

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

A

SAAKNOMMER: CC 482/85

PRETORIA

1987-09-03

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. W. HANEKOM

NAMENS DIE VERDEDIGING:

ADV. A. CHASKALSON

ADV. G. BIZOS

ADV. K. TIP

ADV. Z.M. YACOOB

ADV. G.J. MARCUS

TOLK:

MNR. B.S.N. SKOSANA

KLAGTE:

(SIEN AKTE VAN BESKULDIGING)

PLEIT:

AL DIE BESKULDIGDES: ONSKULDIG

KONTRAKTEURS:

LUBBE OPNAMES

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COURT RESUMES ON 3 SEPTEMBER 1987.

THOMAS MADIKWE MANTHATA, still onder oath

MR BIZOS : My Lord, we have to bring to Your Lordship's attention the problem in relation to Mr Mokoena accused no. 11 who is here today. He went to hospital yesterday which led him to sleep and woke up in the middle of the night. He reported in the morning, but slept right through the period that he was supposed to report in the evening until some hour and a half to two hours after the time had expired. He is here this morning. He tenders his apolo-(10) gies to Your Lordship. It would appear that it was as a result of the strength of the medication that was prescribed. I have mentioned it to the State. I do not think that they have any objection. We ask Your Lordship to condone that failure.

COURT : Yes, the failure is condoned.

FURTHER EXAMINATION BY MR BIZOS : Mr Manthata, you told us that you met Miss Nozipo Myeza at the home of accused no. 3, Father Moselane on the day that you spoke on 19 August at Sharpeville? -- Yes. (20)

Did Miss Nozipo Myeza spoke at this meeting? -- No, Miss Nozipo Myeza.

Did she or anyone else use the words that are set out in the indictment to the effect that if anyone was seeing buying from the shops of the councillors and if anyone defied the resolution passed by the meeting, the masses would kill and murder them and burn down their houses to show the public that they are serious? Did anyone use those words?-- Those words were never used at this meeting on that day. (30)

Did/...

Did anyone say that people must not be afraid because they were already involved in the freedom struggle? -- Those words were never said at this meeting.

Was the song "Siyaya, siyaya" sung at this meeting? -- No, song other than the two that I have referred to was ever sung.

Do you recall whether any women spoke at the meeting on that day? -- Yes, I remember a lady speaking from the floor asking the people to be united in their concern about the rent increase and she went further to support (10) the motion that was suggested by Oupa Hlomoka, accused no. 2, namely that the councillors' businesses must be boycotted.

What do you say to the opinion expressed by Mr Koaho that people were ready to fight and to commit acts of violence after this meeting? -- I reject that opinion.

Did you notice whether there was any threatening behaviour towards anyone at the meeting? -- There was no threatening behaviour at this meeting.

Was there any talk of a petition or legal action at this meeting? -- This was referred to as an announcement (20) by the chairman, Peter Hlubi that the legal action and/or petition are still under consideration.

Was there any announcement as to whether or not any further meeting was going to be held? -- There was an announcement that the meeting would be held the following Sunday, namely 26 August at the same church.

Before going off this meeting, words such as puppets or stooges, sell-outs in relation to councillors and other people who co-operate or collaborate with the government. For how long have those words been around? -- They have (30) been/...

been around for quite a long time. As far as I remember by the time that I got used to public meetings, be they of whatever nature and even in private talks, people referred to the Community Councils as puppets, stooges and all sorts of words.

Were urban councillors referred to by the acronym UBC? -- Yes, the early councils, that is the Urban Bantu Councils UBC was commonly called the Useless Boys Clubs.

Were these words used at meetings which you attended over the years? -- Yes, these words were commonly used at (10) meetings which I attended.

After this meeting of the 19th, did you meet with Father Moselane afterwards? After the meeting? -- That is after the meeting we went together to the Reverend's home for a cup of tea.

Was anything discussed there or did you just go off? -- We just went off. There was not any discussions thereafter.

Did you go back home? -- Then I went back home with my two cousins. (20)

You told us that they did not come into the meeting. Did you know what they were doing? -- They were playing cassette in the car.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : Is that now your car? -- That is my car.

MR BIZOS : Do you know Mr Kevin Harris? -- I know Mr Kevin Harris very well.

Did you know him in August 1984? -- Yes, by August 1984 I had already known him.

Did you know whether or not he was busy on this film (30) project/...

project for the SACC at the time? -- Yes, he was doing filming projects on all the churches that are affiliated to the SACC at the time.

Did you talk to him about Sharpeville at all? -- Yes, I think he came to Khotso House either on Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday after the 19th and through our discussions I felt myself telling him about the interested meeting one had attended on the 19th which was mainly attended by the elderly people which was on the rent increase and I suggested to him that as part of the activities or the main concern(10) of the churches, it would be worthwhile for him to visit Sharpeville and find out whether he could be allowed to tape that meeting or those procedures with the view of going to hand this over to the SACC, where the SACC can be in a position to know what other member charges are involved in.

Other than this mentioned to Mr Kevin Harris, did you tell him who he should communicate with? -- Yes, I told him to communicate with the priest in charge of the church St Cyprian, that is Father Moselane, but I said he could get his phone from the Anglican Church offices on the (20) Second Floor of Khotso House.

Other than giving him this information, did you communicate with him about this possibility of filming the next meeting on the 26th? -- I never saw him thereafter.

You mean you never saw him after ... -- After I had spoken to him. He was covering churches almost over the whole country. Sometimes he would go to Namibia, sometimes he would spend quite a lot of time in the Cape.

Do you mean that you never ever saw him after this day or did you not see him during the week? -- I never ever (30) saw/...

saw him during that week or even thereafter. I think it took time before I saw him, but during that time I never saw Kevin Harris.

Did you communicate the possibility that the meeting of the 26th would be filmed, to Father Moselane in any way? -- No, I never communicated anything to Father Moselane on what I had discussed with Keven Harris.

This allegation in the evidence of the security police officer and IC.9, were did you for the first time hear of this allegation being made against you that you advocated(10) violence and the killing of councillors? When did you hear it for the first time? -- I heard it for the first time when I read the indictment after 11 June 1985.

Throughout the period 19 August up to the time of your arrest, which was on what date? -- My arrest was on 19 February 1985.

During this period of six months, were you living at home? -- I was living at home working at Khotso House and never went anywhere except as I have said that in December I had gone to Oslo. (20)

When you were given a temporary travel document? -- I was given a temporary travel document.

Do you recall Monday, 3 September 1984? -- I do.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : Three years to the day.

MR BIZOS : Do you remember where you were three years ago to the day? -- Yes, I remember.

Where were you? -- The SACC had arranged a retreat for its staff at St Peters Lodge in Rosettenville.

COURT : What is a retreat? -- A retreat is a period of meditation, where you withdraw from what one might call(30) life/...

life. You sort of focus your attention on your relationship with God.

It is not a fast? -- There can be a fast during a retreat.

MR BIZOS : And you were in St Peters at Rosettenville? -- I was at St Peters in Rosettenville.

Was your retreat interrupted in any way? -- Yes, late in the morning around 11h00/12h00 I got a call from Bishop Tutu telling me that they have since learnt that there are disturbances in the Vaal, I think it was around 12h00, 11h45, I am not quite sure, because he had said that they(10) had got that I do not know if that was through 12h30 news or what, but the message they got through the news was that there were disturbances in the Vaal, there are unrests in the Vaal and he would have loved that the SACC be given information on what action is obtained, because on that day there was an executive committee meeting at the SACC and he had thought that this would be information which would be vital for that meeting, because it would be after the heads of churches shall have discussed the whole matter, that perhaps they can be in a position to instruct the (20) South African Council of Churches on what to do. So, he suggested that I drive out to the Vaal. After a time, David Mazibuko who is the driver of the SACC came in a car to fetch me to the Vaal. So, together with David Mazibuko we drove to the Vaal. This was around almost 12h30 or 13h00.

Did just the two of you go or did you take someone else with you? -- We were only two, but we were mindful of the fact that we did not go for the fun so much and we had Mr Mbatha, that is Liver(?) Mbatha who is working with us being present at work that day - we would have (30) gone/...

gone with him. So, what we had to do was to go to Mbatha's home in Evaton and see whether he could be available to get with us into Sebokeng or whether he himself knew anything about the unrest in a manner that could shed light and be in a position to give the South African Council of Churches the entire situation in the area, but when we got there, we found that he was down with flue and he could not go anywhere. It was at that time that together with him, we suggested that we should drive to Lord McCamel, who as I said I knew for some time back. So, we drove to Lord (10) McCamel's home and we found him at home.

In what condition did you find the Reverend Lord McCamel?
-- Lord McCamel seemed to have been watching the situation from the balcony of the church, because he had to come down from the church tower, if I could call it that and it was - he looked a little uncertain, that is he was not as I knew him to be. When we asked him what had actually transpired - what the situation was, he said that he knew nothing except what he has been observing from the point where he was. So, he promised that he will do his utmost that day to drive (20) around the Vaal and that either that late that afternoon he would get to the South African Council of Churches or he would come to the South African Council of Churches the following day. So that we felt there was nothing we could do, we had to go back, we had to drive back to the SACC.

Did you meet any danger or anything untoward whilst you were driving in Evaton and elsewhere? -- Yes. A few kilometres - sorry, I would say a few metres away from - let me see kilometres, about two, three kilometres away from Lord McCamel's home, we found a truck that was parked by (30) the/...

the roadside and then a group of young people came out of the truck, stopped us and demanded petrol from us. We tried to refuse but they were threatening and David gave them the key. Unfortunately for them the hosepipe they had could not get into the petrol tank. I think there is a sift in the petrol tank. So, they eventually abandoned the whole effort and threw the keys at us and ordered us out. So, we drove out back to Johannesburg.

Had Lord McCamel made any report of damage to property or loss of life to you? -- At that time he did not. He (10) just spoke of what he saw. That is the smoke hanging around Sebokeng, but he was unable to say what the nature of the destruction was or what the nature of loss of life could have been. He knew nothing at the time. That is what he said.

Did you after the 3rd try to find out what was happening in the Vaal? -- Yes. When Lord McCamel could not come that very day in the afternoon and around 10h00 we were once more requested to drive ... (Court intervenes)

COURT : At night? -- The following day. (20)

10h00 the following morning? -- Yes, that is 10h00 the following day in the morning. We drove once more back to Lord McCamel to find out what had happened and we - I think we were already at his home where we could not find him but just as we were about to drive out, he came in a car. It was in that car that I think he told us about the loss of lives, but he could not give us the exact number and he too had maintained that he still has to make a follow up of further casualties of the unrest. So, he could come back himself to the South African Council of Churches. I think(30) when/...

when we came that day in the afternoon or the following day on the 5th, I am not quite certain, but it had become almost the order of the day that week that the South African Council of Churches was desperately in need of information and one found himself driving in and out of the Vaal for that period.

MR BIZOS : What was the interest of the SACC in relation to this? -- The interest of the SACC was largely humanitarian, that is in terms of was there any role that the SACC could play, that was in case there would be people an/or parents or communities that would seek assistance, the SACC would (10) consider the kind of request that could be forthcoming from the Vaal during that time.

Do you know whether any assistance was rendered? -- I know that assistance was rendered. I am not quite certain whether it was in the second week. There was a cheque, I do not remember of how much that the SACC sent to the Ministers of the Vaal, because at that time the Ministers in the Vaal had regrouped themselves into the Ministers Solidarity Group of which Lord McCamel seemed to have been the chairman and Father Edward Lennon was the secretary. (20)

Who was the administrative officer of the SACC at the time? -- Mr Dan Vaughn was the administrative officer at the time.

Do you know whether he took any part in arranging for assistance to be given to the people in the Vaal? -- Yes, he was inundated with the calls, so I was told and amongst the calls he had received was one from Reverend Marutle of the Methodist Church who Mr Vaughn reported had phoned them with regard to the plight of the Community Councillors, that they seemed to have been in a very undesirable (30) situation/...

situation. So, he had phoned the SACC trying to find out whether there was anything that the SACC could do for the community councillors and Dan Vaughn had to send me to the Vaal to find out from Reverend Marutle that if possible to suggest to him that he should come to the SACC where he can be in a position to relate fully to the SACC the conditions of the community councillors who were at that time no longer at our homes.

There was a suggestion earlier on in this trial that the SACC was selective in the assistance that it gave to (10) victims of unrest. Is that so? -- It is incorrect. The SACC (Mr Krugel intervenes)

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : I am not quite certain of what you are telling the Court about Reverend Marutle. Did you see him and did he come and put the case for the councillors to the SACC? -- I went to Reverend Marutle, who I found to be resident in Sharpeville. I did not find him home. I found Mrs Marutle and left word and wrote a note requesting Reverend Marutle to phone the SACC and/or to come in person to the SACC. What became of that request or the note that (20) I had written, I do not know, but Mr Vaughn did not refer to the matter any longer and I took for granted that Reverend Marutle could have been at the SACC and the matter was under attention.

MR BIZOS : Was this an unusual interest that the SACC had in relation to people in distress or had it done - had it tried to be of assistance before? -- The SACC had been of assistance to communities that are in need at all times and it was interested not only in this particular situation, but even people involved with the removals, relocations and (30) even/...

even in in Thumahole the SACC sent me to that place, although I just went once and I found Reverend Manemele who was very familiar with the operations of the SACC. I think he went in and out of the SACC with a view of informing the SACC about the developments in Thumahole, that is in Parys. So, it was not only with the Vaal that the SACC showed this immense interest, but in all communities which were affected somehow or other.

