

IN DIE HOOGGEREGSHOF VAN SUID-AFRIKA

(TRANSVAALSE PROVINSIALE AFDELING)

SAAKNOMMER: CC 482/85

PRETORIA

1988-02-15

A

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 15 FEBRUARY 1988.

LEONARD MILE MOSALA, d.s.s

MR BIZOS : My lord, the witness will give his evidence in English. I want to give your lordship and the learned assessor an indication over the fields on which the witness will testify, so that your lordship may have some idea. The witness will give evidence from personal experience, concerning the formation and function of the Soweto Civic Association of which he was an executive member. How it, the Soweto Civic Association, owes its origin to the ineffective- (10) ness of the council system in which he himself took part as a councillor from its earliest days. Some of the reasons why the council system fell into disrepute long before the formation of the UDF. That the abandonment, boycotting or rejection of the system from time to time did not lead to chaos and that the administration really continued and he will also give evidence on other auxiliary matters.

EXAMINATION BY MR BIZOS : Are you presently employed by the Permanent Building Society as a consultant on human resources in Johannesburg? -- Yes, I am. (20)

Do you live in Soweto? -- Yes, I do.

For how long have you been living in Soweto? -- I have lived in Soweto since 1948.

Have you been involved in community relations in your work and in development programs? -- Yes.

Have you a diploma in industrial relations? -- Yes.

And are you - have you a diploma from the Graduate School of Business Administration from the University of Witwatersrand? -- Yes, in industrial relations.

And a diploma in fundamental development program from (30)

Unisa/...

Unisa? -- Yes.

And a diploma in management development program also from Unisa? -- Yes.

Are you living in a house which you yourself built in Naledi in Soweto? -- In Tladi.

May I indicate, I think his lordship would like you to direct your attention more to the microphone to the right, rather than the one to the left. Were you an elected member of the Soweto Urban Bantu Council? -- Yes, I was.

When were you elected to that post? -- I was elected (10) in 1968 at its inception.

COURT : How did one become elected? Was there a general vote? -- Yes.

MR BIZOS : We will come to greater detail about election and functioning of that council later on. I just want an overview of the things that you have done. Were you a trade unionist in the 50's? -- Yes, I was.

Which union? -- I was a member of the African Chemical Workers Union.

And did you hold any office in that union? -- Yes, I (20) was first appointed a shop steward where I worked and later co-opted into its executive. I later became its chairman.

And for how long were you in its executive, either as an executive member of as its chairman? -- From the early 50's to about 1963 approximately.

Have you been employed in various capacities by various concerns during the 60's and 70's? -- Yes.

Are you a member of the council of the Centre for Continuing Education at the University at the Witwatersrand? -- Yes. (30)

And/...

And are you also a member of the Institute of Personnel Management? -- Yes.

Let us now turn to the Urban Bantu Council. Please tell his lordship for how long were you a member of the Urban Bantu Council? -- I was a member of the Soweto Urban Bantu Council from its inception in 1968 to October 1976.

Why did you make yourself available as a member of the Urban Bantu Council in 1968? -- I made myself available as a member because of the promise, but it held for a more meaningful participation of Blacks in their own administra-(10) tion and as a platform which we saw as the first step towards meaningful participation in the general political life of the country.

Was there in your view support for this system when it was first introduced in 1968? -- There was a fair support in my opinion of the system and there were high expectations about it.

Did anything happen at its earliest days to attract not only yourself but other community leaders in Soweto in 1968? -- The promise that it held attracted men such as Francis(20) Mncube who were a MA degree and was an ex-university lecturer at Wits. It attracted people like David Thebehali who had spent several years at universities and had participated in student activities at those universities where they attended. I was one of those people who also had been at a university and was attracted to it.

Were there any people from other political organisations that actually sought office on this council in 1968? -- There was Lennox Mlonzi who had been a member of the PAC who also was attracted to it before its banning and there was (30)

Solomon/...

Solomon Moema who had been very active in his old days in the general political activities of Black people. Mr Moema was not an elected member. He was a chief's representative. He had been prominent in Black politics as well.

Was SASO in existence in 1968? -- Yes, I think so.

Were there any people in SASO or connected with SASO who came into the Urban Bantu Council? -- No.

Was the council completely elected or were there elected and nominated members? -- The council was party elected and partly nominated or selected. (10)

Can you remember how many there were who were elected and how many were selected? -- There were forty-one elected members and seventeen selected members.

Were there a party formed to contest the forty-one seats or ... -- There were old established and existent parties which had participated in advisory board system, one of which being the Sofasonke party and another one being the People's Party. These were led by Mr Mpanza and Mr Lengene.

Which party did you belong to, if any? -- I belonged to a group of, a loose group of independents. (20)

Did you and your fellow councillors start off with any degree of enthusiasm for the task ahead once you were elected? -- Up to the point of our election we were very enthusiastic and we looked forward to a meaningful participation.

At the very beginning, did any person responsible for the establishment of this council say anything which affected its image? -- Yes. Mr Blaar Coetzee, the deputy minister of Bantu Administration at the time on the occasion of the installation of the Soweto UBC made a devastating statement (30) which/...

which in fact sowed the seeds of its destruction and ultimate destruction and the destruction of the system as a whole.

Was publicity given to that statement? -- Extensive publicity was given to this statement, even more than his previous statement about the situation of Black people in the urban areas.

I want to show you a cutting from the Sunday Times ...

(Court intervenes)

COURT : Can you not merely lead the evidence as to why this witness was disgusted with the system eventually? Do not (10) overload the record with all sorts of documentation. Remember we are back in 1968 at the moment.

MR BIZOS : But your lordship will recall the purpose why this evidence is being led.

COURT : I know why you want to lead the evidence. The question is whether you should overload the record with documentation. This witness can tell us why he was disgusted with the system and tell us what the minister said. I do not want all this paper when it is unnecessary.

MR BIZOS : If there is a newspaper report at the time (20) quoting the minister verbatim and the witness will be able to say this is the document, why, with respect, on the assumption that he remembers every word which is doubtful, must your lordship be deprived of the right to have the minister's own words before your lordship which the witness and the public at large read?

COURT : Because then you are leading hearsay evidence without calling the person who wrote the article in the newspaper. That is why.

MR BIZOS : If there is any objection on that ground, then (30)

(Court/...

.. (Court intervenes)

COURT : There is an objection now by me, because I do not want to overburden the record. Let the witness tell me what his recollection is. If he is cross-examined on that, we can see further whether it is necessary to put in the paper, but I do not want further documentation from 1968.

MNR. JACOBS : Mag ek sê op hierdie stadium, die beswaar was not altyd gewees, dit is hoorsê getuienis oor enige koerantberig wat daar is. Die staat was nog nooit bereid om die inhoud van enigiets van hulle as die waarheid te (10) erken nie. Dit was van die begin af so gesê en dit was n verstandhouding gewees dat dit is die beswaar waarop die stukke dan voorlopig ingehandig gewees het in die verlede.

