that we could only do manual forms of labour and nothing other than that. (30)

That/...

That was his injunction to the pupils.

Were any of the accused present at that meeting? -- I did see Mr Moss Chikane at that meeting.

That is accused no. 21. Did he participate in the proceedings at all? I am talking about this meeting of the peace committee or the peace meeting as you call it? -- I saw him there. I do not remember that he participated.

Who else was present at this meeting? Can you remember? -- There were very many pupils and parents but I also remember that it was a Mr Joe Bali who was the vice-principal at the(10) time of the D.H. Peta. He subsequently became the principal. D.H. Peta Secondary School. There was also a Mr Brown Bodiba who was a departmental head at one of the high schools.

What decision did this meeting take? Can you remember? -- At this meeting I think the decision, the final decision at the end of it all, it was agreed by all that the pupils would return to school.

COURT : Was this a public meeting or was it a sort of a committee meeting of invited persons? -- It was a public meeting where parents, teachers, pupils and organisations,(20) community organisations were present.

And where was it held? -- At the Roman Catholic Church in Atteridgeville.

MR YACOOB : Did you attend any meeting on the day before Emma Sathekge's funeral? -- Yes, I did attend a meeting on the day before her funeral.

COURT : That is on 17 February 1985? -- That would be the date.

MR YACOOB : How did it come about that you attended this meeting? -- At about 11h00 on the said date I was phoned (30)

by/...

by one Mr Felstead who introduced himself as the regional director of the department of education and training. He informed me that he knew that I had been present at a meeting the previous night at the Roman Catholic Church in Atteridgeville. He informed me that a meeting would be held that afternoon at 15h00 at the Hofmeyer High School in Atteridgeville. This meeting was being held with the authority of the then minister of education and training who the previous night even as we were meeting at the Roman Catholic Church was in consultation with the Bishop Desmond Tutu and the (10) Reverend Stanley Mogoba at Louis Botha Airport in Durban. As a result of that consultation this meeting was being held at Hofmeyer High School. The Bishop was going to be present himself and there were going to be officials of the department of education and training. There were going to be school principals. There were going to be chairman of the various school committees serving the various high schools.

What were you being asked to do? -- I was being asked to be present as a member of a community organisation and also to assist Mr Felstead in getting to be present at this (20) particular meeting people responsible for the funeral arrangement in respect of the funeral of Emma Sathekge and also leaders of the pupils or scholars.

What was your response to this request? What did you say? -- I indicated to Mr Felstead that I did not know the leaders of the pupils and scholars but that I would do my best to make it possible for them to be present at this meeting and also I would do everything I could to get people responsible for the funeral arrangements also.

Did you agree to go yourself? -- I agreed also to be (30) present/...

present at this meeting.

Did you make any arrangements to ensure that the leaders as you put it of the scholars or pupils were sort out and the people responsible for the funeral arrangements were sort out? -- Yes, I asked some younger members of ASRO, young adults, whom I had known, leaders of the scholars, to actually contact them and inform them about this meeting and persuade them to be present at the meeting.

Did you go to the meeting? -- I did.

Were any of the accused present at this meeting? -- Yes, (10) Mr Moss Chikane, which I believe is accused no. 21, was present at this meeting.

Who else was present as far as you can remember? -- I can remember that Bishop Tutu chaired the meeting and he was in the company of the Reverend Stanley Mogoba who was and still is the secretary of the Methodist Conference of South Africa. Also present were Mr S.S. Maboja who was a circuit inspector for Pretoria-West circuit and Professor Marivate who is a professor of bantu languages at UNISA. He came in in his capacity as chairman of one of the school (20) committees. Also present was Mr S.J. Moseneke, a school principal.

What do you recall to have been the terms or the nature of the discussions at that particular meeting? -- There was great concern that the funeral should take place peacefully and everybody present there spoke and worked with that view in mind especially after the impassioned plea of Bishop Tutu that this be so.

Was any relationship seen between the peaceful funeral and the return to normalities at school or not? -- It was (30) seen/...

seen as the only way possible for the schooling to take place normally after the funeral, that the funeral itself passed off peacefully.

Was there any discussion about the inclusion or exclusion of any category of persons in the funeral? -- This was a specific instruction of this meeting that accused no. 21 be entrusted with the responsibility of actually going to the home of the bereaved to meet the family there and the scholars or pupils as may be assembled there for the vigil. To make it possible for Mr Bali not only to attend the (10) funeral safely, but also to participate in the funeral program.

Was Mr Bali present at this meeting or not? -- He was present at this meeting on the eve of the funeral.

Were there any arrangements made about or any decisions taken about people responsible for the funeral? -- That everybody who wanted to participate should be able to participate freely, whether they were teachers, principals and parents. Anybody who so wished should feel free, not feel inhibitant to participate in the funeral arrangements. (20)

Was there a master of ceremonies appointed in respect of that funeral? -- This meeting actually appointed accused no. 21 to be in charge of the program in the capacity as master of ceremonies.

Do you recall whether any committee was formed at this meeting?