You told us that you were detained from time to time and documents were seized from you from time to time. -- (10)
Yes.

Were you in possession of a number of documents which were seized at the time of your arrest in February 1985? --
Yes, I had quite a number of documents that were taken from me.

I only want to deal with one document. You were in possession of AX6 which is a publication of the National Forum and there is one paper that I want to refer you to in that document. It also appears, My Lord, in the B series as B6. In AX6 I think it is only the cover. Actually you have to (20) look at B6 in order to get the paper itself.

COURT : There is more than the cover in AX6. It does contain the contents and the foreward summary. It is not much.

MR BIZOS : This is a paper which says at the end of it that it was co-authored ... (Court intervenes)

COURT : Sorry, Mr Bizos. Is B6 then in any way to be related to AX6?

MR BIZOS : It was a paper which was delivered at the conference.
(30)

COURT/...

COURT : And is AX6 the proceedings of the conference?

MR BIZOS : AX6 is the proceedings of the conference.

COURT : Oh, I see, yes. The contents gives you the paper itself.

MR BIZOS : Yes, it is on page 56 of AX6 but it was not duplicated.

COURT : Yes, thank you.

MR BIZOS : Have you got B6 before you now? -- Yes.

And does it say in the end that this paper was co-authored by Lybon Mabaso, Lebamang Sibidi and you? -- Yes. (10)

I want you to please tell His Lordship how it came about that your name appears there? -- Yes. Lybon Mabaso at the time was the president I think of AZAPO and after I had been approached by Sath Cooper as I said and later I learnt that he had approached Reverend Sibibi ... (Court intervenes)

COURT : Is that the Lebamang Sibidi? -- That is the Lebamang Sibidi. Lybon came to me and talked about the need or it was more of a request I think what are one's thoughts about the whole concept of unity and he said that he is going to do a similar thing with Reverend Sibidi. I gave him a (20) broad outline of what I thought ... (Court intervenes)

On paper? -- No, no, no, just in the discussions, what I envisaged unity to be like and of what nature the kind I see would be like. I made it very clear to him of course even in the strongest of terms that unity has become the more important at this time because of the sort of relation that came to exist between people in the non-racial circles and people in the BC circles more especially at leadership of organisations level. That I deplore that kind of trend. That I am totally against the sort of situation where people (30) seem/...

seem to give an impression of them being at loggerheads with each other and the unity I envisaged here is the kind of unity that should be looked at or can be seen in terms of ability of the people belonging to the two strands of thought to work together on any project that affects the oppressed people. In particular I was referring to the Black people and that it would be through action where they are able to be of service to the people that they will get to realise one another. So, that was the viewpoint that I put and he said he would come back to me after he shall have spoken to (10) Reverend Sibidi and he shall have ssembled Reverend Sibidi's ideas or thoughts on unity because this was to be the subject at the National Forum.

MR BIZOS : The paper as it appears in the exhibit, was that shown to you before it was delivered? -- These reports were not showed me before it was delivered. In actual fact, Lybon, I just heard Lybon reading it at the National Forum at the conference, that is at the launch of the National Forum.

Did you in any real sense write that paper? -- In a real sense no, I did not write that paper, but I just contributed(20) or I just gave him by thoughts, I just gave him my perspectives with regard to the whole concept of unity.

The words used in that paper, are they your words or Mr Mabaso's words? -- The words used in this paper are not my words.

I would like you to please have a look at EXHIBIT AB31. Do you know whether this document was received by the SCA or not? -- No, this document was never received by the SCA.

COURT : Is it addressed to the SCA?

MR BIZOS : It does not appear to be so addressed. (30)

COURT/...

COURT : Why pick on this one?

MR BIZOS : Because it may have some relationship to the next one AB7.

COURT : Yes, thank you.

MR BIZOS : Please have a look at AB7 which is a press statement. It is headed "Press statement".

COURT : This will be AB7 document 6.

MR BIZOS : Yes, it is AB7 document 6 "Press statement."

This says "On 10 October 1984 the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) called on all the organisations to meet (10) at Khotso House with the aim of discussing the following issues" and then it says "On 27 October the meeting took place and went through the same issues as outlined in the previous agenda, but this time a concrete action was to be taken. The organisations present are the following" and then among the organisations that we see there on top of page 2 on AB6 is the Soweto Civic Association. I am sorry AB7 document 6. Did you attend any such meeting?

COURT : Personally?

MR BIZOS : Personally, to start off with? -- Personally (20) I did not attend this meeting.

Did you as secretary - do you know of any discussion on the SCA in relation to this meeting? -- I know nothing about this meeting. It was never discussed or it was never - I was never told of it as the secretary of the Soweto Civic Association.

COURT : Were you in detention at the time? -- No. What date is it?

27 October 1984. -- May be I was in detention.

MR BIZOS : Did the Soweto Civic Association to your (30) knowledge/...

knowledge depute any person to attend any such meeting? --
The Soweto Civic Association never deputed anybody to attend
this meeting.

Thank you, My Lord, we have no further questions.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR HANEKOM : Mr Manthata, I want to
refer you to EXHIBIT B6 the one just mentioned by you.
When you had the discussion with Mr Lybon Mabaso on the
subject of unity, did he take notes of what you said? -- I
do not remember him taking notes of what I was saying.

When did you for the first time receive EXHIBIT B6 (10)
in this form like it is here? -- Like I said, the last time
I saw this was after Lybon had read it and it became, it was
said to be the documents of the NF, that is the National
Forum.

You say that was the last time. I asked you when was
the first time that you saw this document? -- The first time
I saw it was when the documents of the National Forum were
published.

Did you peruse this document then? -- Yes, I did go
through it. (20)

When did you do that? -- I think after receipt of it.

Was it after the conference or during the conference?
-- It was long after the conference.

Was there anything in this document B6 that you did not
agree with? -- Quite true.

What did you do about that when you realised that there
was something in that you did not agree with? -- Well, I
told Lybon that this was not the thing that I had expected.
more so that during our discussions I was against the kind
of apparent mudslinging that was going on between the (30)
organisations/...

organisations and which is still contained in this document.

Did you ask him who compiled this document and attached your name to it? -- He said he had done it.

COURT : Can I just ask you something. This document B6 is a typed document. I take it that when published it was a printed document? -- It was a printed document.

In the typed document B6 you were given credit for your joint effort at the bottom of page 5. Is that credit also repeated in the printed document? -- Sorry, can you repeat the question? (10)

I want to know whether the words, this paper was a joint effort of Lybon Mabaso, Tom Manthata and Lebamang Sibidi as appears in the printed version of this document? -- Yes, it appears in the printed document.

MR HANEKOM : What was your reaction when you heard this paper being delivered on the conference? -- Sibidi and I could only listen with concern and amazement because of us were actually surprised.

Did you discuss the matter with Reverend Sibidi? -- Yes, I discussed the matter with Reverend Sibidi. He too was (20) not wholly in support of what was said here.

And what did you do on that conference to set the record straight? -- Like I said, Lybon was approached and he was told of this and I think even he should have - I am not quite certain what the response of Sath Cooper was, but otherwise they just worked on, regardless of what he had expressed. That is our feelings about this paper.

COURT : Did you approach Lybon Mabaso at the conference? -- We approached Lybon Mabaso at the conference.

And did you approach Sath Cooper at the conference? (30)

We/...

-- We approached Sath Cooper I think later, because I think we left before the conference was over.

MR HANEKOM : And instead of your objection, they carried on and published your name on the front edition as well? -- Correct.

Can you indicate to the Court which sections of this document you disagree with? -- We have page 4 the first paragraph "We are at the time where the White minority regime want to ..." no, no, no. As from the second line there.

That is the sentence "The urgent nature"? -- "The urgent(10) nature of this crisis has tempered the oppressed in certain quarters to form dangerous and opportunist political alliances of the workers petty bourgeoisie, liberals and sheltered elements from the oppressor camp into the hope of consolidating against the oppressors and exploiters." I think the whole of that paragraph.

COURT : You mean from where you started reading "The urgent nature" up to the end "secret police"? -- That he talks about yes, they are more dangerous than the secret police.

MR HANEKOM : You say you think you disagree with this (20) paragraph. Do you disagree with that or not? -- I disagree with that paragraph.

Except for this paragraph, any other portions that you do not agree with? -- There is that other paragraph starting with ... (Court intervenes)

COURT : Page? -- Page 4, the third last paragraph "So often" up to the end.

Up to "progressive"? -- Up to "progressive", yes.

You disagree with that paragraph? -- Yes.

MR HANEKOM : Is there any other portion that you do not (30) agree/...

agree with? -- Yes, I think besides that (Court intervenes)

COURT : Page? -- It is not on the page. I think what I am not supporting is the flourishing radical rhetoric nature of the phraseology that is in this paper, like Ethiopia. That is the language used, the phraseology.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : What did you say about Ethiopia. I could not catch it? -- Some of the things that are said here one just cannot reconcile them to realities what we would love to see happen or how we would love to see unity. (10)

Do you regard this as an Ethiopian piece of work? -- In some instances, because it is not idealistic as it is. It does not suggest how this unity can be gone into.

Not very practical in that sense? -- In that sense, yes.

It does not consider the realities? -- That is what I say.

MR HANEKOM : Do you in the Soweto Civic Association regard yourselves as being involved in any struggle, any liberation struggle? -- Are you taking that from this paper?

COURT : Are you leaving the paper now? (20)

MR HANEKOM : No. I am asking you in general terms, do you regard yourselves as being part of a liberation struggle or any other struggle? -- We are not a liberation struggle organisation. We are by and large a civic organisation but not understanding what you mean by liberation struggle, but if by liberation you mean the desire to free this country of racialism, the desire to free this country of apartheid, up to a point as I have already said that the problems cannot be solved within the apartheid society.

Do you regard yourselves as being involved in any (30)
revolutionary/...

revolutionary struggle in the Soweto Civic Association? --
Well, one would say, depending on how we use the word revolutionary. If we talk in terms of a change, a change in terms of from the bad situation in which we find ourselves to a better situation which we expect, which we are working towards, yes, we would call ourselves in those terms.

We will come back to that, but if we can refer to B6 again the first sentence on page 1. "Comrades and friends, I greet you all in the name of our revolutionary struggle and our beloved mother Azania." Do you share that sentiment? -- (10)
Yes, I cannot see the significance of that. I would not share that kind of sentiment. I mean if you would just say "Thank you, ladies and gentlemen" and then you go on. This is what I would see an ideal introduction of oneself before one speaks.

Was AZAPO according to you involved in any revolutionary struggle? -- I would not talk convincingly on AZAPO, because I do not know their, that is the projects they are involved in. I do not know what their plans are. So, if ever I say I view them as such and I have no basis on which place my (20) views, I would find it very difficult .

COURT : Well, sometimes one has a view without a good basis. What was your view? -- My view is that AZAPO cannot be a liberation - did I hear you?

MR HANEKOM : A revolutionary struggle. -- Yes, I would not see AZAPO as a revolutionary organisation.

Still on page 1 the numbered paragraph 1. "Lack of sound priorities tailored to an objective revolutionary situation." They refer to the revolutionary situation again. You say you do not regard AZAPO being involved in (30)
any/...

any revolution? -- That is my opinion.

COURT : Can I just get clarity. When was this paper delivered? -- This paper was delivered - I do not remember the date exactly, but it was in June 1983.

Is this at Hammanskraal? -- That was in Hammanskraal.

MR HANEKOM : Still on page 1, the numbered paragraph 2, the first sentence "In each and every stage of our revolution there is a demand for certain particular structures and organisational forms" and so on. They refer to their revolution "every stage of our revolution"? Did AZAPO regard (10) themselves as being involved in a revolution? -- Reading this paper, this is the impression the president is giving.

And what did you understand when you heard this paper being delivered? -- I did not understand this paper when it was being delivered.

And when you read through the paper later, how did you understand it? -- As I have already said, to me it was rather to Ethiopia. There was a flourish of radical retorics which I did not go for.

The second last sentence of that same paragraph (20) "Organisational vexations will only dely our revolution." Referring to our revolution again. -- That is what he says.

Have you taken this up with Mr Lybon Mabaso, this concept of being involved in a revolution? -- As I said before we took this matter up with regard with the entire paper as it stands.

I am asking you particularly on the notion of a revolutionary struggle and being involved in a revolution. Did you discuss that with him? -- I thought is sufficed just to tell him that one was not happy with the whole paper (30)

as/...

as it stands.- I did not go into portions of this paper in detail.

So, you did not discuss this concept of being involved in a revolution with him? -- That is why I say according to my view AZAPO is not a revolutionary organisation.

I am not certain that I understand you correctly now. Did you discuss this notion of a revolution with Mr Mabaso, Mr Lybon Mabaso or not? -- This was the - like I said, this paper talks about things that I did not understand. I might not have said in specific terms the concept of revolution(10) or the concept of AZAPO being a revolutionary organisation, because (a) I did not belong, I am not a member of AZAPO, whatever AZAPO considers itself, I do not think I would have been in a position to correct that.

COURT : But I take it that as this meeting, this conference this paper was read in its entirety, also saying that it was drafted or compiled or was a joint effort of yourself, Mr Mabaso and Reverend Sibidi? -- Correct.