MR BIZOS : What the perception of the public as a whole in relation to the council system and the reason why people have opposed it ... (Court intervenes)

COURT : If that is so, then you lead the public as a whole as far as I am concerned. This witness can give his evidence as he recollects it. That document does not go in. That is my ruling. (20)

MR BIZOS : Can you try and remember what Mr Coetzee said in relation to the council system? -- Mr Coetzee made it clear from the onset that blacks were not permanent in the urban areas of the South Africa and they were not going to be allowed to be permanent. He made it clear that there would be no question of political participation by blacks in the urban areas and that the UBC structures were not to be used for any sort of political articulation whatsoever and that the UBC would have to confine itself to the activities, the responsibilities granted to it by the Johannesburg City (30)

Council/...

Council such as roads, lights, advising on the allocation of church sites and school sites and amenities and such as the implementation of influx control in areas such as weeding out illegal residence in the areas of their responsibilities.

Did that statement of Mr Coetzee when published receive any response from the council from the Johannesburg - from the Urban Bantu Council or its members? -- The statement received widespread comment from some of its members, the public, the press. (10)

Was that comment in narrow circles or was it widespread? -- This comment was widespread being carried by most of the media in the country.

Can you recall some of the comment in the media about Mr Coetzee's statement? -- Some of the comments were the UBC are to be toothless bodies, puppets, they are to be - if I may use the word, court language here, is that permitted? It is a very tough word that I am going to use, but that was used in newspapers.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : I could not hear the word. (20)

MR BIZOS : Well, if it was used in newspapers, it is court language.

COURT : Not necessarily, but we are used to that sort of thing. -- Some comment described the UBC's as envisaged by Mr Coetzee as being like castrated bulls without horns and such was the tone of the language and the anger of the public which was generated by Mr Coetzee's statement right from the onset.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : So, it is a bit stronger than an ox without horns, is it? -- It is a bit stronger. (30)

MR BIZOS/...

MR BIZOS : You having decided to take part in this council, did you decide to walk out of it or did you decide to give it a chance? -- Once we were in there and we were faced with this debacle, we decided that it was too late for us to walk out and we decided that we were going to use the platform to fight.

To fight what and for what? -- To fight for the rights of black people in the urban areas, to address their grievances as felt and perceived by themselves without regard to Mr Coetzee's statement and to try and build a structure(10) which would ultimately be acceptable to the majority of the people and be useful.

You told us that the body that was in existence prior to the UBC was the advisory board system. Was that also elected? -- That body was also elected. Partially elected.

Were members of the advisory board allowed to intercede with the authorities on behalf of the residents? -- Yes, members of the advisory board were allowed to intercede on behalf of residents in cases of grievances.

Did anyone say anything about the position of the urban(20) bantu councillors in regard to this intercession by them on behalf of residents in the community? -- Yes, the press and the general public felt that the UBC would have less powers, even less powers than the advisory boards and would therefore be of less significance in its role in its representation of the grievances of the people.

Was anything said as to whether the members of the UBC would be able to intercede on behalf of the residents? -- Both the ministers responsible for black administration and the officials from the Bantu Affairs Commissioner to the city (30) council/...

council officials were clear about the fact that the UBC members were not going to be allowed to intercede on behalf of residents.

Do you recall whether any reason was given for that? -- The reasons given were that the people themselves could go directly to the officials and represent their own cases and that the UBC should handle such grievances at UBC council meetings only.

Can you recall any reason that was given for this ruling? -- One of the reasons was that this system would lead to (10) corruption. I can also recall a statement to the effect that that would mean the image of the council.

How did you as a member of the council feel of being deprived of this right to intercede on behalf of the people that have elected you? -- We felt very strongly about the fact that we could not intercede on behalf of a population the majority of which was totally uneducated and fearful of officials and we felt that they would be left without any assistance and support whatsoever and they would be incapable of addressing their grievances and argue them out with the (20) officials.

Did your council try to represent the community at any hearings held by the transport commission? -- The council, yes, the council tried to represent the interest of the people in cases where fares had been increased for instance by the railways department.

And how were you received by these bodies? Well, let us start with the transport commission? -- The transport authorities felt that they did not have any obligation to consult with the council when fares were being increased and that (30)

the/...

the council was not entitled to that consultation. Its function was to mind the roads and lights and such things.

Was publicity given to the attitude of the transport commission? -- Yes, publicity was given to this attitude and it was further indicated as a thorough indication of the uselessness and powerlessness of the UBC.

Was there a division on the council along certain lines? -- Yes, within the council membership itself there was a division along the perceptions - on the perceptions on how to address the issues that were countable for the problems (10) that the community faced, the main reason being that some of those encroached into the national political area. There was a difference of perception here where some of the councillors felt that it was impossible to distinguish between national political problems and local political problems.

Where did the majority of the elected councillors find a home? In those who thought that they could be separated or in those who thought that they could not be separated? -- In general the majority of the elected members supported the view that the Urban Bantu Council has got to address (20) or had to address practical problems faced by the people whatever their courses, their sources may be. There was, however, occasion when differences were expressed on the advisability of the council encroaching in to that area.

How did this selected or nominated members - with whom did they side? -- A few of the selected members sided with this opinion, but the majority sided with the opinion that the council had to keep out of what was perceived as politics.

These nominated or selected representatives, what was the basis or their selection or nomination? -- The elected (30)

members/...

members were nominated on the basis of their ethnic origin. They represented the various homelands and the chiefs in those homelands. They were in fact called chiefs representatives.

How did you and if you are able to say, other elected members feel about ethnicity being introduced into the council by having such representatives? -- I am sorry, I did not follow the question.

What was your personal attitude and if you know the attitude of other councillors that had been elected to there being ethnically selected members on the council? -- My own(10) feeling was one of total rejection. I had opposed the implementation of ethnicity in Soweto. I felt very strongly against it. I myself being of mixed tribal origin. I saw no reason for it, except as a ploy to divide black people.

Whilst on the council, did you in the council chamber and outside campaign for its reformation? -- Yes, both within the council and outside the council, we campaigned for the abolition of the selected members and the granting of meaningful powers.

What did you consider meaningful powers that you sought(20) at that time? -- At that time we saw meaningful powers as referring to the granting of town council or local authority functions similar to those held by any city or town in the council, such as Johannesburg, Cape Town or Wolmaransstad.

What were the sort of things that you would have wanted control over? -- We would have wanted control over the budget of the council, over land allocation within the jurisdiction of the council. We would have wanted authority to pass by-laws and the similar functions generally performed and normally performed by a full fletched local authority.(30)

Did/...

Did you apply your mind at the time and did you express your thoughts within the council and outside in relation to the financing of the council that you would have wanted to see? -- Yes, we made this point very clear from the council and outside and also argued that it was impossible to expect the councils to finance their operations purely from rentals because of the economic state of the residents from which these rentals were drawn.