COURT : Why did you pick on accused no.21? -- The meeting was of the mind that he would be able to do this as he had participated in trying to get the schools to operate normally and he was a high profile person, because of the nature of (30) the/...

the position that he held.

And his position was? -- He was the Transvaal secretary of the UDF.

MR YACOOB : Was there any committee chosen at this meeting?

-- Yes, a peace committee was chosen.

Did you serve on the peace committee? -- No, I did not serve on it.

Did you attend any of the meetings of the peace committee? -- No, I did not attend the meetings.

Did you go to the funeral of Emma Sathekge on 18 (10) February 1984? -- No, I did not attend the funeral. I was busy with my practice.

Is it correct that you got involved in the problems surrounding education again later? -- It is true.

What were the circumstances of that involvement? -- We were asked to - a delegation of us were asked to present to the director general of the department of education and training a petition requesting the re-opening of the schools, a request from the scholars and the parents and the people of Atteridgeville/Saulsville complex. This petition(20) was accompanied by a list of signatures.

Can you recall how many signatures there were? -- I think there were about six thousand two hundred signatures.

Who asked you to participate in this delegation? -- I was asked by the meeting which was held, which had been organised by the ministers fraternity.

Were you willing to go? -- I was very willing to go.

COURT : Just give us a date?

MR YACOOB : When was this meeting? -- This meeting must have been, I am not quite sure but about either July or (30)

August/...

August of 1985.

Who did the delegation consist of? Can you remember now? -- I may have to be stand corrected. I am no longer sure whether it was 1984 or 1985. I think it was 1984.

COURT : That the meeting was held? July/August 1984? -- Yes, I think so.

MR YACOOB : Can you recall who was on this delegation or not? -- On this delegation were Mrs R Mphahlele to whom I have referred earlier. If I may describe her. She is a member, a former matron and who is a member of the South (10) African Nursing Council, which is a statutory body. There was also Professor Maimela to whom I have referred earlier. There was Reverend Mphephu, the minister of the Lutheran Church. There was the Reverend Sithole, a Methodist minister. There was Mr John Legong. There was the Reverend Mosoma whom I have spoken about earlier and myself.

Did you present the petition to the director general or not? -- We did.

Could you briefly tell the court what the substance of your representations was? -- We indicated to the director (20) general that the community as reflected in the meetings held by the ministers fraternity desparately wanted the schools to be re-opened in the interest of the furtherance of education and to return to normality in the school campuses.

What was the response of the director general? -- He - the meeting was very cordial and he indicated that he would do his best to get the schools opened. However the responsibility ultimately laid with the minister of education and training. He was himself not quite powerless in getting the schools open, but, however, he would do his best to (30) get/...

get the schools opened.

On what note did the meeting end? Can you remember? -- It ended on a very cordial note and he promised that he would communicate with us.

In describing what happened at the office of the director general, you have referred to the ministers fraternal or the ministers fraternity. Can you tell the court ... (Court intervenes)

COURT : Could we just get the outcome of this meeting, please. What happened? Were the schools re-opened or were (10) they not re-opened? -- The schools were subsequently re-opened.

Long afterwards? -- It could have been - I cannot remember exactly how long afterwards, but they were re-opened.

MR YACCOB : Was there, from what you say, a group of ministers who got themselves involved in the problems surrounding education? -- Yes, there were ministers who were involved.

How did this happen? -- This happened at the instance of ASRO, which very much wanted to get normality restored on the school. ASRO at the beginning could not participate (20) itself because it was much maligned as the actual villain, so it did not participate, actually encouraged the formation of the ministers fraternity.

Who did this ministers fraternity consist of? -- If I remember well the Reverend Mosoma was a member of this ministers fraternity, as was Professor Maimela, as was the Reverend Kgopong and the Reverend Sithole and other ministers whose names do not come to mind at the mind. Reverend Lebitsa was also a member of this ministers fraternity.

Did you attend any meetings called by these ministers? (30)

Yes/...

-- Yes, I remember attending two meetings called by the ministers fraternity.

COURT : Public meetings? -- These were public meetings.

MR YACOOB : At these meetings were children ever encouraged to continue with the boycott and not to go back to school?

-- No, this was distinctly - the exact opposite actually happened. They were urged and persuaded almost begged to return to school.

Did ASRO ever have an advice office? -- Yes, ASRO did actually have an advice office which was situated at the (10) Presbyterian Church.

Can you recall during what period the advice office operated? -- The advice office actually came into effect - into operation in I believe the early part of 1985 at a time unfortunately when I was not very regular.

Was the purpose of the advice office discussed at your meetings? -- Yes, it was discussed.

What was the purpose of the advice office as you recall it? -- The purpose of the advice office was to assist people in attempting to find a solution to their immediate (20) problems such as parents who had problems with lodgers' fees relating to their children, such as people who did not know how to apply for their money under their unemployment insurance fund who were no longer working but had been employed, that kind of category of person. People who had problems with reading their rent accounts, who queried their rent accounts. People who might have problems of one type or another relating to the wages and so on.