So, you were given credit for the thoughts in this paper? Did you know at the time that this paper might be (20) published? -- I did not know at the time.

Is it not usual for these papers to be published? -- Well, it does happen that after a person has delivered a paper he may keep it for himself and then perhaps later the organisation that had called upon him to deliver that paper may publish such papers. That does happen.

Well, did the various organisations of which you know not after their congresses publish their papers? -- Are we talking in general terms?

Yes, generally? -- Yes, generally it does happen. (30)

So/...

So, it was a reasonable possibility at least that this paper would be published ? -- Quite possible, yes.

What steps did you take to prevent that you would be credited for these thoughts in the publication thereof? -- I thought it was sufficient to have just told them that one was not - one did not accept the paper in terms of it having produced even ideals that one had strongly warned Lybon against.

WITNESS STANDS DOWN.

COURT ADJOURNS.

COURT RESUMES.

(10)

THOMAS MADIKWE MANTHATA, still under oath

FURTHER CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR HANEKOM : Mr Manthata, when you were given the opportunity to point out the portions in EXHIBIT B6 that you disagree with, why did you not refer to this aspect of the revolutionary struggle that AZAPO was involved in? -- I think I got a little - I do not know whether I did not emphasise or repeated myself well, that when we talked about when the question came from the counsel whether we in Soweto see ourselves as a revolutionary or involved in a revolution. I did say yes, in the sense (20) of a change from the bad position in which we find the poor - or bad position we found ourselves in to a better position which we are trying to work ourselves up to towards. Perhaps which I still hold the truth in terms of the term revolution to be what it means in terms in which it is used, perhaps even here I sort of misunderstood perhaps the emphasis that My Learned Counsel was putting on the word AZAPO or revolutionary organisation and so on. My concept of revolution as I had already said if this is the concept within which we are seeing AZAPO, I have no problems with AZAPO (30) calling/...

calling itself a revolutionary organisation and in fact AZAPO being in the whole struggle for a change in South Africa it becomes unavoidably or inevitably a revolutionary organisation in terms of its quest for a change in this country. That is the change of the system under which we are at this present stage. So, that taking from that point, I would have no problem that would have sort of forced me to press AZAPO to define itself what it means by a revolutionary organisation, because I understand revolutionary or a revolution in this case to mean a change. I mean one has read books (10) where you would find that Mother Theresa of India calls her methods revolutionary. We have had quite, even in in the economic sector in South Africa they have just recently explained their efforts in their endeavour to change the lot of the so-called underprivileged to have undergone a revolution to be revolutionary methods. So, if we are going to see things in that light, which is the light that I subscribe to, I believe in, I would have no problems with AZAPO calling itself a revolutionary organisation.

MR BIZOS : I am reluctant to intervene, but both the (20) cross-examiner and the witness are labouring under a misapprehension in relation to this paper. Mr Mabaso does not speak on behalf of AZAPO here. Confusing the Azanian people with the AZAPO as an organisation, I do not know whether I am... (Court intervenes)

COURT : We started off on the basis he was the president of AZAPO?

MR BIZOS : Yes, but here, he does not speak on behalf of AZAPO. Both My Learned Friend speaks on this basis and apparently the witness speaks on this basis, but the paper(30) itself/...

itself does not speak ... (Court intervenes)

COURT : Well, we can ask the witness on whose behalf was he speaking. I thought that the witness was telling us this is the president of AZAPO who was speaking.

MR BIZOS : Well, I do not want to say anything more, but if Your Lordship has a look at the documents as a whole, Your Lordship will see that these persons - any way, I better not say anything more. I do not want to suggest to the witness .. (sentence is not completed)

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : Just an observation, if I may. (10)
Would the government then also be a revolutionary organisation if it professes to go for a change? -- This is what the CP's and the Herstigdes and the AWB would see the government to be. To them it is far revolutionary to the left.

COURT : But in your view, would the Progressive Federal Party be a revolutionary party? -- In my view it would not be. It would be a reformist party.

MR HANEKOM : On whose behalf did Mr Lybon Mabaso speak when he delivered this paper? -- I would not say in terms on whose behalf he was speaking, because when he contacted (20) us he did not state clearly whether he was sampling our views as the president of AZAPO. I just know him to have been that at the time, but I would not say he was speaking on behalf of AZAPO.

The National Forum conference where this paper was adopted, was that not initiated by AZAPO? -- I would not say initiated by AZAPO although one would say if Sath Cooper was in the executive committee of AZAPO one would sort of get the impression that it was initiated by AZAPO, but the way it was put, it came to us as an idea that it was in the air and (30)
someone/...

someone or some groupings could have had an idea that it is necessary to bring people who can contribute to such a forum together. They could be invited to a forum of this nature.

COURT : I understood it of the national forum organisations the strongest organisation was AZAPO. Was that not so? -- Most possibly that, although the Cape Town Action League was similarly strong.

MR HANEKOM : But when Mr Mabaso was introduced at the conference, was he not introduced as president of AZAPO? -- If I remember well Mabaso was introduced both as president(10) of AZAPO and as a founder member of AZAPO, so that in the end one would wonder what picture was actually to be created to the people.

COURT : Is his name Mabaso or Mabasa? -- Mabasa.

MR HANEKOM : What was Mr Sath Copper's position in AZAPO? -- I am not certain what his position was, but he was in the exec of AZAPO.

I see according to EXHIBIT AX6 he was the convener of this National Forum conference? -- Yes, he was the convener.

The change that you was working for in the Soweto (20) Civic Association, the change that you wanted to see, how would that system - what kind of system would that be that you wanted to see in this land? In this country? -- I think our idea of the change we would have loved to see in the Soweto Civic Association was that Soweto should be the same as other urban areas. That is one other thing that our chairman said very strongly.

COURT : Same as Johannesburg? -- Same as Johannesburg.

In fact, we saw Soweto being part and parcel of the greater Metropolis of Johannesburg. (30)

MR HANEKOM/...

MR HANEKOM : Could you just elaborate on what you mean by that? -- What I mean is that it should be attached to Johannesburg, just as we talk in terms of the greater Johannesburg and it still has its Sandton, Wynberg and whatever you call it, but all of these are sharing some of the basic facilities. So, this is what we would have seen Soweto being like. That is being included in the whole situation where it is seen as Johannesburg as a whole.

Do you think and did you think at the time that that was possible under the present government, such a change (10) under the so-called apartheid government? -- We knew it was not that. It was for that reason that we were struggling to have it that way.

What kind of a government did you envisage for this country? -- A central government?

What do you mean by a central government?

COURT : Yes, the witness wants to know whether you mean local government or central government in your question?

MR HANEKOM : I mean central government? -- Yes, the central government that we envisage is a government of the people, (20) that is where all the people of South Africa have a share in, that is all the adults have a vote in this country.

So, it is a system of one man one vote? -- A system of one man one vote.

Please have a look at the last page of EXHIBIT B6 page 5. the last sentence. It reads "Forward to a socialist democratic anti-racial Azania." Do you share that view that you want a socialist democratic and anti-racial Azania? -- I am not quite clear with the socialist, but as a certainty I am opposed to racial capitalism of this country. So, (30) what/...

what kind of an economic system would be brought into - would be left to the people of this country.

What was your attitude towards socialism? -- I have not formulated ideas about socialism.

COURT : Well, have you formulated any ideas as to the future economic system that you want? -- For the time I would see the kind of economic system where wealth is shared equitably in this country. The mechanics of it I have not gone into yet.

MR HANEKOM : So, is it a socialist system or not that (10) you prefer when the wealth is shared by all in this country? -- If we are saying that away from capitalism is socialism then I would go for that, but if there is something inbetween I would settle for that.

COURT : But you are 47 years old and surely you have thought about these matters before? -- I have thought about these matters before, but I have not reached a conclusive or a firm stand on what would be practical. I am not sort of Ethiopian in my thinking all the time.

MR HANEKOM : You have read quite a lot on socialism and (20) Marxism, do you agree? -- I do not agree. I do not know what counsel means by a lot.

Of the books that were found in your possession, I refer to the AX series. AX5 for instance. That is the title of a cover of a book "Reading capital" and when one looks at the contents of this book it is all about Marxism. Do you agree? -- I agree with the title as you put it.

And have a look at AX4 the previous exhibit. The title of the book is "Towards a new Marxism "? -- Yes.

Have you read that book? -- Some of these books I (30)
just/...

just bought. I realised that it was too heavy. I did not even go through a chapter.

Why did you buy the book if you were not interested in reading it? -- Yes, I was interested in reading it, but it ended up being too heavy for me and not the sort of thing that I was going for.

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You bought the book because you were interested in Marxism? -- I bought these books because I was interested as I have said already, I have done Political Science 1 and I wanted to keep abreast, not specifically because of my interest in (10) Marxism.

Were you interested in the so-called liberation struggle in Zimbabwe? -- At the time when this book was in circulation it was just immediately after the change of government in Zimbabwe and one was just keen to see how the whole thing went. Not that one was just - not that one had the kind of interest that counsel might be referring to which I do not know in any way.

COURT : What are you referring to now?

MR HANEKOM : I am referring to EXHIBIT AX7 the title of (20) the book "The struggle for Zimbabwe." Have you read that book, AX7? -- Yes, I have read this book.

Do you agree that the so-called liberation struggle in Zimbabwe was an armed struggle, a violent struggle? -- Yes, it was a violent struggle, an armed struggle.

And what is your attitude towards that? -- One read the horrors of it all and one wondered why people could have dragged on until human life, property and all that would be involved in that fashion. Why could people not have evolved a better way of solving the problems before all this (30)

canard/...

canard could set in.

And EXHIBIT AX8 the book with the title "Mugabe". Have you read that? -- Yes, I was interested in the person of Mugabe.

On the last page of this exhibit the back page of the book of EXHIBIT AX8 Mr Mugabe is described as an extremist or he was type-cast as an extremist, a colourless Marxist, Leninist, ideologue and a fanatical guerrilla leader." -- What page is counsel referring to?

It is the last page of the exhibit with the heading (10) "The man behind the myth." Would you describe Mr Mugabe in those terms? -- I would not. I think a person who describes Mr Mugabe in those terms is a person who has been very intimate and very close to Mr Mugabe.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : Who was very close to him, I am sorry? -- That is the person who is writing like this, must have been very close, very intimate with Mr Mugabe.

MR HANEKOM : You can leave that exhibit for the moment.

MR BIZOS : In fairness, that is only a very small portion of the description of Mr Mugabe. (20)

COURT : Well, no doubt, in re-examination you will read the rest of it. Give Mr Hanekom a chance.

MR HANEKOM : Did you envisage a system in this country in accordance with the Freedom Charter? -- I have no problem with the Freedom Charter and I would endorse the changes under the Freedom Charter.

Can I refer you to EXHIBIT B6 again page 2 the last paragraph 3 starting with "We believe that any ideology" seven lines down it reads as follows "We should be protectors of our interests. We are our own liberators." Is that (30) the/...

the belief that you share that you must be your own liberators? -- Yes, I think the people of South Africa should be their own liberators.

And when you say the people of South Africa should be their own liberators, who are the people that you refer to? -- My concept of South Africa is South African of a colourless society. That is Black, White, Brown, whatever you call it. That is the people of South Africa and the people of South Africa should protect themselves.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : Is that not what one would rather(10) call a colourful society? -- As I say, according to me it has no longer a colour. I do not see people in terms of the colour. I see them in terms of their personhood.

MR HANEKOM : Who do you regard as the oppressed people in this country that must be liberated? -- Immediately it is the Black people that are oppressed and then secondly, we strongly believe that the Whites of this country are oppressed, because I cannot see people who cannot be moved by the suffering of the Black people that they are living side by side with. I cannot see a person being that (20) almost an embodiment of jealousy, greed, hatred. When you are sitting side by side with a person, see him ground to poverty by policies of removals, policies of squatters, the kind of situation that we would find prevalent amongst Black people. So, for people to be blind to all these things, in all sincerity and love of humankind, I think those people are oppressed.

I have got difficulty with that explanation. In what sense are they oppressed, the White people? -- Would you say a person who is possessed by greed, jealousy, hatred (30) for/...

for people of another colour, is a human being in Christian terms?

Must the White people also be liberated? -- They have to be liberated from that.

Is that what is meant by the phrase "we are our own liberators" including all the people in this country? -- I think all the people in this country have to liberate themselves. It has become a polecat of the world.

The next sentence "We have to guard against imperialism." Do you agree with that? -- Yes, we do not want to be colo-(10) nised by any country.

How do you understand imperialism? -- Imperialism is a foreign power that comes to impose itself in another country on other people of that other country.

What do you mean by a foreign country imposing themselves? -- Presently, let us refer to the history of this country. The Afrikaners of this country saw the English and/or England as an imperialist in South Africa because they felt that South Africa was directly under the rule of Britain. That is why in 1960 when the late Verwoerd declared a Republic(20) of South Africa was seen, the effort was seen as a step away from an imperialist power. It was sort of a freedom of this country from an imperial power.

COURT : What are we discussing at the moment? -- We are discussing imperialism.

If we are discussing the phrase we have to guard against imperialism in the context of this paper, not in general. Now what does that refer to? -- If I understand this paper well, this paper says to liberate this country, we do not have to use the methods or ideologies that are foreign (30)

to/...

to this country or are foreign to the people of this country. If we take for example as it is said somewhere Marxism, Leninism, the paper was to show that Marxism and Leninism has been used in various ways in various countries as those countries demanded or as those countries expected. That is in the end they used Marxism, or Marxism/Leninism according to the demands of that country, but not as dictated to by Marxists from elsewhere outside the confidence of this country.