What did you want - what sources of revenue did you envisage other than rent the council that you wanted (10) should have? -- We wanted the council to have the powers to zone land for industrial and commercial purposes and develop land in such a way that it could have rateable property from which revenue could be generated .

Any other source that was discussed at the time? -- The fines and the general government funding sources were also discussed at the time and we felt that such councils were or had to be subsidised heavily by the government.

Did you know at the time of any special taxes on fuel and other materials for special purposes such as roads (20) levied by the central government of the province? -- At that time we did not know about the levies on fuel.

What about the beerhalls and bottle-stores in the townships? What was the discussion about that? -- The position about beerhalls and bottle-stores was that they constituted the main source - next to the rentals they constituted the main source of revenue for the urban councils.

Did anyone in authority whilst the Urban Bantu Council was in its infancy, say anything as to what should happen to the revenue from beerhalls and bottle-stores? Did (30) anyone/...

anyone make any public statements about that? -- The deputy minister of Bantu Administration made several statements pertaining to the advisability of channelling some of the funds so generated to the homelands and in fact for local authorities and in fact the East Rand Board actually channelled a lot of funds to the homeland of Leboa and KwaNdebele and built houses there.

Out of the beer profits? -- Out of the beer profits.

Who was the deputy minister at the time? -- It was still Mr Blaar Coetzee. (10)

Was that statement given wide publicity? -- Yes, the statement was given wide publicity as well as debate within the council against their sending of funds to the homelands.

What was the official policy in relation to influx control at the time that your council was in operation? -- The official policy at the time was that only people who held section 10(1)(a), (b) and (c) were permitted to live in the urban areas and such qualification could only be attained after a spell of legal stay in urban areas and this also applied to wives of workers of men who worked (20) and qualified for such residence in the urban areas in which case their wives and children were excluded.

The act that you are referring to is the Bantu Urban Areas Act, number 25 of 1945 if my memory serves me correctly. Did the application of this policy of influx control create problems for your community? -- Yes, this particular law created easily some of the most - the greatest hardship suffered by my people living in the urban areas.

Did you try to raise the question of the application of this section to members of your community on the council?(30)

Yes/...

-- Yes, we constantly raised this issue and addressed it as one of the causes of the major suffering of black people. Splitting families, depriving children of education and destroying family life in general.

How was that received by the authorities on the provincial and national level your raising this question of influx control? -- On the whole these terms were not accepted, but more particularly on occasion, particularly my group was admonished on the stands on the basis that that was infringing on national politics and that the council was not designed(10) to address such problems.

Do you recall who was the minister at the time? -- The minister responsible at the time was Dr Piet Koornhof.

Did he make any public statements admonishing you for taking this problem - the problems of members of the community occasioned by the influx control regulations and the application of the provisions of section 10? -- He made the statement to delegates of the council who met him and also instructed the West Rand Board officials to actually bring this to our notice. (20)

Was this debated in the public press? -- This was not generally debated in the public press.

The application of the Bantu Authorities Act for areas other than urban areas, was that a matter with which you as a council member and your council wanted to concern yourself with? -- Yes, we concerned ourselves about the prospects created by that act in view of the fact that the council comprised representatives of chiefs and homelands. Those were the authorities who acted as a bridge between the urban black and the rural black. We saw that as a (30) threat/...

threat to the security of urban blacks.

What security of the urban blacks did you think was threatened by the application of that act? -- We related that act to the constant pronouncement by government ministers and officials to the effect that blacks were not permanent in the urban areas and that they belonged to the homelands and would have ultimately to pack and go back there.

Did you as councillors call public meetings to discuss the problems you were encountering on the council with the persons that had elected you? -- Yes, we called report (10) back public meetings to report back to those who had elected us. We also had a network of ward committees to which we regularly reported about the program of the Urban Bantu Council and our problems we encountered in the Urban Bantu Council and what - sought a mandate as to what our stand should be on various issues.

Did the fact that you were calling these meetings to discuss these matters, please or displease the Department of Bantu Administration? -- It is difficult to say that they were actually displeased by the mere calling of report(20) back meetings, but on one occasion when we forcefully opposed the increase of rents, we in fact were admonished that we were politicising the issue and that by addressing it at public meetings.

When did you oppose the increase of rent? -- We opposed the increase of rents, I do not recall the specific year in which it was, either in 1969 or 70 when the council proposed its annual budget and increasing rental which we considered too high for the people at the time.

Who had made the proposal in the budget? -- The City (30)
Council/...

Council of Johannesburg.

And in what way were you admonished? -- We were admonished - we opposed the rent increases in the council and demanded that we could not approve the budget in that fashion until we had put the case before the people who had elected us.

Who was the chairman of the council when it started with you as a member? -- The first chairman of the council was Mr Francis Mncube who was chairman and re-elected chairman to the end of the term of that council in 1971 or 72 if I am not mistaken. (10)

Were there any calls made in the council and outside for the increase of the powers of the council? -- Yes. A delegation was appointed by the full council of the UBC to meet with Dr Koornhof to ask for executive power for the granting of executive powers to the Soweto Urban Bantu Council.

Was such an interview granted? -- The interview was granted.

Were you present or was there a report back made to the council? -- I was not part of the delegation, but I was present at the mandating meeting as well as at the report (20) back meeting of the Urban Bantu Council.

What was reported back? -- The deputation reported a failure, Dr Koornhof had rejected the granting of executive powers to the council.

Was publicity given to the fact that this delegation had gone and that the minister had rejected the request for additional powers? -- Yes, publicity was given to that effect.

Were there any calls for the resignation of councillors? -- There were several calls for the resignation of (30) councillors/...

councillors from the public, from the press, dating back to the day when Mr Blaar Coetzee warned the council sternly that they had to confine themselves to those duties granted them by the City Council of Johannesburg.

COURT : Do you mean calls from the side of the public? -- From the side of the public at public meetings.

MR BIZOS : And you said also calls by the press? -- By the press.

How wide was the debate at the time? Were there just reports or were there editorials or did the columnists (10) that write columns in the various papers deal with the matter? -- The issue was debated in the press in the media extensively in lead articles, in letters to the editor, in feature articles. It was also debated at public meetings.

Did you and your fellow councillors decide to resign or did you adopt some other tactic? -- We did not decide to resign. We resisted the calls for us to resign. We still hoped that the government would keep its word and ultimately give the council executive powers.

For reasons with which we shall deal a little later, (20) what was very briefly happening in the coloured community at about the same time? -- About 1974/1975 the coloured labour party which operated on the same platform as we did, took a stand to take over the chairmanship of the council and adjourn the council.

COURT : Take over the chairmanship of which council? -- Of the coloured representative council and adjourn the council.

MR BIZOS : With what view was that taken? -- The view as we saw it was that that would provide pressure on the (30) government/...

government to leave the coloured representative council more meaningful powers and in fact enter into serious negotiations for the meaningful political participation of the government.