Do you have any knowledge of the day to day running of the advice office? -- No, that I do not have. (30)

COURT/...

COURT : Who funded the advice office? -- The advice office was actually funded by ASRO.

MR YACOOB : Do you know where ASRO got the money from to fund the advice office? -- There was some money which came from overseas, the Catholic institution somewhere in Germany.

The rest of the money? -- The rest of the money came from contributions which were made at a local level by members of ASRO and members of the community.

Do you have knowledge of the day to day affairs in running of the advice office? -- The day to day affairs (10) I would not know of. It would be known by somebody else.

Did you attend the funerals of people who had died as a result of the troubles in the township of Saulsville/ Atteridgeville? -- I did attend funerals.

Was violence to your knowledge ever encouraged at any of these funerals? -- Violence was specifically avoided. No one was encouraged to be violent in spite of their anger. The people were urged to deport themselves in going towards the funeral and coming back from the funeral in such a manner that there would not be any violence. (20)

Was there violence at any of the funerals that you attended? -- I think at one there was violence.

When was that funeral? Do you remember? -- I cannot remember the exact date. It could have been in 1986. I am not quite sure, but there was violence at that funeral.

COURT : Whose funeral was it? -- I cannot remember the names, but these were victims of police action.

What was the nature of the violence? -- I remember that there was teargas thrown at the people. I remember that people were watercanoned. I remember that people were sjamboked. (30)

I/...

I remember that a vehicle actually had its doors ripped off.

MR YACOOB : As far as these various attacks on your property were concerned, did you report each of them to the police?

-- I reported all of them.

Has anyone been prosecuted to your knowledge? -- No, no one has been prosecuted.

How would you respond to the suggestion that you did everything that you have spoken in court here in acting as part of a conspiracy with the UDF to overthrow the state by violence? -- I say categorically no. (10)

How would you respond to the suggestion that you conspired with the ANC, SACP, that is the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party to achieve the same result? -- A categorical no.

Have you had access to African National Congress or South African Communist Party documents? -- I have not had any access to such literature.

Do you recall an occasion when your house was searched on 20 March 1985? -- My house was searched on 20 March 1986.

1986, sorry. Can you recall who the policemen were (20)
... (Court intervenes)

COURT : If you want to run outside the indictment you are welcome to do so, if you want to open this can of worms.

MR YACOOB : No, I just want to lead one little bit of evidence ... (Court intervenes)

COURT : I leave it to you. You take the consequences.

MR YACOOB : Was one of the policemen involved in the search a person called Sergeant Du Toit? -- Yes.

Was he friendly to you? -- He was not friendly. I would even say he was hostile. (30)

And/...

And did he shake your hand at the stage when he left?

-- He refused although Brigadier Lerm did.

What about the brigadier? -- He shook my hand and asked his friend to shake my hand also and Du Toit refused.

I have no further questions, thank you.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR JACOBS : Doctor, is it correct that you were since your university days active in politics?

-- I do not understand the question.

COURT : It is quite a clear question. One may differ as to what politics mean, but in your opinion, were you active (10) in politics? -- Since?

Your university days? -- I will say that during the time when I was a student I did participate in politics of a student nature and otherwise, when I was a student.

MR JACOBS : Were you a member of AZASO? -- May I - I have not been a member of AZASO. I completed in 1968.

And afterwards were you a member of black consciousness movements? -- I have not been a member of a black consciousness movement.

Did you keep busy and active in politics until now? (20) -- I still do not understand the question.

COURT : Well, were you involved in politics since your student days up to the present? If you say no, that is the end of the matter? Counsel can debate with you what he means by politics. -- I began to participate in what may be called politics after the end of my student days when I became involved in the activities of ASRO.

MR JACOBS : Before you became active in ASRO, before ASRO was formed, you told the court that you had discussions with people about the black local authorities and the new (30) constitution/...

constitution? -- Yes, I did.

And if I remember correctly it was since May 1983? --
That is true.

With which people did you have discussions? --I had discussions with people such as the Reverend Mosoma and all the other people who subsequently became members of the ad hoc committee and ASRO. I am talking of the executive members. In addition I did speak to people. If the court so wishes I can mention their names who were not subsequently members of the ad hoc committee. (10)

Did you speak to people of other organisations before that time? -- I spoke to people in their home setting, in the house to house visitations and I spoke to them in their capacity as residents of the Atteridgeville/Saulsville complex.

It is an easy question. Did you speak to anybody from other organisations, except the four people that formed the ad hoc committee with you? -- At which time?

During the period from May up till the time that the ad hoc committee was formed? -- During that period I did speak to people who belonged to SAYO. (20)

SAYO meaning Saulsville/Atteridgeville Youth Organisation. Is that correct? -- That is true.

To whom did you speak about this - the new constitution and black local authorities in SAYO? -- The people I spoke to are Mr Kgaugelo Lekgoro and Mr Masuku.

Only the two of them? -- These were the people I knew belonged to SAYO at the time.

COURT ADJOURNS FOR LUNCH.