Do you agree with that? -- I agree with the concept (10) that we must liberate ourselves here and if there are ideologies that should enable us to set ourselves free, it must be ideologies that are evolved out of the situation that we experience in this country.

What I am putting to you is, do you agree that the sort of adapted Marxist/Leninist philosophy would be compatible with the South African situation? -- You mean adapted in this country?

Yes, adapted. Adapted Marxist/Leninist? -- It would take us further to know how adapted it is, because if in (20) the end it is just the sheer name but the methods differ, I would find it a problem whether it in the end that would be the actual Marxist/Leninist tendencies that are obtained say in the Kremlin, obtained say in Cuba so that in the end sometimes we reach a stage where it becomes very difficult to spoke about any ideology purity.

I am not entirely with you. What in fact are you saying? The question was whether Marxist/Leninism adapted to the South African situation would be acceptable to you? -- I would find it a problem. Like I said, I would wonder to (30)

what/...

what extent has it been adapted, but otherwise, if it is as it would sound like I would not go for it. If it would still have the imperialist connotations.

You mean if the Soviet Union pulls the strings, it is not acceptable to you? That would be imperialist. Is that so? -- That is quite correct.

If no outside power pulls the strings, this means dictates what then? Would it then be acceptable to you? -- I would not say it would be acceptable to me but like I said, I am more concerned with the practical significance of an ideology, so that if it is going to be seen to be say atheistic admittedly I cannot go for it. (10)

But socialistic? -- Socialistic up to what degree I would find myself still ... (Court intervenes)

Up to the degree that the State controls the means of production? -- I see we are getting into one debate after another, because like I say, I would find it very difficult in the end to speak of any ideological purity in any sense but I would see it in the light of it having been propounded or it having to be gone into, does it meet the acceptance of the people of this country? It must not come about in dictatorial terms. If I have to put it so. (20)

I am not asking you about the method in which it comes about. I am just asking you about your personal views. In view of the fact that you are clearly a man who has thought about these things because of all the documents in your possession. -- Like I have said, I did not read these document that exhaustively that I can even argue from them.

Do you regard a capitalist system as imperialistic? -- Yes, depending on whether we take it raw as it is, like (30)

it/...

it is in America.

As it is now? -- Well, in the South African capitalism if one looks at it (a) it has racial connotation, (b) there is a great deal of government involvement in the industrial sector. So, one wonders whether this is the kind of capitalism that is obtained say in America. If the blend of capitalism that is in America can be found to be prevalent in here where sometimes people maintain that the operation of the multi-nationals in themselves bring about an element of imperialism, it brings about a lot of ideas, thoughts (10) and so on to get to a definite stand what these to have been, in practical control of some of these machineries or not in control, but a practical access to some of these issues that you can be in a position to learn exactly what they mean.

The whole debate started with the phrase "we have to guard against imperialism". -- I agree with that.!

What did you understand by that phrase?-- By that phrase I meant that we should not find ourselves having to change because of pressures from outside. (20)

But now how in our present situation do you have any trouble with imperialism? What is your problem at the moment in South African with imperialism? -- My biggest problem is that when some of the main countries, or what I might call imperialists, seem to have or they seem to show a great meddling in the South African situation.

Why? -- I would not say why are they there.

To which countries do you refer then and why do you say so? -- I am referring to say the heavy presence of the heavy meddling of countries like Germany, America, Britain, (30)

and/...

and all these countries that seem to make it very difficult for a change to be brought about.

But now what is the heavy meddling by say for example Germany? -- I have just referred to the situation where when our efforts or the efforts of the people in South Africa, more especially the oppressed people, sometimes are not clearly understood and some of them come to think that people are themselves influenced or we are being used by other foreign powers which they themselves do not like, like they would think that when people talk about the need(10) for change in this country, they are the agents of the Soviet Union.

Well, I am still not clear on how Germany is meddling in South African affairs. Can you put it clearer than that or not?-- Like I have said, it is a little of a problem because I would not be able to articulate it fairly well, but I mean is that it seems Germany itself amongst other countries, they do not seem to support the concept of the need for a change in this country. They would rather love to see South Africa remain in the hands of the Whites and(20) the Whites loading it over everybody in this country .

MR HANEKOM : We are back at EXHIBIT B6. The next sentence "Our organisations involved in the Azanian liberation struggle should guard against following religiously ideologies which have no material base in our own existential situation." Do you have that? -- That is page?

Page 2. -- I see that.

What you understand by the "Azanian liberation struggle"? Who is involved in that struggle? -- AZAPO talks of South Africa as Azania and I guess the liberation struggle (30)

that/...

that might be referred to here is the struggle for a change in this country and that the way this country should change should be on the basis of what we see or on the basis of our own experiential situation, what we have experienced and how we would love to shape our experiences for the good of everybody in this country.

Turn to page 3 please or just before I go to page 3. I just want to ask you this about the liberation struggle. Is a liberation struggle not much more than only for change as you have described it now? -- I see it as nothing (10) beyond that. I see it more especially as articulated by an organisation like AZAPO if I understand Lybon to be speaking on behalf of AZAPO, that AZAPO is an organisation that is on peaceful methods and it is for this reason that it can still operate freely and fully in this country. So, I would not see any other meaning of the word liberation except meaning a change in this country.

Now you gave us Mr Mabasa's view. What is your own view? -- My own view is that liberation means a change.

If the government brings in a fourth chamber for (20) the Blacks, would that be a change in the sense that you used it now? -- There would be no chance. That would be regarded as the fourth - citizens of the fourth degree in this country.

So, the change you refer to is taking over the power from the existing government? -- Not handing over the power. Handing it over to who? Because we are saying that let all the people be granted a vote in this country. People are not saying "Let us take over the votes from the Whites."

Is it not the taking over of the power of governing (30)

this/...

this country? -- Whoever shall be governed if you call it that, would be a person elected by the people in this country. That is the people of this country. So, there is no hand over whatsoever.

Did you have any reason to believe that the present government would effect such a change for the system of one man one vote? -- I am operating as a Christian and hope is my pillar in life. I hope at one stage this government or the White community of this country will realise how bad how cancerous apartheid is. (10)

If the government refuses to agree to a system of one man one vote, what ... -- It will one time dawn to the government that it must change.

And in the meantime, how ... -- In the meantime we shall keep struggling.

In what way? -- Trying to tell the country, trying to tell the Whites that we are oppressed. We shall continue telling the country that we are left poor because of the racial capitalism of this country.

In the light of your belief that the oppressed people (20) are their own liberators, how would you liberate yourselves? -- They must work hard amongst themselves like we have said that they need to know that they are capable of bringing about a change in this country. They are capable of talking to the Whites as equals in this country and until they reached that level and they are able to know that not - these things cannot be handed over to them until they themselves talk about these things, until they themselves show that they are working, what it means to be a human being, it is true they will always be regarded as a second class people, but (30) until/...

until they make everybody aware of who they are, that they are similar and equal in all aspects with everybody in this country, we believe that those who are being told will gradually learn and accept this fact and bring about a change.

Well, if the government almost daily states it clearly that they will not agree to a system of one man one vote and you want to liberate yourselves, the oppressed people, is the only answer not to go over to a revolution? -- What does counsel mean by revolution this time? (10)

I am asking you. Is that not the only option? A violent revolution? -- No, the violent revolution was never an option to us.

Turn to page 3 of EXHIBIT B6 please about six lines from the top. It reads "Racial oppression exists side by side with capitalist exploitation with all its imperialistic implications and the two are directly responsible for this dispossession of the indigenous people of their land which was the source of their livelihood and ultimately reducing them to the Black working class which today is the vanguard(20) of the Azanian revolutionary struggle." Have you got the place? -- Yes, I have got the sentence.

Do you agree that there is racial oppression? -- I agree that there is racial oppression in this country.

And also capitalist exploitation? -- As I have said there is racial capitalism, capitalist exploitation is here in this country.

And it says with all its imperialist implications. What do you understand by that? To what implications does this refer? -- I may not be quite exact, but what I understand(30) is/...

is that the sort of situation obtained in this country where the Whites have arrogated to themselves a portion of this country and they have made it exclusively theirs and yet for the development of that area or of the so-called areas they depend on the labour of the people from the so-called outside countries other than theirs, here imperialism seems to feature in a great deal. This would be my poor understanding of it.

And it says this too is directly responsible for the dispossession of the indigenous people of their land. (10)
Who are the indigenous people referred to here? -- I do not know what he means by indigenous people, but I think if I see it well, he talks of the Black people who historically are indigenous with this country. We never talk about the level of the Black people of South Africa. So, it is for this reason that I would see him referring to the Black people being indigenous in this country.

Well, that is again Mr Mabasa's understanding. What is your own understanding? -- My own understanding would verge on that. (20)

Do you agree that today the Black working class is the vanguard of the Azanian revolutionary struggle? -- I would not talk of any specific grouping in this country being in the vanguard, but if we say that that people in this country have been reduced to the level of workers all of them in the sense, that is there is nothing that the Black people can do to earn a living in their areas and all of them had to leave on the basis of being employed in the factories or in the industries in South Africa. This gives the impression that almost all able-bodied Africans have (30)
become/...

become the people in the industrial areas. They have been turned into industrial workers and of course it is the able-bodied people of any nation who are the hard core, the vanguard for a change in any of those countries.

COURT : Do you fall under the term "Black working class"?

-- I think I am a worker in the sense as one has said already ... (Court intervenes)

And your employers, are they all Black working class?

-- I am employed by the church.

That is right. The gentlemen of the church, are they(10) all Black working class? -- I think the church comprise workers basically.

MR HANEKOM : Is it the understading in the Soweto Civic Association that the workers in this country are the vanguard in the struggle? -- In a way because the Black urban areas have always been seen or referred to as labour camps. The people are in Soweto and primarily as workers in Johannesburg, as workers everywhere. There is nothing that they themselves can do in their given situation. All these industrial centres are in Johannesburg. The trains that (20) move between Soweto and Johannesburg, the PUTCO, the taxi's and so on, they are faring workers from Soweto into the industrial areas of this country.

What is the answer to the question? Do you in the Soweto Civic Association regard the working class as the vanguard of the struggle? -- That would be my opinion. I would not say in Soweto Civic Association that that is the general belief.

But what is the general belief in the Soweto Civic Association? -- The general belief in the Soweto Civic (30) Association/...

Association is that Soweto is the creation by the South African government and that we are placed there as dispossessed people. That is we do not own the land. We do not own anything. There are no factories, no rateable property. In all our efforts, all our labours, all our sweat, the little that we have in monetary terms, are being wasted in the Johannesburg industrial centres.

But about the notion of the workers being the vanguard of the struggle? -- We see ourselves as a community of people, not as a community of workers, despite the fact that we (10) are workers, but if I see it well here, because sometimes when we talk of workers, we go further to talk in terms of workers organised on trade union basis, but we in the Soweto Civic Association are not organised on trade union basis.

COURT : Would you say Dr Motlana is Black working class? -- Dr Motlana owns no means of production. He is just a worker. He is amongst the ... (Court intervenes)

Most of us do not own any means of productions, except our brains. -- Let us not go too much into that, because some have been so advantaged that they have been through (20) schools which were better occupied, they have had better education, they have had almost the best of everything, that would enable them to be what they are, whilst others have been disadvantaged to be.

The question is, do you regard Dr Motlana as Black working class? -- That is what I have said. I consider him as working class.

MR HANEKOM : Still on page of EXHIBIT B6 the third paragraph in the middle of the page "All these things point to one thing and that is the unity of the oppressed. Unity should(30) therefore/...

therefore be regarded as a pre-requisite for all organisations and people involved in the liberation movement." Do you see that? -- I see that.

What do you understand by the liberation movement? The term liberation movement? -- I will be repeating myself that I see it as a movement for a change. A movement in quest for a change.- A movement that works for a change.

It says here - it shows to a specific movement "involving in the liberation movement"? Do you know of any liberation movement called the liberation movement? -- I do not know(10) what he could have referred to and I do not know, I would not refer to a specific organisation as the liberation movement, more especially when a paper of this nature is presented by a person belonging to AZAPO.

Then it says "All organisations and people involved in the liberation movement." Do you say that the Soweto Civic Association was one of the organisations involved in the liberation movement? -- I think I said that from the beginning, that to a certain extent in terms of (a) the situation in Soweto needs a change and anybody who is (20) campaigning for that change for Soweto finds himself involved in a movement that seeks change in Soweto.

Would you say that UDF is involved in the liberation movement? -- Yes, UDF is amongst the organisations that are involved in the quest for change in this country.

And AZAPO? -- AZAPO too.

What about the ANC? Would you say the ANC is involved in the liberation movement? -- I think the ANC too wanted a change in this country or wants a change in this country.

So, are they part of the liberation movement or not?(30)

They/...

-- They differ in that others are peaceful, others use violent means.

Yes, that is the means, but are they part of the liberation movement, the ANC? -- If we talk of liberation movement in terms of what I am saying that there is the need for a change and all of them are striving for a change in this country, I see that desire for a change being a common denominator for all of them.