Did you feel that there were any lessons there for you?
-- Yes, we adopted that strategy. We learnt from that strategy and we took the decision to actually attempt to take the chairmanship of the Soweto council with the view to adjourning it without debate as a tactic to force the government to grant it executive powers. (10)

By the time that decision was taken, what would you say the reputation of the Urban Bantu Council was in the eyes of the community? -- The stocks of the Urban Bantu Council by that time had dropped drastically. Its image had suffered irreparable harm. It had lost trust. It was being called all sorts of names, abusive names.

Were the initials UBC used as a stimulus for any disparaging name? -- Yes, the initials were reformulated into another derogatory expression "The useless boys club", among other things and this was not the only derogatory (20) term used against the council.

Including yourself? -- Including myself.

At the time what was the department - whilst you were a councillor - what was the department's attitude to housing?
COURT : Just a moment now. Let me just get clarity. At what stage did the responsibility for Soweto go over from the Johannesburg Town Council to a central government body?
-- The responsibility for the management of black townships passed on to the boards, administration boards when the boards were established. I do not recall the exact year. (30)

That/...

That was after your time on the UBC? -- It was during our time in the UBC. During that time we fell under the Bantu Administration Board.

MR BIZOS : And no longer ... -- And no longer under the City Council.

You actually were a councillor whilst the overall authority was firstly the Johannesburg City Council, then the board? -- Yes.

And even at the time when the City Council was responsible, was the City Council a free agent or do you know (10) whether there were any restraints place on it by the central authority in relation to the administration of the townships? -- The City Council had limited authority to grant specified powers of authority to the Urban Bantu Council.

Who had the ultimate authority? -- The minister still retained the ultimate authority as to whether those powers would be granted or not.

What was the position in relation to housing? Was there a shortage or not at the time that you were a councillor? -- From the time we joined the council and prior (20) to that there was a chronic shortage of housing in Soweto. To a lesser degree I believe in all areas as well.

Were any houses being built at the time that you were a councillor in Soweto? -- To the best of my recollection the last large scale housing that the authorities built in Soweto was when Georgeco(?) or Eastern Bantu/Native township was relocated in Soweto. After the period very few houses were built. There was an almost total freeze in the building of houses and there was from government spokesmen an emphasis that local authorities should contribute (30)

towards/...

towards the development of housing in the homelands, by transferring some of the revenue generated from the sale of bantu beer particularly.

Was the question of housing an important issue in the community? -- Yes, the question of housing was a very important issue and it was one that caused great disgruntlement.

Did your council take the matter of housing up? -- Yes. Session after session the council submitted resolutions to - first to the City Council and later to the West Rand Board to approach the government for government funding to build(10) houses for black people in the urban areas.

Did you as councillors take up any other day to day issues of your community? -- Yes, we addressed issues such as the eviction of widows from houses which they had previously occupied with their husbands as a result of their non-qualification under the Urban Areas Act, section 10 of the Urban Areas Act. We took up issues for the issuing of reference books to children of residents when their children came of age when they encountered problems in these areas. We also addressed issues such as the elimination of crime(20) within our respective areas of responsibility.

In taking up these issues, did you form any committees in your respective areas? -- In my area of responsibility I together with my fellow councillors in the same areas as well as those who belonged to our grouping in the council instituted a network of committees to act as information channels, organising channels as well as to assist in the fighting of crime.

Did you give these committees a name? -- These committees were called ward committees at the time. (30)

Were/...

Were they operating in different sections of your area of responsibility? -- Yes, the townships were broken up into small sections, each one of which would be placed under the care of a specific committee for that area.

What were the educational facilities like for the children of Soweto in the early 70's whilst you were a councillor? -- There arose a chronic shortage of classroom space during that period which resulted in the Star newspaper mobilising funds from businesses and the public to build more classrooms in Soweto. The shortage had (10) become chronic and the inflow of children into schools had increased tremendously.

Was the government at the time or the department at the time building any schools or classrooms or had there been virtual freeze in that as well? -- At the time to the best of my recollection the limited classroom space was provided from government funds, hence the government welcomed the intervention of the private sector in providing funds for the building of additional school space.

Did you as a councillor or your council take this (20) matter up within the council with the authorities? -- This matter was taken up constantly by the education committee which was one of the four committees in the council to pressure the government to provide classroom space as well as providing teacher training facilities because of the chronic teacher shortage which accompanied this inflow of black children into schools.

Perhaps, in parentheses, I might ask you, what were the other three committees? -- The other three committees were the amenities committee responsible for health facilities (30) and/...

and recreational cultural facilities, trade and transport committee responsible for the allocation of trading sites and the addressing of problems encountered by commuters to and from work and within the prisons of Soweto, there was also the general purposes and housing committee which was responsible for fighting for more housing and the allocation of houses on an advisory basis.

In 1976 was there a - were there substantial difficulties in relation to the education of the children of Soweto prior to June 1976? -- Yes, there had been building(10) up in Soweto as well as other parts of the country a great deal of dissatisfaction with regulation imposed about the use of the medium of instruction in black schools.

What was the directive? -- The directive was that all subjects other than English, 50% of the subjects other than English were to be taught in each of the official languages. 50% in English and 50% in Afrikaans.

Did you council take - before June 1976 - up this problem or did certain councillors take up the problem?

-- Before June 1976 the council as a constituent body (20) did not take any action on this issue except through individual councillors who happened to serve on school committees or school boards.

What did you as a councillor and what from your personal knowledge, do you know, your fellow councillors, do about this difficulty that was introduced by the directive in relation to Afrikaans? -- I and my fellow councillors supported the efforts of the school boards, the school committees, the teachers organisation, the parents organisation in their pleadings with authority for the suspension(30)

of/...

of the reconsideration of the imposition of the Afrikaans medium.

Were those calls headed in any way? -- These calls fell on deaf ears.

Did you become aware of any restlessness among the school children themselves in relation to this question of being taught in Afrikaans? -- Yes, we became aware of restlessness about May of that year when some children started to boycott classes and the issue spread throughout Soweto. I had earlier then attended a meeting where my brother's (10) son who I was responsible for, attended school. I had attended a meeting where the parents were expressing their grievances on this very issue and the behaviour of school boards and school committees and the way in which black education was being administered in general. This was in White City Jabavu.

Early in June 1976 did the education committee of the council try to do anything? -- Yes, about the middle of June ... (Mr Bizos intervenes)

Before or after the 16th? -- Before 16 June, when (20) delegation after delegation had failed and the last delegation had comprised parents, church leaders, representatives of the teachers organisations, school boards and school committees, had approached the regional director of education and this issue - their appeals had been turned down. There was a general feeling in Soweto which spread to high schools where the SRC's in high schools resolved to stage a march in protest against the possible imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of education in a situation where they were not able to learn effectively. The UBC then instructed its (30) committee/...

committee under the leadership of the UBC chairman then T.J. Makhaya. The full council at its monthly meeting instructed the education committee under the leadership of the chairman of the council to approach Mr Ackermann to appeal to him to suspend the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction.