COURT : So, is the answer yes or no? -- The answer is yes, except that they differ in methods. (10)

MR HANEKOM : And the unity that is referred to here, the unity that must be a pre-requisite for all the organisations, is that not why it was so important to organise the people and mobilise the people to obtain unity? -- Well, as we have said, if we have the concept of unity in mind or whatever concept we have in mind and you want it to be understood and you want it to be supported, it is very important for you to run around selling that idea, discussing that idea and as you do all these, you are getting people around you that is moving from point A of non supporting anything to (20) point B which is mobility itself, this is how I see the whole concept of - you have an idea and it has to be supported and you have to put it to the people.

Was it of any importance for you in the Soweto Civic Association to organise the people of Soweto? -- The people of Soweto needed to be organised around their poverty. The people of Soweto needed to be organised around the fact of the refuse that lie around and removed. The people of Soweto needed to be organised. There are sewerage pipes (30) that/...

that are bursting day in and day out and are left unrepaired and people have to organised to do that. No civil person can do that kind of work and the smell that comes from all those things does not affect any single individual along, it affects all the people and all the people who are affected by that need to be brought together to address themselves to that problem.

Was it the task of the Soweto Civic Association to get the people organised around those issues? -- I think so.

We will come back to that a little later. I want to(10) refer you on the same page 3 the last sentence on that page. It reads "In a complexed struggle such as ours, it is necessary to identify who the enemy is and to understand his workings in our midst or ranks so that we must not find ourselves forced to fight him on his own terms and within structures created by him." Do you have the place? -- Yes, I see that.

Who do you regard as the enemy in this sense? -- In this sense we referred to the system that leaves the people to live in such squalid conditions whilst others are (20) living in well-kept and human conditions.

To what system is that? -- The system of apartheid.

Well, apartheid is an abstract term. Who is responsible for the apartheid? Is that not the people ... -- The government is responsible for the apartheid.

So, is it then the government that is regarded as the enemy? -- The government is seen to be enacting a policy that is against the wishes of the people.

Is the government see as the enemy of the people? -- If that is termed the enemy, the governmeng becomes the (30) enemy/...

enemy of the people.

And is the government also synonym with the Whites in this country? Do you regard the Whites as the oppressors and the enemy? -- I do not know whether we are saying in this context all the Whites or whether we are referring to the government and here we remain firm that it is government that we are referring to and of course if we say all the Whites voted for that government, then it may become unavoidable to say so, but if we take into account that there may be some Whites who have not participated in the election of (10) such a government or in the election or approval of such a system, then we may still find our saying not all the Whites but some Whites.

COURT : So, in the category of enemy, do you place the system, being the apartheid system, this government and those Whites who voted the government into power? -- It seems so if we say that those people were exercising a right that they understood what is good and what is bad.

MR HANEKOM : The term "progressive Whites" was used. I think you used the term yourself. -- Is it there? (20)

No, not in this paper. I am asking you in general. Have you come across the term progressive Whites? -- If by progressive we mean what it means namely people who aspire for good for all mankind, then that is what one would mean, but those Whites who feel that in South Africa people must be treated alike, then I would say they are progressive.

So, the Whites that support your view and your struggle you would describe as progressive Whites? -- My view and my struggle?

Yes, meaning the view and the struggle of the Black (30)
people/...

people? -- To call it just a view when we are faced with practical reality, I would find it a proper view to reduce it to those levels.

COURT : Let us make it easier. Is by progressive Whites meant those Whites that support the liberation struggle?

-- That is those Whites who see the need for a change and they support the efforts for a change. Yes, I would see them as progressive Whites.

Many Whites see the need of a change and yet I am sure you would not call the progressive Whites, because also (10) the word "change" can mean different things to different persons? -- That is quite true.

That is why I put it to you, do you see progressive Whites as Whites who support you in the liberation struggle?

-- Yes, I would say so.

MR HANEKOM : The second half of that sentence "So that we may not find ourselves forced to fight him on his own terms and within structures created by him." What does that refer to? -- What paragraph?

It is the last sentence on page 3 and the first sentence (20) on top of page 4. What does that refer to "So that we may not find ourselves forced to fight him" referring to the enemy "on his own terms and within structures created by him"? -- If I understand this well, it means the government has created structures like apartheid -sorry, like Bantustans, structures like the local authorities as they stand presently and there are some people who believe that they can go into those structures and bring about a change whilst they are in those structures. Some people believe that it is impossible to do that kind of a thing, because those structures have (30) their/...

their own rules, have their own ethics and we have to stick to those rules, we have to stick to what is expected of you ethically and as a result you are going to find yourself unable to work within those structures if you have to obey or observe those terms.

Well, what is your own view? -- My own view is that it is so, you cannot bring about a change within those structures.

Was that also the view of the Soweto Civic Association? -- Yes, the Soweto Civic Association as we have said (10) already sees itself and it sees that need for a pressure group, for a trend settle outside the system created institutions.

I want to refer you on the same page, page 4 more or less in the middle of the page the sentence - it is just after the paragraph you said you disagreed with "Unless we have conscientiously identified the enemy in our ranks, we are not going to ably perceive imperialism and effectively destroy it and its tentacles from our ranks." Do you have the place? -- "Unless we can conscientiously identify the enemy (20) in our ranks, we are not going to ably perceive imperialism and effectively destroy it and its tentacles from our ranks." Yes, I see that one.

Who is the enemy?

COURT : Before you ask this question, forget about the enemy for the moment. How do you understand that sentence imperialism in your ranks, that is in the ranks of the oppressed? What sort of imperialism is that? -- I would not - my view or as I see it, it sounds like we are saying there could be people within our ranks who are not working for (30) the/...

the common good of the people that are- have set themselves onto the task of changing. Perhaps they have - they are working for other forces outside the circle of those involved. This is what I would think it means.

MR HANEKOM : How would it be possible to effectively destroy the imperialism? Its and its tentacles from our ranks? -- He does not give how effectively this can be destroyed. He just says it needs to be destroyed if I understand it well. Perhaps it can be effectively destroyed once it has been identified. What I understand him to say is that it is (10) not that easy to identify the kind of imperialist within our ranks. As long as it cannot be identified, there would not be an effective method to get rid of him.

But how would you get rid of him? -- I would not know either. If it is not identified.

You told us that you disagreed with the previous paragraph, but you did not say that you disagreed with this sentence. So, I take it that you agree with what he said here? -- I would not say let us go back, because I said that some of us got a little disappointed with this paper, (20) one did not even read it for the second time to make a thorough study of all it is saying. So, let us go on assuming that one can give his own personal opinion at this time.

COURT : Can one say that imperialism actually here is equated to capitalism in the sense that you have an adherent to capitalism? Otherwise it does not seem to me to make sense. -- That is quite true. It may mean a person with capitalistic tendencies within our ranks.

Yes, it might more sense than an imperialist within (30)
your/...

your ranks. -- Thank you.

MR HANEKOM : The next sentence reads "The first task of a true revolutionary is to identify the enemy closest to him and this includes himself and his colleagues." What do you regard as a true revolutionary? -- Well, I think my opinion would be the kind of a person who admits his faults, who admits his weaknesses, who can see his strength and who can even be in a position to accept the fact that perhaps I am not even worthy to be a leader of this group or I am not even worthy to undertake this kind of a project that (10) I am least informed about, rather than a person who just accepts everything and thinks that because I am an oppressed person and therefore I can bring about a change when he does not even have an idea of (a) what change he envisages or he does not even have the abilities to approach those who may have - who know how and who may enlighten him to a point where he can be in a position to do the right thing.

Will you turn to the next page, page 5 the second sentence from the top "At best this forum should rise with renewed determination and dedication to foster Black soli-(20) darity, group cohesion and unity within the liberation movement." This is the message which we must carry back to our constituencies, allies and the world at large." Do you have the place? -- Yes, I have got the place.

Do you agree with what is said here? That Black solidarity must be fostered? -- First if this forum accepts the need for unity, then they must be committed to that - that is to the promotion of that unity and it is for that reason that they must see to it that where it is necessary they must just do their best to see that that unity takes (30) shape/...

shape.

But what is your own view? -- My own view is that there is a great need of - there is a great need for unity and where possible people must unite, accepting the fact that there are grave differences and taking into account individual personalities. One accepts the fact that it is not going to be an easy thing to achieve that unity.

But what do you say about the fostering of Black solidarity? -- It is important because it is the Black people like we have said already that the word "Black" has quite (10) a significant meaning, that sometimes we talk of Black in terms of oppression, Black in terms of our poverty and when we say poor people, need to unite to do something out of their poverty and to rise above their poverty, it becomes unavoidable that - that simply must be gone into, that must be done.

Is it not so that the Black people must be brought into the liberation struggle? -- Yes, that is the struggle for a change.

In order to be their own liberators, as it is said? (20) -- Yes, they need to liberate themselves.

If we could go back to page 4 the first paragraph that you said you disagree with, what is your objection to that paragraph? What do you disagree with?

COURT : Well, that paragraph starts with "The urgent nature" as far as I remember.

MR HANEKOM : It starts with "The urgent nature".

COURT : And ends with "secret police".

MR HANEKOM : That is so. What is your problem with that portion of the paper? -- I find it difficult to put up (30)

with/...

with to seem to be undermining other people's efforts, to talk of other people's efforts as opportunistic and dangerous and so on. I find it very difficult. Some of us who believe in real democracy, we feel that whoever feels can contribute towards the change, towards a genuine change, through whatever method, let him be left to do what he thinks is good.

Is that all that you object to? -- When a person comes and says such alliances seldom have a sound political content, who are you to judge on other people's efforts to (10) be having sound content or this and the other. I think it is just ... (sentence is not completed)

And what is your problem with the second portion that you disagree with starting with "So often have tribal and racial barriers" up to "which consider themselves progressive", what is your problem there? -- Sorry, which part now? COURT : The third last paragraph starting with "So often have tribal and racial barriers" up to the words "themselves progressive" at page 4, the paragraph you said you disagreed with? -- I am sorry, I am not with you. (20)

Do you find the paragraph "So often have tribal and racial barriers"? Third paragraph from the bottom. The question is that paragraph, why do you disagree with that? -- Yes, I see that line.

Read through the paragraph up to "progressive"? -- (Witness reads paragraph)

You told us some time back that you disagreed with the contents of that paragraph. Now you are questioned why? -- Yes, my problem is here that when a person was to say that once there is that kind of arrangement that we see in (30) South/...

South Africa created by the system, out of such areas or out of such groupings there cannot emerge genuine organisations that are not created by the government but that are solely a creation of the people by themselves who are prepared to work together with other organisations for a change in this country. Here it sounds like one is absolute that out of the Zulu group, out of the Tswana group, out of the Indian group, out of the Coloured group, there can never emerge any genuine organisation out of that.

You are saying that if he is correct, there would not (10) be a Natal Indian Congress? -- This is what is given.

WITNESS STANDS DOWN.

COURT ADJOURNS.

COURT RESUMES.

THOMAS MADIKWE MANTHATA, still under oath

FURTHER CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR HANEKOM : Mr Manthata, we are still busy with EXHIBIT B6 on page 4. There is only aspect that I want to go back to in that first paragraph that you disagree with, the one starting with "The urgent nature" up to "secret police." Almost halfway through that paragraph the sentence "Even though unity is a sine quo non (20) to our struggle, we correctly reserve the right to scrutinise the conditions on which our unity is based. We should find out who the enemies of our struggles are. We mean the obvious and the less obvious ones who should the first to be flushed from our midst. It is a proven fact that the less obvious enemies of the revolution who compromise and destroy the revolution. They are more dangerous than the secret police." To you agree or disagree with this portion that I have just read? -- I think I accept the whole of that paragraph.

You disagree with that. -- I think I had .. (Mr Hanekom(30) intervenes/...

intervenes)

What is your problem with the portion I have just read? -- I would find it very difficult more especially when one talks of the obvious and the less obvious. Already one has created a situation where it has been left to choice. One sometimes reaches the point where you do not know what standards one uses and how do you come to talk of an obvious and less obvious and this and the other. So that whilst I accept the fact that if one does not share our sentiments, if one is opposed to our sentiments, he must be left out. (10) I would go for that idea, but once you start making it difficult in terms of the manner in which it is put there, I would find it a problem.

Do you know to whom is referred to as the obvious enemies and the less obvious enemies? -- I do not know.

Would you not think that that is the so-called sell-outs and puppets that is described as the less obvious enemies of the revolution? -- Well, one may think so.

Lastly with reference to this exhibit, I want to put it to you that in actual fact you were party to the drawing (20) up of this document and that is why your name appears at the end of the document? -- I have already told this Court where I stand with regard to this article.

I want to turn to something else now.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : Just before you go away from this. Did you ever write or address any letter to Mr Mabasa or to Mr Cooper about the fact that your name appears at the bottom of this document? -- No, I never wrote a letter to either of them. I had raised my objection. I thought it was sufficiently the way I had done it. (30)

MR HANEKOM/...

MR HANEKOM : Could we just get some clarity on the relationship between the Soweto Civic Association and the UDF. Was the Soweto Civic Association affiliated to the UDF Transvaal, that is before the national launch of the UDF? -- No, it had not affiliated.

And the Committee of Ten, did it affiliated? -- It never affiliated.

I want to refer you to EXHIBIT A5. Before I ask you on A5 I will come back to A5, I just want to ask you this first. Were any members of the Committee of Ten elected (10) on the executive of the UDF Transvaal? -- It is possible there could have been, but not as I have said on the basis on the SCA or the Committee of Ten ever even taken a formal decision on affiliation.

COURT : Were there or were there none? Do you not know of any? -- I would not say there were, but there was a strong possibility that Dr Motlana could have been.

Representing whom? -- I do not know.

MR HANEKOM : Did Dr Motlana belong to any other organisation except the Soweto Civic Association of the Committee of Ten (20) that you know of? -- Yes, he belonged to the - there was an organisation, there is an organisation of doctors. There are other - he belonged to some commercial organisations. I just forget their names, but he did belong to one or two other organisations, besides the Soweto Civic Association.

No other political organisations or community organisations? -- Not to my knowledge.

On page 4 under the heading of "UDF Transvaal."

COURT : There is no heading "UDF Transvaal." There is a heading "Transvaal." (30)

MR HANEKOM/...

MR HANEKOM : "Transvaal", that is the one. The names of the people elected to the executive of the UDF in the Transvaal region are set out there and there you will find the names of Dr Motlana and it is said that he is from the Committee of Ten. -- Yes, he is of the Committee of Ten.

Well, he was representing the Committee of Ten on the executive of UDF? -- No, he was not representing the Committee of Ten.

Who else was he representing? -- I do not know.

COURT : Well, if you look at the last page of this document (10) you will find a list of the organisations affiliated and amongst civic organisations, the first one is the Soweto Civic Association and under political you find Committee of Ten. -- I do not know how it went around. Until October 1984 there had never been a formal affiliation of UDF and as I have said that people already had interest in UDF in a manner that it would have assumed, it would have been assumed that some organisations were already part and parcel of UDF, even before they could have taken a formal affiliation. So, I would not say that this reflects the (20) true picture of the Soweto Civic Association before their formal affiliation of the Soweto Civic Association.

COURT : Is Dr Motlana on this photograph? -- It does not look so.

MR BIZOS : In view of the witness's problem, could I have a look?

COURT : Yes.

MR BIZOS : I do not recognise him on the picture on page 3 which is the one that I have studied.

MR HANEKOM : Other names of people elected on the executive (30) of/...

of the UDF Transvaal are Mr Bokala. Do you see that? --
Yes, I see Mr Bokala there.

Was he a member of the Soweto Civic Association? --
He was a member of the Soweto Civic Association.

And the name of accused no. 19, Popo Molefe, do you
see that there? -- Yes, Popo Molefe is there, a member of
the Soweto Civic Association.

And Reverend Frank Chikane? -- Yes, Reverend Frank
Chikane is there. He was a member of this civic association.

I put it to you that you are wrong and that the posi-(10)
tion is that the Soweto Civic Association was affiliated to
the UDF Transvaal region? -- I would have expected the
counsel to be saying it knows in very definite terms that
these people do not belong to other organisations in Soweto
which could have affiliated to the UDF.

COURT : Let us now get clarity, please. These people could
not have been on the executive in their personal capacities
apart from possibly the secretary, being Mr Molefe? -- No
possibility.

So, they must have been there as representing organi-(20)
sations that were affiliated? -- Correct.

Reverend Chikane, what organisations do you think he
could have represented? -- I would not say I know all the
organisations that Reverend Chikane could have belonged to,
but I do not know whether the Institute of Contextual Studies
as a group could have been a body that could have affiliated
to UDF Transvaal, but as I say I would not claim knowledge
of the organisations that most of these people could have
belonged to other than the Soweto Civic Association.

Well, let us go to Mr Bokala, can you think of any (30)
organisation/...

organisation other than Soweto Civic Association he could have belonged to that could have been affiliated? -- I would be guessing. I am not so familiar with Mr Bokala.

So, you do not know? -- I do not know.

And Dr Motlana, any organisations that you think of that could have been affiliated to the UDF? -- Yes, I have made mention of the doctors association within Soweto. So, I do not know whether that organisation features anywhere, but as I have said, I am not certain of that either.

MR HANEKOM : If you look at the list of affiliates at the(10) back of the booklet, do you see the doctors association there that you referred to that Dr Motlana belonged to? -- Which page are you referring to?

COURT : Back page, inside of the back page? -- It is not there, but I would have real problem with this list, for it to have even mentioned the Committee of Ten, because the Committee of Ten by this time did not exist as an organisation, as an entity of its own. The Committee of Ten was the executive committee of the Soweto Civic Association. For it to be put like this, I think is an error in the whole. (20)

Was it a political organisation before it became just the executive of the SCA? -- It was never an organisation.

MR HANEKOM : I want to refer you to EXHIBIT A1 page 60. There again under civic associations we find that the Soweto Committee of Ten and the Soweto Civic Association are listed as organisations that registered as participants at the national conference of the UDF on August 20, 1983? -- I would find it very difficult to understand all this. Like I have said already that the Committee of Ten never existed as an organisation by itself. I realise too here they have(30)

Orlando/...

Orlando Civic Association. We have never had an Orlando Civic Association. Orlando has always been a branch of the Soweto Civic Association. We have there too Naledi Civic Association. We have there too Mdeni South Civic Association.

Is Mdeni South a branch and Naledi too? -- These are branches of the Soweto Civic Association.

MR HANEKOM : Do you see any other branches of the Soweto Civic Association listed there? -- Other than this that I have mentioned? (10)

Yes, except Mdeni South and Naledi? -- I said Orlando East.

K888 COURT : Jabulani? -- Jabulani too is a branch of the Soweto Civic Association.

MR HANEKOM : If you turn the page, page 61 at the top Diepkloof Extension Residents Committee, do you know anything about that? -- There was a residents committee of Diepkloof Extension 4. It was an organisation on its own. It was not an affiliate of the Soweto Civic Association.

Do you see any branches there on page 61 that were (20) affiliates of the Soweto Civic Association? -- No, I do not. Besides those that are mentioned already, there are none here.

Do you know who represented the Soweto Civic Association at the national launch of UDF? -- I have said previously that we never sat as the Soweto Civic Association to decide on these matters and sent anybody as a delegate of the Soweto Civic Association.

Were you aware of the fact that representatives of Soweto Civic Association did go to the launch of the UDF?(30)

I/...

-- I was never aware of that. I was aware of individuals in Soweto or people in Soweto who might have represented other organisations who were going to the launch.

Members of the Soweto Civic Association or not? -- No.

COURT : So, you never heard until it was now put in court to you that the Soweto Civic Association and some of its branches had been at the launch? -- As I have said that people who went to the launch I never heard that they had been there in their representative capacity.

MR HANEKOM : But were they members of the Soweto Civic Association or not? Whether they went there in their personal capacities or not? -- I have already said that people belonged to various organisations. So, if they went there, it was not my duty to hunt for which organisations were they representing when they went to the launch or when they attended UDF meetings.

COURT : Do you know whether people belonging to the Soweto Civic Association went to the launch? -- No.

MR HANEKOM : After the launch of UDF on August 20, 1983 was there no report back to the Soweto Civic Association?(20) Was it never discussed? -- At the meetings it was never discussed.

At that stage in August 1983 was Reverend Chikane a member of the Soweto Civic Association? -- Yes, he is a Soweto resident. He could have been at that time a member of the Soweto Civic Association.

I put it to you that Dr Motlana and Reverend Frank Chikane were both at the launch of the UDF on 20 August 1983 in Cape Town? -- I do not deny their presence at the launch, but I deny the fact that they represented the SCA.(30)

Were/...

Were you aware of the fact that Dr Motlana attended the launch? -- Yes, I was aware of that.

Well, then you were not correct when you testified that you knew no member of the Soweto Civic Association that attended the launch? -- As a delegate of the Soweto Civic Association.

In what capacity did you think Dr Motlana attended the launch? -- It is unfortunate, as I have said, people belong to various organisations and I did not deem it my duty to find out under which organisation people attended the launch.(10)

According to this exhibit A1 Soweto Civic Association was one of the founder members of the UDF? -- Anything could be said about the Soweto Civic Association. I would not quarrel with what they are saying, but the fact of the matter is nobody ever left from the Soweto Civic Association as a delegate of the Soweto Civic Association to attend this meeting..

Just one other aspect that I want to clarify. You said that the Committee of Ten had never been an organisation? -- It had never been an organisation. (20)

What was it then before it became the executive of the Soweto Civic Association? -- It was just a committee with a said mandate to find - to produce a paper on how Soweto can be ideally run. That is an ideal city that the people of Soweto would love to see it. That was all it carried with hit. No other duties that it could do on its own.

COURT : Was it perceived as a political body? -- Never.

MR HANEKOM : I will come back to the UDF later. I want to turn to the so-called education campaign and I first of all want to put to you that the Soweto Civic Association took(30)

part/...

part in the decision to appoint Mr Curtis Nkondo as UDF president responsible for education? -- Mr Nkondo is not a resident of Soweto. So, the Soweto Civic Association could have not taken any decision binding to Mr Nkondo.

I want to refer you to EXHIBIT K1 page 1 paragraph 3.7. It says "Education. Curtis Nkondo has been appointed vice-president responsible for education. He is presently in the process of establishing an education commission." If you look under .1 the organisations present at this meeting, I should have identified this document. It is "Minutes of (10) a General Council Meeting held on 17 September 1983 in Johannesburg" and one of the organisations present was the Soweto Civic Association. Do you see that? -- Yes, I see Soweto Civic Association was present there.

I put it to you then that the Soweto Civic Association being present at that meeting, took part in all the decisions taken at that meeting? -- I reject that.

On what basis? -- On the basis that Soweto Civic Association never sent a delegate to this meeting, nor that it was represented at this council meeting, if ever it is a council(20) meeting.

Well, for the Soweto Civic Association to have been present on this meeting, there had to be a delegate?

COURT : Are you saying that somebody at this meeting sailed under a false flag? -- That is what I would say.

MR HANEKOM : And I want to put it to you that the campaign against the Black Education was especially executed by COSAS and AZASO with the assistance of other UDF affiliates. What do you say to that? -- I have no information about that.

Can you deny it? -- I am unable to deny a thing that (30)

I/...

I have no knowledge about.

In this regard I want to refer to EXHIBIT AB1. It is quite a lengthy document. I want to refer to page 32.

COURT : What is the status of this document? I have a note that it was admitted.

MR HANEKOM : It was found in the UDF offices at Khotso House, Johannesburg. I am also going to refer to page 41. Page 32 the second column the paragraph under the heading "Struggles against apartheid. Education." I am sorry, the fourth paragraph. I will read the paragraph "On other (10) fronts too there has been a growth in the level of students organisations and of political consciousness in the schools and universities. Black students are now being organised on a national basis by AZASO, the Azanian Students Organisation for university students and COSAS, Congress of South African Students, for school students." -- Yes, I see that.

And you do not deny that?

COURT : It does not prove much, does it against this witness? (20)

MR HANEKOM : No. I want to refer also to page 41 paragraph 1 in the middle of the paragraph "By the beginning of 1979 the schools had again began to function with some semblance of normality but June and November saw the formation of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO). Organisations at school and university level pledged to fight Bantu education." -- Yes, I see that.

I also want to put to you that COSAS and AZASO both came into existence on the initiative of the ANC and (30)
through/...

through the mediation of Mr Curtis Nkondo? -- I do not know that.

I also put it to you that the ANC through Mr Curtis Nkondo assisted COSAS and AZASO financially? -- I do not know that.

I want to refer you in this regard to EXHIBIT C130. That is volume 7 and it was admitted that this document was found at Mr Curtis Nkondo's place.

COURT : But now how does this tie up with this witness? How is what you are putting here relevant to the evidence(10) this witness gave or how are these documents admissible against this particular witness for cross-examination purposes?

MR HANEKOM : It is leading up to the point where the Soweto Civic Association worked with COSAS and AZASO and I want to put the background of those two organisations to this witness for his comment if he has any comment on it.

COURT : Put it to him and ask him whether he agrees or disagrees.

MR HANEKOM : I refer then to EXHIBIT C130 volume 7. (20)

COURT : Document 126 is the last document in volume 7?

MR HANEKOM : Sorry, it must be volume 8. This document was found at Mr Curtis Nkondo's place. It was admitted. I refer to page 2. The heading of this document is "The struggle is our life." Page 2 the last paragraph says "When I initiated the formation of COSAS and AZASO, the intention was to create the congress youth league with the hope that a national organisation would be formed to contain an work fruitfully with the league. I am, you know, in constant contact with the youth league." This letter was written (30) apparently/...

apparently by Curtis and it was found in Mr Curtis Nkondo's possession.

COURT : Now you put that to the witness. So what?

MR HANEKOM : Do you want to comment on that? -- I do not know this letter.

Do you want to comment on the role of Mr Curtis Nkondo in establishing COSAS and AZASO? -- I do not know his role in COSAS or in any organisation.

I put it to you that the Soweto Civic Association and COSAS had a very good working relationship and they (10) worked closely together and I put it to you that when you testified in chief that there were bad feelings between the two of you is not correct? -- That is correct.

What is correct? That there was a good working relationship between Soweto Civic Association and COSAS? -- That there was a time when relations were bad and up to a certain extent it is true that when we had to address ourselves to the students problems, we found it imperative to talk to COSAS as they were part of the students who were directly involved in - who were directly affected by the (20) stay-away, that is by the class boycotts.

What was the period that the feelings were not so good between Soweto Civic Association and COSAS? -- That was late September early October.