What was Mr Ackermann's office at the time? -- Mr Ackermann was the regional director of black education.

Were you part of that delegation? -- I was not part of the delegation. (10)

Was a report made back? -- A report back was made to the full council.

What was the effect of that report? -- The effect of that report which was as far as possible given the bottom or the perception that Mr Ackermann had in fact insulted the chairman of the UBC. It was a further demonstration of the powerlessness and uselessness of the UBC. The UBC had been ignored in an area where it was deeply involved and concerned about the education of children of the people it represented and against the background of our knowledge (20) that thousands and thousands of high school children had now planned to march in the streets of Johannesburg, the council felt that such an event was fraught with certain no historical dangers if the police did not adopt a restraint position. I personally made an appeal to the minister of police that should the children march, he should appeal to his police to let the children march, because we had no reason to suspect that the march would not be peaceful and we appealed to him to restrain police from interfering with the march. (30)

COURT/...

COURT ADJOURNS.COURT RESUMES.LEONARD MILE MOSALA, still under oath

FURTHER EXAMINATION BY MR BIZOS : Prior to June, the 16th had this fact that the children intended holding a protest march, was that kept a secret or was it made public by then? -- The effect of the students' march was not a secret. It had been published in the press and that is what caused concern among the parents and among the members of the UBC when the last delegation failed.

You told us of the steps taken by parents committees (10) and boards and others on this issue and also of your council sub-committee. How was its failure to get any meaningful result on this question viewed by the community? The council's failure? -- When the council's deputation failed, the condemnation of its ineffectiveness increased, opinions were expressed that even in the face of dire danger, a need, the government was not prepared to listen to its bunch of puppets and all sorts of names were called, were heaped upon the council and calls were made for the councillors to resign. (20)

We know of course the disastrous events of 16 June 1976 and the march that took place and the violence that erupted after that. I do not want to ask you any questions about that at this stage, but what I do want to ask you is whether you personally and your council tried to defuse the situation immediately from 16 June 1976 onwards? -- I and some members of the council particularly the leader of my party in the council, took steps on 16 June after hearing that the police had shot down some children. We phoned the chief director of the West Rand Board and appealed to him (30)

to/...

to him to contact the minister of police, it was then Mr Kruger, to call his police off and offer to speak to the children. We made this offer in the face of advice that the children would not tolerate the sight of any member of the UBC. The position was that those were our children and if we have a responsibility over their welfare, we had to take the risk. We wanted to speak to the police and plead with them to pull back and plead with the children to abandon the march. That did not occur. The minister of police and justice refused our offer and asked us to speak to the children under the guns (10) of the police and we said no. We further realised that the stocks of the UBC, the UBC had in fact reached its demise and went into the community and pleaded with the chairman that the leadership of the UBC had come to an end and that we would have now to appeal to the community to broaden the base of the UBC and provide a more effective leadership. We assembled a number of people representing various organisations that we could reach and arrange a series of meetings with the authorities including the then minister of Bantu Administration and Education, Mr M.C. (20) Botha.

When did these meetings take place? -- The first meeting took place between the chief director at New Canada at which members of the community were present and the meeting with the minister of Bantu Administration and Education, Mr M.C. Botha took place in his offices on the morning of the 19th, Saturday the 19th in Pretoria at which a memorandum was presented to him outlining certain political reforms and educational reforms that the people called for, that we believed were capable if implemented immediately of (30) diffusing/...

diffusing the situation. We also appealed to him to immediately suspend Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools.

Were you part of that delegation? -- I was part of that delegation.

Was anything done about that? -- At this meeting the minister agreed immediately to lift Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and this meeting was attended by at least two secretaries, the secretary for education, Mr Rossouw and the secretary for black administration, Mr Van Onselen(10) and immediately in the presence of the delegation instructed the secretary for education to instruct his regional directors to immediately lift Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. I think I may be wrong here, the Orange Freestate was accepted. I may be wrong, but I think the Orange Freestate was not covered.

Do you mean for the uplifting of the instruction? -- For the lifting of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction.

We do not have to worry about the Freestate at this stage on this issue. After the turmoil of 1976 what happened to the UBC? -- More calls were made after the turmoil to the members of their UBC to resign but the UBC accepted and expanded leadership which included church leaders, business leaders, labour leaders, teachers, representatives of teacher organisations which then met at two subsequent meetings each with the secretary for education and the secretary for administration. These delegations included members of the UBC. The tentative understanding had been reached with M.C. Botha on the occasion on the 19th that he would appeal to the prime minister who was then in (30)

(20)

Europe/...

Europe to make a statement of intent based on the memorandum demanding certain reforms, outlining certain reforms when he returned and at the coming committee meeting which was to have approved such statement when nothing happened, we then decided to resign from the UBC having realised that it was useless to continue to fight for any meaningful change and that the government was not prepared to listen to a body that itself had created for the articulation of the grievances of black people. Some members of the council also followed our resignation. (10)

Did the UBC effectively continue to function after that?
-- The UBC continued in existence for a short period after that operating in Soweto and at 80 Albert Street, holding its monthly meetings there until ultimately many members had resigned and it could not form a quorum and it was dissolved.

When it could not form a quorum and after its disillusion, was Soweto administered nevertheless? -- Soweto was administered by the West Rand Administration Board without any change whatsoever. The administration continued (20) normally. People continued to pay rent, lights were continued to be repaired in the way as they had been before. The normal course of administration continued.

Were you eventually after this, after your resignation, did you become a member of what is known as the committee of ten in Soweto? -- Yes, later I was appointed as one of the ten people by a meeting of representatives of community organisations and representatives of the community.

Do you remember when that was? -- This was about 1977. I do not recall the month specifically. (30)

How/...

How did the group that appointed you as one of the ten come about? -- An announcement was made in the press that a meeting of interested individuals and organisations, members of organisations operating within the community of Soweto would be called to consider means and ways of establishing a communication machinery to fill the vacuum created by the demise of the UBC so that communication between the people of Soweto and the authorities could continue.

Who called this meeting? -- It is not clear who (10) exactly called this meeting, but we responded to the call as a result of press invitations.

Who presided at the meeting? -- Dr Motlana presided at this meeting.

And where was the meeting held? -- The meeting was held in the offices of the Bantu World newspaper.

What was the purpose of the formation of the committee of ten? -- The purpose as outlined at this meeting was to first formulate a document outlining the administration of Soweto as perceived by the majority of the people in (20) Soweto and of such a nature that it would be acceptable to the majority of the people of Soweto and submit it to the people of Soweto for approval or rejection.

After your acceptance of office as part of the committee of ten, did you adopt what is called the blue print and which is already before his lordship as EXHIBIT DA51, 52 and 53? I do not intend referring to it in any detail. I am sorry that I did not inform your lordship about it, merely for the purposes of identification. Were these documents adopted by the committee of ten and did they become known (30)

as/...

as the blueprint? -- This document was in fact formulated by the committee of ten which had been appointed and instructed to do so, and it was submitted to a small - first to a small meeting of key people in Soweto who were generally considered as key community leaders at which meeting it was approved. The document was to be presented to a larger public meeting of the people, the residents of Soweto, but this meeting did not take place until 1978.

Was there any reason for that? -- Yes, there was a reason for that. The first two meetings that were called for this (10) purpose were banned by the then minister of police, Mr Kruger. The third ban applied to a meeting which was not called by the committee of ten for this purpose, but the ban was issued and nevertheless and then came October, 19 when the whole committee of ten together with leaders of black organisations were detained and that sent the blueprint into cold storage.

Were you one of the people detained in October 1977?
-- I was one of the people detained in 1977.

And were you released in 1978?-- I was released in (20) 1978.

And once you and the other committee of ten members were released, did you take up the blueprint again? -- We did not pursue the question of presenting the blueprint without the other members of the committee of ten. We felt that it would be inappropriate to do so until they were released.

And once they were all released? -- Once they were all released, we arranged for this meeting which was called at Orlando Communal Centre, Community Centre, DOCC where a large number of people approved this document. (30)

Did/...

Did the committee of ten decide to try and form a broader organisation than itself consisting of ten members?

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-- Yes, the committee of ten on instruction by the meetings it had called decided that it could not operate in vacuum. It decided to form a residents organisation which would act as a means of communication to the community.

And were steps taken to form such an organisation? -- Yes, steps were taken to form such an organisation and the Soweto Civic Association was formed.

Was it intended that the Soweto Civic Association (10) should replace the Urban Bantu Council or any other statutory body? -- It was not intended that the civic association or either its executive would replace in existing official structure, but it was intended that the civic association through its executive would act as the mouthpiece, the authentic mouthpiece of the people and communicate the feelings and aspirations of the people to existing authority.

Was it going to have branches in various sections of Soweto? -- Yes, the civic association established branches throughout the length and breadth of Soweto. (20)

Were you going to take up the day to day problems of the people living in Soweto? -- Yes, we were going to interest ourselves and we were also going to educate the people about their day to day problems and also encourage them to establish projects, self help and self development projects in the communities.

Was anyone appointed to administer or manage the development of greater Soweto at about this time? -- Yes, at about that time Mr Louis Rive who had been the postmaster general was appointed to launch a development plan in (30)

Soweto/...

Soweto and open communication with the community leadership.

Did the committee of ten go out of existence or did it take a different form? What was its position vis-a-vis the Soweto Civic Association? -- After the formation of the civic association, the committee of ten retained that name but became in fact or was elected the executive of the civic association.

After the formation of the civic association, did its executive or committee of ten co-operate with Mr Rive in order to enable him to fulfil his functions entrusted to (10) him? --I did not get the questions?

Did your committee and association approach Mr Rive for any purpose? -- No, the committee of ten or its chairman did not approach Mr Rive but Mr Rive approached the chairman of the committee of ten and invited to meet with him with a few of his members - with members of his executive and this was accepted.

And did your association appoint some committee to meet and co-operate with Mr Rive? -- The association did not appoint a sub-committee but the chairman of the commit-(20) tee of ten invited two of his members of his executive to accompany him to the meeting with Mr Rive.

Who were they? -- They were Mrs Ellen Khuzwayo and myself.

Did you put any plan before Mr Rive? -- Yes, we suggested a plan before Mr Rive at his request after making it clear that we attended - we accepted his invitation as individuals even though we could not divorce ourselves from our public positions and we also agreed that whatever discussions took place would be outside the political - broad political (30) aspirations/...

aspirations of the people and we wanted to concentrate on the nuts and bolts facing the people of Soweto and we helped him develop a program which identified what we saw as the major priorities of his task in his development plan.

Did you show him the exhibits that we recently referred you to, DA51, 52 and 53? -- Yes, the blueprint we had given him a copy of. He had already read about it.

The formation of the Soweto Civic Association, what its functions were going to be, the fact that it had produced this blueprint, was that given any publicity? -- Yes, the(10) formation and the program of action of the civic association were given fair publicity in the media.

What years were these? -- From 1977 onwards. From 1978, I am sorry. From 1978 onwards.

Did other communities outside Soweto show any interest in the formation of the Soweto Civic Association in 1978? -- Other communities outside Soweto showed interest in the formation of the Soweto Civic Association from 1979 onwards when the organisation started getting invitations to visit various areas to discuss the formation of local structures(20) in their respective localities.

Similar to the Soweto Civic Association? -- Yes.

Did you yourself receive any invitations? -- Yes, I receive invitations or was sent by the executive of the committee of ten to visit certain areas which had invited the committee of ten representatives.

For what purpose were you invited? -- For the purpose of advising and guiding those local communities in the formation of a civic association.

And did you yourself personally go to such communities(30)

and/...

and did you speak and give them advice? -- Yes, I went to Tembisa. I went to Vosloorust amongst others.

Was any constitution which might be of use to other communities drawn? -- Yes, a constitution outlining the constitution and structures and functions and programs of action of the civic association was drawn up which was regarded as the frame work of a model constitution which could be adopted by other civic organisations which wanted to form local associations.

In doing this, was it envisaged that the civic (10)
association would exercise any control or any - have any formal link between it and the associations or the groups of people that had been invited to come and speak to them? -- There was no hard and fast rule about that. The association of other associations with the Soweto association that was left entirely to their choosing.

From 1978 onwards did the Soweto Civic Association have a program of action? -- Yes, from that time the civic association drew up a program of action which included among other things the education, an education program in (20) which leadership skills would be provided for its membership and members of other organisations which wished to participate in this to end a program which encouraged branches to initiate self help projects that would enable people to partially address some of the economic problems that they faced in their respective communities. These included things like home industry. It was envisaged that means being available, things like home industry, skills development projects would be installed by branches, but again that was up to the branches to decide what actions, (30)

what/..

what programs and what projects they would instal in the areas.

What was the attitude of the civic association, its executive and its branch committees to matters of national interest and matters of a general political matter? -- As an organisation of people addressing the problems of people, the civic association right from the start decided that it could not avoid involvement in matters of broad national political nature and the civic association got involved in those matters as well. (10)

Was rent an issue from time to time in Soweto from 1978 onwards? -- Yes, rent as an economic issue had always been an issue and it was an issue and more so about that period as a result of the high level of unemployment and the poverty of the people.

What did the Soweto Civic Association do about that? -- The Soweto Civic Association involved itself in addressing the rent problem by protesting against what it considered an unreasonable increase of rent over a community which was unable to meet these rents. (20)

Did the Soweto Civic Association and its branches concerned themselves with any of the infrastructural services in Soweto? -- In its blueprint the Soweto Civic Association had outlined what it considered to be the requirements in the installation of general infrastructures in the townships where black communities lived and their relationship with the surrounding white local authorities with which they shared some of thes infrastructural services.