Of what year? -- Of 1984.

COURT : Only for a short period? -- Well, I can only account for that period because sooner or later I was out of the executive. I do not know what became of the relations.

MR HANEKOM : I want to refer you to EXHIBIT AX14 page 10. That is the minutes of a meeting kept by you and on what (30) date/...

date was this again did you testify? It is on 28 October 1984 if I am not mistaken? -- I am not quite certain, but the contents refers to what happened in October.

That was the time when there was a good working relationship between COSAS and Soweto Civic Association? -- I am not clear?

At the time of that meeting there was a good working relationship between COSAS and Soweto Civic Association? -- The fact that I referred to the relationship being bad and that regardless of that we must pursue the talk to get the (10) students back to school, this is a point that the relations were not good.

But in the minutes it is stated that COSAS - there is a request from COSAS that they would like the SCA to play a part and COSAS desires to discuss the type of SRC that COSAS wants with the SCA? Is that correct? -- Yes, they did ask us whether we - whether there were ideas that we could throw into the whole question of what kind of SRC could be ideal to the students, but this did not mean good relations. Like I said, we still worked with them regardless of the poor (20) relations that were.

Is it not so that you would only be prepared to work with them if there was a good relationship? -- We would work with them as long as there was a crisis that needed to be addressed to and that crisis did not necessarily affect COSAS alone. It affected all the students in Soweto.

Did the discussions between COSAS and Soweto Civic Association, take place? -- Yes, that is why the committee that had met with COSAS had reported that the students decided to continue with the boycott, that is regardless. This was (30)

a/...

a report of the meeting that was held between our committee and COSAS.

What was discussed about the SRC's that COSAS wanted? What was discussed in that regard? -- COSAS just made that desire, but I do not remember us settling down to discuss the kind of SRC's and even suggesting presenting our findings to COSAS, but we had - I think the situation at that time as I have said was that we were more concerned with the whole issue of the students having to settle down to their studies and to prepare themselves for the examinations. If this(10) had to be attended to, I think it could have been attended to later.

But can you not tell us what was discussed about SRC's at that meeting? -- I do not remember us even discussing about the SRC because it was just raised as a request that we should debate this matter, but we had not yet sat down to debate the matter.

Why did COSAS decide to carry on with their boycott? -- Well, they felt very strongly with the detention of their leadership. (20)

Was that the only reason? -- I think that was one of the main reasons as it is shown there. There was a time when the leadership was in detention to a point where even ourselves did not even know who to speak to in COSAS

Were you present at that meeting when the discussions took place with COSAS? -- I do not remember, but it is quite possible as I am in the committee that was supposed to meet them.

Well, then you must know whether the SRC'S and the boycott question were discussed? -- I said that we did not(30) discuss/...

discuss that. This was not the main issue at the time. The funny issue was to get the students back to classes.

But instead of that COSAS continued with the boycott? -- COSAS continued with the boycotts. That is why in the end we had to create - that is why in the end a committee was created which would deal with that issue specifically and this was the Parents Student Organisation. That was the parents student committee that was later elected.

Were there any subsequent discussions between Soweto(10) Civic Association and COSAS? -- I do not remember.

And the committee? The committee elected, did they have any discussions ... -- Naturally it had to dissolve once the matter had to be handled by the committee that was elected, that is the Parents Student Committee.

How would you describe the relationship between the Soweto Civic Association and the Soweto Youth Congress (SOYCO)? -- Well, I would say it was a normal relation.

Did the two organisations work together? -- I have already said that where there were problems of thuggarism(20) problems of delinquency and all these things were issues that were caused by the youths, we had no alternative but to embody the youth in the efforts to solve those problems. It was in this area that we found ourselves unavoidably having to work with SOYCO.

And in any other areas, did you work with SOYCO or not? -- Which areas has the counsel in mind?

For example on the issue of Black Local Authorities, did you work together? -- At what stage?

At any stage? -- Because when the whole issue of - (30)

I/...

I do not remember whether SOYCO had been formed by the time of the elections, that is the election of the Soweto Town Council that is under the BLA, but otherwise we never worked with SOYCO, except in these areas that one has defined.

I want to refer to what your president, Dr Motlana, said at the inauguration meeting of Soweto Youth Congress on 31 July 1983. I want to refer to V25 page 19. By the way, were you present at that inauguration meeting? -- I was not at this meeting.

Was there any specific reason why you were not there?(10) -- There is no specific reason why I was not there. I do not think I ever knew about this meeting before.

I refer you then o page 19 the second last paragraph and this is a speech of Dr Motlana. "We need to organise the Soweto Youth Congress to make them sensitive, alive and beware of the role that other organisations in the community are playing, so that they can play a role in association together with such movements as the United Democratic Front, the Anti-Community Councils committee, the Soweto Civic Association. We also see the SCA which is a community (20) organisation as a first level grassroots organisation in Soweto, that has been struggling for the past two years that now needs a committed input of the youth." Do you agree with what Dr Motlana said? -- That would have been the wish of everybody in Soweto.

Did it realise in Soweto this co-ordination? -- Up to the time of my detention it had not been realised.

On page 20 Dr Motlana says in the middle of the page "You must try to fit into this scheme of things in Soweto, amongst other things a senior role finding its expression(30)

in/...

in one creating a bridge between the parents and youth by getting involved in the struggle of the SCA." So, he urged the youth congress to get involved in the struggles of the Soweto Civic Association? -- That is correct.

Did that happen until the time of your arrest? -- It had not happened yet and the struggles of Soweto remained.

Was there any working relationship between Soweto Civic Association and COSAS and AZASO on the other hand up till the time of your arrest? -- After or before?

Before your arrest? -- Yes, as I have said wherever (10) issued involved the students, the Soweto Civic Association went in fully into that and used whatever possible manpower it could get to enable it to solve that problem.

I put it to you that the struggle in the education field was not about the leaking of examination papers and the discovery of unmarked papers in Atteridgeville as you testified, but that the struggle in the education field was part and parcel of the freedom struggle and the struggle for so-called people's education? -- I would understand first if you can say, those you have mentioned first, (20) were non-existent at all, but if they were there, those were some of the problems that we had to find ourselves faced with. The issue of the people's education was that this was never an issue for the Soweto Civic Association. This was an issue by the organisations which were involved in education, directly involved in education.

Well, do you agree with me or do you disagree that the struggle in the education field was part of the freedom struggle and that it was a struggle for people's education and it was not actually - the problem was not about the (30) leaking/...

leaking of examination papers? -- First accepting that Bantu Education is a product of apartheid, is a product of the South African government and this has been - the people have realised that it is poor and bad education, people have to fight against it. People have to fight to have it removed. So, for the reason that it has occasioned people many problems like we have said, the question of the leakage of papers has been a case that even taken to court and some civil servants in the Education Department were convicted for that. To say that this never existed I (10) would find it very difficult to understand the counsel's argument.

I want to show you what the nature of the struggle in the education field actually was. I am going to refer you to some of the exhibits, starting with AB1 page 3. In this regard I want to put it to you that the Soweto Civic Association associated themselves with the struggle of the students, the struggle for people's education inter alia. What do you say to that that the Soweto Civic Association associated themselves with the struggle of the students for the (20) people's education? --I do not know. First, is counsel referring to what stands in here or is the proposition away from this?

The proposition is away from this exhibit. -- I see, but I think I have already said that Bantu Education is a thing that people feel that South Africa must be rid of it. When it comes to the concept of people's education, this has never been an issue that the Soweto Civic Association ever took it up in the manner that specific organisations that had been consigned themselves or that had directed (30) their/...

their efforts towards that where concerned, we would if there was a support, it was more in general terms, as I have put it. If it was seen to be part and parcel of the effort to rid South Africa of the Bantu Education.

What do you understand by the term "people's education"? -- That is my own personal opinion. I think they are saying that there be one system of education for all the people in this country.

Then if you will have a look at page 3 of EXHIBIT AB1 the numbered paragraph 1 "The aim of this dossiere is (10) fourfold. (1) To provide a simple introduction of people wanting a better understanding of the role played by the education in maining apartheid society and the role that education can play in building a new South Africa free of racial oppression, economic exploitation and social injustice." That was actually the role of education in the struggle? -- But this is not the people's education. Counsel is referring to education and liberation.

We will come back to people's education. -- I see.

But I put it to you now that this was what the struggle (20) in the education field was all about, It was for building a new South Africa free of racial oppression, economic exploitation and social injustice. -- This is what AZASO says in his paper.

What do you say? -- I would have no problem with it.

Turn to page 6 of the same exhibit, please? The third paragraph "That does not mean that the student movement must not play a public role or that we should not engage in exciting work, but it does mean that it is our responsibility to ensure that we are both the organisation and (30) the/...

the strength to continue and take forward the struggle for a democratic education." What do you understand by a struggle for a democratic education? -- I would not know what is meant by a struggle for that. Our primary concern as parents was that the children must get education and of course, we did have - we had to say that they must get a better education.

Two paragraphs lower down "At the end of the AZASO congress Black university students called on other democratic students to join them in launching a campaign to draw up (10) an education charter for democratic South Africans." Have you heard of the education charter? -- Yes, one has heard students talking about the education charter.

What was the aim of drawing up an education charter?
-- I do not know what the aim of the students was.

But you were actively involved in the students' struggle?
-- Mainly insofar as they have to go back to classes and study and read.

Will you look at the second last paragraph on that page 6 "Education, weapon and tool. Provides us with the opportunity to get together to discuss and clarify our ideals on both the type of education we would want and most importantly how we intend getting it." -- I see that.

You testified that the students were satisfied with the courses, the syllabus and that was not the issue but I put it to you that it is clear here that it is the type of education that is the problem. It is the type of education that is struggled against? -- Can counsel be clear? He said I testified what?

That the students did not struggle to have a say in (30)
their/...

their own syllabus and to have the courses changed and in that regard they were satisfied? -- I said that what we as parents would support, it would not be the sort of thing where the students would want to determine (a) the syllabus, (b) the employment of teachers and all the stuff that we would find that they are not equipped to do, but the rest, the students were at liberty to dream of what they could do. Fine, that is not our business.

Were you then satisfied that the people, the students continue to reach their goals, whatever it was? -- We need (10) to know what their goals are and if they are not what we envisage, we would disapprove of that.

Turn to page 9 please of the same exhibit, the last sentence in the second last paragraph "We need an entirely new education but it can only be effective if it is linked to fundamental changes in the political economic social and cultural life of our society." Do you agree with that? -- Yes, I would agree with that insofar as they say we would need something new as compared to education, as compared to Bantu education. (20)

And the last paragraph on the same page "From this two lessons can be drawn. Firstly democrats and progressives who wish to involve themselves in the sphere of education have a responsibility to challenge the quality of that education and should try to do so from a position of strength.- by being well armed with knowledge and with successful organisation. Secondly, from this position of strength they should forge alliances with democratic groups who are working for progressive change in South Africa who question and challenge both the political and economic order. (30)

Organisations/...

Organisations such as the independent trade union movement and democratic community organisations." Do you agree with that? -- If this would not impede with the progress as the parents want and if they can cope with that, that is their own business. All what we want as parents is that the children must be at school and produce good results.

Turn to page 11 please the last paragraph "Let us turn our attention to more specifically campus related aspects of education. One of the most serious infringements of students rights is in the control over the curriculum." (10) So, I put it to you that the students actually wanted to control, to have control over their curriculum? -- That is what they are saying.

And what was your view on that? -- We said they could not have control over their curriculum.

Did they accept what you said? Did they accept your views? -- Well, whether they accepted it or not, the fact is we have put down our views and all what we want is that they must give us good results as parents at the end of the year. (20)

And on page 12 you find the same thing the second paragraph "Arising out of this, students have both the right and the obligation to demand that the university offers socially useful knowledge in its courses. You should question the structure and content of courses." Do you agree to that or not? -- What paragraph?

The second paragraph.

MR BIZOS : Is it being put to the witness that this is what school children wanted in Soweto at the time that the witness was involved in this committee? This is a paper (30)

by/...

by an academic dealing with what a university - how a university should be structured and what say the students at the university should have.

COURT : Are you sure? Does it deal with the university?

MR BIZOS : Yes, there is no doubt about it. The very sentence that has just been read out by My Learned Friend deals with the university.

MR HANEKOM : I withdraw the question based on this page, but the point is that it was AZASO and COSAS that were involved in this struggle in the education field and that they are(10) part of the struggle. That is why I am putting it to this witness. Turn to page 32 please paragraph 1. "Introduction. The education crisis in South Africa. There is growing crisis in the educational system in South Africa. Student uprisings in 1976/77 and the school boycotts of 1980 have shown that the Black students are not prepared to accept the system of separate and unequal education and the values of our society. They have rejected gutter education and are no longer prepared to accept that they are fit only to do inferior work in society. Furthermore they have come to(20) understand the link between their own inferior education and the position in society of their parents as exploited wage earners." Do you regard the education system as gutter education? Black education? -- Well, if that term gives - if it is meant to describe Bantu education, I would have no problem with that description.

COURT : It is a bit of a reflection on the teachers if you call what they present a gutter education? -- I would say it is a reflection on the entire community, not primarily on the teachers alone. (30)

MR HANEKOM/...