Did you actually intend taking over the repairing of the roads and the collecting of the rubbish or did you (30)

do/...

do something else? -- No, at no stage did the Soweto Civic Association perceive itself as an alternative civic administration body with statutory responsibilities for the carrying out of these functions.

Did the question of housing occupy the attention of the Soweto Civic Association and the squatter problem? -- Yes. Housing is a fundamental need which had beset black communities in urban areas throughout, occupied a very high position in the priority list of the issues addressed by the civic association and the squatter problem issued occurred (10) where addressed accordingly.

Did you involve yourself with the question of education for your children? -- Yes, we did involve ourselves in matters of education also as a fundamental need of the people.

Did you only concern yourself in such matters by merely making public statements or did you take any practical steps to improve the education of the people in Sowet after 1978? -- We concerned ourselves in these matters by way of public statements, support of those organisations that were directly involving the addressing education problems, (20) such as the teachers organisations as well as by participation in debate concerning those issues in the outlining of what was perceived the most ideal situation in the education of black people.

Did commerce and industry show an - and what is generally called the private sector - interest in the better education of the people of Soweto and elsewhere during this period? -- During that period and before as already mentioned, the private sector had been directly involved and it had demonstrated that it was concerned about the education of black (30) people/...

people.

Did the Soweto Civic Association and you and others on its executive liaise with the private sector in order to provide such facilities? -- Dr Motlana is the chairman of the civic association and involved himself in discussions with organisations such as the urban foundation and various business men. I and other members of the executive involved ourselves in discussions with various business organisations, individual business men in the encouragement of their involvement in the education of black people. (10)

Did the civic association and/or its members initiate or accept invitations with people in high government office to try and improve the position of the people in Soweto? -- The civic association chairman got approval from his executive subject to the general approval of the community to meet with Dr Koornhof to discuss certain broad socio-political issues affecting the people of Soweto, but this meeting never took place.

Were there any discussions with Dr Viljoen after he took office in the government? -- There were no discussions (20) with Dr Villjoen after he took office in the government, but at an informal level Dr Viljoen and Dr Motlana had met and discussed the problems associated with the implementation of the apartheid policy as a solution to the socio-political problems of South Africa. You will recall that at that time Dr Viljoen was the president of the brotherhood and he issued a statement to the effect that apartheid was not the solution to the socio-political problems of South Africa. It was exactly after that meeting.

In 1982 did you stand for re-election to the executive (30).

of/...

of the SCA? -- In 1982 I did not stand for re-election on the executive of the SCA as I had enrolled with a graduate school of business administration at the University of the Witwatersrand, a study which continued into 1984.

Did you resign your membership of the Soweto Civic Association? -- I did not resign my membership of the Soweto Civic Association. I remained a member of my branch.

Which branch was that? -- That was the Tladi branch.

Did you regard what you have told his lordship the civic association did during the period 1978 to 1982 as the (10) mobilisation and politicisation and the conscientisation of the people of Soweto? -- I accepted that any public organisation that purports to represent the feelings and perceptions of the people, particularly their aspirations and problems, could not but engage in a widespread mobilisation and education of the people with regard to the conditions of their lives. I accepted that.

Did you regard that as an unlawful activity or as an activity - as an unlawful activity? -- I regarded that as an absolutely legitimate exercise through which meaning- (20) ful communication could occur.

Was any of it done for the purposes of making the country ungovernable or for the purposes of bringing about disorder? -- At no stage was any of the activities of the civic association to the best of my knowledge done with that situation in view. On the contrary, the civic association leadership had proved that it was always in search of communication between authority and itself.

After you no longer took an active part in its activity, during 1983/84/85, did you keep in touch with the doings (30)

of/...

of your organisation, the Soweto Civic Association? -- As far as time permitted me and I was busy studying then and I went through several very intensive programs, I kept myself informed about events affecting Soweto and the black people in the country as a whole and the role that the civic association was playing in addressing some of those problems.

Did you know of any material change in the program of action or the policy of the Soweto Civic Association after 1982, that is in 1983/84/85 to that which you helped formulate originally during 1978 and 1982? -- After that period (10) I had no way of knowing what was happening or of knowing whether there were changes or not as I did not attend the meetings of the association or the executive and I did not get the minutes of any of the meetings of the committees that constituted the association.

But on the local level? -- On the local level I was quite aware, I was myself still involved in participating in the pressuring of the alleviation of the conditions of living of black people. I sometimes attended meetings in my own area, public meetings in my own area. (20)

During 1983/84/85? -- Yes, when I could, I attended these meetings.

Was there any material change in what was happening at the local level to what had been happening during the period 1978 to 1982? -- To the best of my knowledge there was absolutely no material change that had occurred that could be called a change of policy or direction or practice.

What did you know or what was your state of mind in relation to the Soweto Civic Association's connection with the UDF? -- Prior to the formation of the UDF I had read (30)

in/...

in the newspapers that the UDF, an organisation called the UDF was going to be formed and I saw that at some of its initial meetings the chairman of the civic association attended.

And once it was formed, did you become aware that the chairman - whether or not this chairman of the civic association was an active participant in the affairs of the UDF? -- Yes, not only did I note that in the press, but I considered it absolutely inevitable that he as the head of a community organisation should participate in the activities (10) in an organisation such as the UDF.

Did you as a member of a local branch of the Soweto Civic Association have any objection to your chairman's association with the UDF? -- I had no objection at all.

Did you inform yourself in general terms of what the UDF stood for? -- As far as information was available to me I tried to inform myself. I tried to read as much as was available to me.

COURT : Did you attend UDF meetings? -- I did not attend any of the UDF meetings during that period. (20)

MR BIZOS : Did you have any information in relation to UDF - to the UDF as to whether it was a peaceful or a violent organisation?

COURT : Could we just have clarity on what information he had, because he did not attend meetings. What did you have in front of you to tell you what the UDF was about? -- I had press reports as I have stated before to the extent that its programs and activities were reported. I kept abreast of what it is.

MR BIZOS : And what was your perception as a result of (30) these/...

these reports that were made? -- As a result of reports that were made, my perception of the program and the activities of the UDF was that it was synthesising the programs and the activities that they had been engaged in by all black political organisations including my own when I joined the civic association and that these were totally in keeping with the fighting for the aspirations of black people.

I would like to ask you, did you keep yourself informed of what followed the UBC's after they went out of existence in 1977/78, what replaced them? Did you keep abreast (10) with that? -- Yes, to the extent that information was available to us in jail, in detention then, we kept, I kept myself informed about what the government was contemplating and the establishment of community councils as a replacement of the UBC was known to me. Or the plan to establish them.

Did you view the new council system that was introduced in 1978 as substantially different to the council system that you had taken part in before 1977? -- In substance in terms of power and representativeness of the true aspira-(20) tions of black people, I did not view the community councils as a body which had a chance of acceptance by black people as their mouthpiece.