MR HANEKOM : On the same page, page 32 the second column paragraph 1 "Struggle against apartheid education" in the middle of that paragraph. "The uprising and the boycotts highlighted everyone to the discriminating nature of the education system and its connection with the specific demands in the labour market. The tragic effects of June 1976 and its significance in the struggle for a democratic society are still remembered today on June 16 when workers stay away from work, students from school, trades close their shops and services are held throughout the country." I put it(10) to you that it is clear that the education struggle is also linked with the struggle of the workers. Would you agree with that? -- Well, I mean, if children stay away from school and as a parent you go to work, one wonders if you can be productive at your place of employment.

Why do you say that? -- For the simple reason, that it is agonising for a parent to be at work whilst the children are roaming the streets and are undisciplined away from schools.

Is that the reason why the parents participate in the(20) struggle of the students? -- That is why the parents are at pains, they are struggling to get the children back to school.

But the question actually is, is that why they participate in the struggle, the parents? -- Which struggle? The struggle of the students?

Yes? -- The question is the struggle of the students at what point? Because if the students talk what they are saying and it is just ordinary democratic expression of their views and it does not tamper with their learning, (30)

I/...

I do not think there is anything that the parents can find themselves at odds with. They can think, they can dream, they can imagine things, but all what we want as parents is there must be order in the community. Children must be at school, parents must go to work.

Do you say it will bring order if parents stay away from work? -- There will be disorder if parents have to stay away from work.

I also want to put it to you that the struggle in the education field was not something new. It was taken up (10) long ago by the ANC already? The same struggle is still going on today, the struggle that began with the ANC? -- Are we talking of the struggle in education as we are having this paper here, because it is true that ANC I do not think accepted Bantu education in the early fifties and the problem was never solved. Bantu education went on and I think the subsequent generations still discovered on their own as they developed that Bantu education is bad and they did not have to ask the ANC what to do, but they had to do what they seemed fit at that time. (20)

In this regard I refer you to page 37 of the same document the fifth paragraph. "The aftermath of the nationalist party's victory at the poles in 1948, the students faced increasing restrictions and all round hardening of attitudes. This, however, led only to further militance on behalf of the students and the rise in popularity and influence of the congress youth league." Then a heading, I think that should be resist, I think it is a typing error "Resist apartheid campaign. The only campaign against the implementation of Bantu education in schools was (30) initiated/...

initiated by the African National Congress. On May 8, 1954 the ANC and its associated organisations of the congress alliance, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured People's Organisation and the White Congress of Democrats launched the resist apartheid campaign. The measures and earmarks for the resistance by the congress alliance were the Bantu Education Act, the Native Resettlement Act, the Pass laws, the Group Areas Act and the Anti-trade union measures." So, this struggle in the education field goes back to those days. Do you agree with me? -- Yes, (10) Bantu education was introduced in the early fifties and all what I understand this paragraph to say is that people resisted Bantu education, the introduction of Bantu education.

The ANC actually started the struggle in this field, the education field? -- Well Bantu education was introduced whilst at the time the ANC was in existence.

Well, what is the answer? Do you agree or disagree with me that the ANC started the campaign against Bantu education? -- It was unavoidable. I mean, Bantu education was introduced during its time. (20)

You see that on the next page as well, page 39 the third paragraph. "The actual organisation of the boycott was the responsibility of the congress youth league together with the women's league. On 12 April action began on the East Rand (the line of towns east of Johannesburg) and in the Eastern Cape. On that day school entrances were picketed by members of the youth league and in some instances schools were entered and classes dismissed. Women and children marched through the streets of Benoni, Brakpan and Germiston carrying ANC banners and posters, rejecting Bantu education." (30)

Do/...

Do you now agree with me that the ANC actually initiated the campaign against the Bantu Education? -- I said Bantu Education was introduced during its time and at that time the ANC was lawful. It existed legally. It was not banned at that time yet and I think at that time it could go on because it was using peaceful means. I do not know. You are now reading the history that I have no knowledge of. I am just learning today.

The question was not whether the ANC was legal or illegal, the question was the ANC actually initiated the campaign (10) against Bantu Education?

COURT : Well, the witness says he does not know. This document is not binding on the witness. Why do you proceed?

MR HANEKOM : Turn to page 41 please the first paragraph in the middle of that paragraph "By the beginning of 1979 the schools had again begun to function with some semblance of normality but June and November saw the formation ... " I think we have had this passage. I am sorry. I want to refer you to the third paragraph on that page. "In 1981 the regime attempted to hold national celebrations commemorating 20 years of the Republic. The massive anti-Republic Day campaign waged by progressive groups across the country found the school and universities to be a sea of militance and political energy. Unity among student groupings was unprecedented as Black, Coloured, Indian and even some White students rallied behind the demand for the final abolishing of Bantu Education together with the entire apartheid structure. On a Republic Day, May 31, the green, black and gold flag of the African National Congress flew at Black schools and universities throughout the country." (30)

I/...

I put it to you that in this paragraph you actually get the crux of what the struggle in the education sphere was all about? -- That it was against the Republic of South Africa?

No, the demand was for the final abolishing of Bantu Education together with the entire apartheid structure? -- Yes, I see it there.

Well, what do you say to that? To what I am putting to you? That this is actually the nature of the education struggle? That it is not confined to school matters only, but it is part of the liberation struggle in general? (10) -- If people have to be liberated from Bantu education, fine, that is a liberation struggle.

I will leave this document, but in the same volume EXHIBIT AB7 the second document. This document was found in the UDF offices Khotso House Johannesburg. It was admitted. I think this is the document that you testified in chief that was not sent to the SCA. Is that correct? No, I am sorry, it is not this one. Here we see what the demands of the students actually were "The release of all detained students, scrapping of all charges against them, (20) decision as to when examinations to be written and how, issuing of textbooks to all students, recognition of our demands that is of having democratic SRC's with a drawn student constitution." Do you agree that and did you encounter that in your discussions with COSAS that these actually were the demands? -- I am not clear what the counsel wants me to say.

Do you agree that these were the demands of COSAS? -- Yes, these demands were made public and they came out in the newspapers. I know that these were the demands of the (30) students/...

students.

Did you consider them to be reasonable demands? -- We considered them reasonable, but this should not mean that - this to us did not warrant them staying out of classes. We felt that they were demands that they could make whilst they are still at school.

And the paragraph in the middle of that letter "We in COSAS propose to stay away from work and school depending on how the workers will react to that." That shows that the students actually linked up their struggle with that of (10) the workers. What do you say to that? -- Rephrase the question, I am sorry.

Have you got the place where I read from? -- "We in COSAS propose to stay away from work."

Yes, I am putting it to you that the students linked up their struggle with the struggle of the workers? -- Yes, that is a statement you are making.

What do you say to that? -- Well, it is what the students are saying themselves.

And is that how experienced it when you had discussions (20) with the students that that was what they did? -- We did not discuss stay-away with the students.

And the next paragraph "We urge our parents/workers under their trade unions to fully identify themselves with our problems and therefore forge links and support us as their children suffering under Bantu Education and the racist/fascist regime of Pretoria." Did you experience it in this way that the scholars asked the workers to fully identify themselves with their problems? -- We never discussed this with the students. (30)

Would/...

Would you regard the government as a racist/fascist regime? Would you describe the government in those terms? -- I am not clear in terms of fascist, but the government is racist. That is correct.

I want to refer you to the fourth document in this exhibit. It is on page 4 ... (Court intervenes)

COURT : Document 4 of AB7?

MR HANEKOM : That is correct. It was found at the offices of the Council Union of South Africa in Johannesburg. Here again we find that the students struggles are linked with(10) the struggle of the workers? -- That is how the students see themselves.

And the last demand, they give their demands and the last one is "We students, united in massive boycott to fight for our demands." The last one is "In protest against the new constitution which excludes the majority of people is the racist and anti-worker." Do you see that? The students say here this is why they are in massive boycott to fight for these demands and onw is then in protest against the new constitution which excludes the majority of(20) of people , is racist and anti-worker. -- Yes, I see that.

What was your attitude in the Soweto Civic Association to that? -- These were not - we did not attend this meeting and we were never consulted before and/or after. So, we did not take any decision at the Soweto Civic Association whether we support this or not.

And in the middle of the page it says "From Cradock to Pietersburg, from Paarl and Cape Town to Vereeniging, from Tembisa, Saulsville, Atteridgeville, Alexandra, Wadeville, Kathlehong we have come out in our thousands (30) in/...

in mass boycott action" and this is the reason for the boycotts in protest against the new constitution inter alia? I put it to you that this was one of the reasons why there was a boycott of the schools in Atteridgeville and it was not because of dissatisfaction about examination papers? --No, far from it. Far from it. Incorrect.

Why do you say so? -- I say so because of the reasons that I gave yesterday.

And what about the reason given here in this exhibit? -- That is another reason that they could have had on their(10) own. I do not even know if this is related to the start of the school boycotts, because here as we have said initially this was in protest against the BLA. This is a complete separate issue.

Then almost at the bottom of the page it says "Workers, we need your support and strength in trade unions. We students will never win our struggle without the strength and support from the workers movement." It is again an indication of the link between the struggle of the workers and the struggle of the students? -- Yes, that is what the students are (20) saying.

What was the attitude of the workers? -- I do not know what the attitude of the workers was. I never went about sembling their attitudes.

I want to refer you to the sixth document of the same EXHIBIT AB7. It was found at the place of P. Canny also of CUSA. This is the document referred to by you in your evidence-in-chief. You said you never attended the meeting referred to here. -- Yes.

But it says that Soweto Civic Association was one of(30)
the/...

the organisations present? -- That is what is stated there but we in the Soweto Civic Association never took a decision for this and there was never even a report back of this.

How is it possible that someone of the Soweto Civic Association could be present without you knowing about it? -- It is quite possible.

How? Can you explain that? -- I am unable to explain that.

And I am not referring to someone in his private capacity, but in his capacity as a representative of the Soweto Civic Association? -- I cannot explain that. (10)

Did this press statement ever come to your knowledge or to the knowledge of ... -- It never came to my knowledge or to the knowledge of the SCA in terms of it being read at the ACA meeting.

In the middle of page 2 of this document it says "We demand the resignation of community councillors. These dummy institutions have been proved beyond any doubt that they do not serve the interest of the people." Was that ever given as a demand by the students to you? -- No. (20)

How do you view this demand of students that they ask for the resignation of community councillors? -- It concerns the students.

What would be the view of the Soweto Civic Association on this demand? -- We would find it difficult, the students were not voters, so they come to that one would wonder what they meant.

MR BIZOS : The document purports to have been issued by the Transvaal Area Committee. I do not know of what. On what basis is it put that this is a student demand? (30)

MR HANEKOM/...

MR HANEKOM : From the contents of the whole document, the press statement. It is clear that this was initiated by COSAS and it is the demands of the students?

COURT : Yes, well, put the question.

MR HANEKOM : I do not know if you have answered the question. What would the attitude of the Soweto Civic Association be to this demand of the students? That they demanded the resignation of community councillors? -- Well, it is the demand of the students and as we have said, as long as this would not interfere with their schooling and (10) with their education, it is alright, let them do what they please or let them say what they please.

That was also a demand of the Soweto Civic Association itself? They also asked for or called for the resignation of community councillors? -- Yes.

The second last sentence of that paragraph "The school kids are being sjamboked, teargassed and shot by these bandit squall police. Now we want to know what have these councillors done to put that to an end. The answer is obvious. Nothing and that is why demand their immediate (20) resignation." -- At least there they give the reason for their demands that they must resign as far as it affects students.

How do you view the calling of police bandits? -- Well, that is the term the students are using.

How could the councillors stop that, the actions of the police? -- Well, it has been assumed that the councils had the power and so they could stop the police and to say that they cannot stop the police, you are affirming our fear that they do not have the powers at all. (30)

Would/...

Would any Municipality have the power to stop the police?
-- It is not stated what police these are. Whether it is SAP or the council police.

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And the last paragraph on that page "We, the people of Transvaal also demand the withdrawal of these terrorists who terrorise our townships, nicknamed police." Do you think that is a fair description of the police calling them terrorists? -- I think it is quite a subjective language that is being used here. If one has been sjamboked, beaten and so on, to find out that the person who meted it out on him is (10) a terrorist. Much of us did experience this, but we have never called them terrorists.

On top of the next page "We therefore say to Constable Louis le Grange, Viljoen and their adopted babies by the name of councillors, meet these demands or else. We have been long voicing out these grievances verbally. Now we are taking the first step practically." Do you approve of the language used here? -- Well, like I say, it seems to be the language of anger and one would not approve of all things that are said by a person who is in the grip of (20) anger but like I say here, that is how they feel and perhaps these are the people who have victims of such things, but I would not go all out with it at certain stages, at certain levels.

I put it to you that the Soweto Civic Association was part of this and they are co-responsible for this press statement? -- It is not correct.

Do you say that it is not the truth that Soweto Civic Association was represented here? -- It is not the truth that Soweto Civic Association was represented there. (30)

And/...

And the last paragraph on that page "But the call still remains adapt or die, meet our demands or face the wrath of the people. The ball is now rolling in the courts of the authorities, the powers that beat the government. For we are on the offensive on the march towards a democratic future." What do you understand by that? -- It is threatening enough, if not a warning.

Would you approve of this kind of language? -- No, I would not approve. Like I say, I find it the language of a person who is no longer in a position to view (10) things rationally. He is quite angry.

WITNESS STANDS DOWN.

COURT ADJOURNS TILL 7 SEPTEMBER 1987.