What was the perception in your community during 1978/79 when the community councils were introduced? Was it an effective body and did it enjoy the support of the community as far as you are concerned?

MR FICK : On what basis can this man tell the court what the perception of the community was.

MR BIZOS : I believe that people living in the community(30)

can/...

can depose to a general reputation without giving specific instances. This is the way I read the law.

COURT : I wonder whether you would be able to give me the perception of your community, let us say it is Hilbrow or wherever you live on a certain political matter unless you have read it in the newspaper.

MR BIZOS : Not if I go there regularly for coffee and walk about the streets and listen to the people what they say and attend the school committee meetings and I attend the school board meetings ... (Court intervenes) (10)

COURT : Before you give us that wide sort of evidence, let us qualify the witness then. To what extent does he know the perception of the community apart from what he has read in the newspapers? I am not interested in the newspapers.

MR BIZOS : Apart from what you have read in the newspapers, from your own personal experience living in the community, are you able to tell his lordship what the reputation of the community council was between 1979 and 1982? -- To the extent that I had access to the opinions of the people, to the extent that people came to me in my capacity as a (20) person who had been a recognised community leader in their midst, I noted that the people were concerned about the legitimacy and the usefulness of community councils as compared to the UBC and I observed at the elections that people in fact, not only did they not vote, not only very few people voted, but even the candidates that stood for election were had to come by with some areas not being able to fill the candidates and on that observation I concluded that the people were not in favour of community councils. (30)

What/...

What was the percentage vote at the time that the urban Bantu councillors were elected when you participated in the election? Do you recall? -- I may not be exactly correct, but the pole at the 1968 elections was somewhere between 22 and 28% which was the highest that they had ever achieved in Soweto in local affairs elections.

And what was the percentage of the people that voted in 1978 for the community council elections? -- The percentage was reported at 5,7%.

You have told us of the names that the urban Bantu (10) councillors were called publicly whilst the Urban Bantu Council was in existence. What were the community councillors called publicly? -- The community councillors were called in much the same names as the urban Bantu councillors and I might go further, the Bantustan homelands were called "puppets, toy telephones, dummies" and all such derogatory names were piled upon these institutions, "His Master's Voice" and the like.

Were there other community organisations in 1978 besides the Soweto Civic Association in Soweto? -- There (20) were various community organisations engaged in various activities, ranging from burial societies to self help organisations, home industry organisations and business organisations and the like.

Had you heard at that time of the Soweto Makgotla? -- Yes, I knew at the time about the Makgotla.

Do you recall whether it expressed itself in favour or against the introduction of the council ... (Court intervenes)

COURT : Just help me, Mr Bizos, what was it? What was (30)

the/...

the Soweto Makgotla? -- The Makgotla were what was referred to often as kangaroo or backyard courts which tried people for various social offences and imposed fines of various types.

So, it was not one body. There were a number of these bodies? -- It operated through a network throughout Soweto and in fact had branches outside Soweto as well.

MR BIZOS : And did it have a sort of central committee or a "hoofbestuur"? -- I cannot say exactly what its organisational structure was and control structure was, but to (10) the best of my knowledge the president of the Soweto Makgotla seemed to be the acknowledged leader of this network.

Do you recall whether they expressed themselves in favour or against the introduction of the council system? -- I know that its members participated in the elections and some of them stood for elections. They put up candidates inb the community councils.

The Soweto Action Committee? -- The Soweto Action Committee and I may be wrong here, was formed when the committee of ten was intend to continue the work of the (20) committee of ten and if I recall well, it dissolved after the release of members of the committee of ten.

The Soweto Residents Committee, have you heard of that during this period? -- As I was - I no longer can distinguish now between the residents and the action committee. I know that there was a teachers action committee, but there was a committee which was formed by residents when the committee of ten was intend that - what their exact name was, whether it was called residents or action committee, I can no longer recall. (30)

Was/...

Was Inkatha active in 1978 in Soweto? -- Yes, Inkatha was active in Soweto.

What was its attitude to the establishment of community councils? Do you know? -- Yes, I knew from newspaper reports about its president taking the stand that it would not participate in the community councils until the members of the committee of ten were released from detention.

MNR. FICK : Dit met respek is net hoorsê.

HOF : Ja, dit is seker so, maar ons laat dit maar toe.

MR BIZOS : How many attempts in electing that community (10) council were there in 1978 before it was actually elected? -- Again here I may not be absolutely correct. I think, if I recall well, two elections were called - the first election was called at which a quorum could not be formed. A second round of elections, whether it was a series of by-elections, I no longer recall, had to be called to fill the vacancies resulting from the disqualification of candidates or lack of candidates and the final one was definitely held to fill a few vacancies where certain areas in Soweto had not filled that candidates. I think there were thre. I could be (20) wrong there again, but I think there were three rounds of elections.

Did anyone in high office at the time make any public statement relating to the reputation - well, relating to the reputation of the community councils? -- Yes, I recall very clearly the public statement in the press made by the then minister of bantu administration, Dr Connie Mulder with the effect that clearly the popularity of community councils was very poor and that he would do something to improve it. (30)

Is/...

Is that the election at which 6% of the eligible voters had voted? -- I cannot recall specifically after which election that statement came out, but in general he made that - I took that statement to refer to the general perception of the structure itself in principle.

You have told his lordship that the main concern of the councils - of the Urban Bantu Council of which you were a member was the lack of sources of revenue. Was that problem redressed with the establishment of the community councils? -- To the best of my knowledge that problem (10) was not redressed.

Are you aware that the community councils were no longer in existence and that in 1983 town or city councils were elected? -- I am aware that the community councils developed into what was then called town councils with some powers to control the lives of the people of Soweto, such as opposing rent.

Were the fundamental objections that you have raised in relation to the Urban Bantu Councils particularly in relation to the ability to levy revenue redress in the (20) 1983 town council system? -- Sorry, I did not get the question clearly.

In 1983 when town councils were established with somewhat different powers and a slightly different structure, were the main objections that you had to the Urban Bantu Council redressed in the new system, the deferred version of councils? -- No, the main objection still stood. The sources of revenue were not improved, they still remained government created structures and they still generated a great deal of criticism from the public and they still (30)

lacked/...

lacked general public support.

You told us that you were a trade unionist in your younger days? -- Yes, that is so.

I want to ask you this. Are you aware of the introduction of works committees and liaison committees in the sixties? -- Yes, I am aware.

What was their purpose? -- Their purpose was to represent the aspirations and interests of workers at shop floor level and on a regional level and to negotiate in matters of wages and conditions of work. (10)

Did those works committees and liaison committees apply to all workers or only a section of the working population? -- These works and liaison committees applied only to black workers.

Were they accepted by the black workers? Were they a success? -- To the best of my knowledge these committees were not a success, they were not accepted by the great majority of workers.

Were they boycotted? -- They were largely boycotted. They were regarded in the same way as puppets and toy telephones and in fact ended up in some of them being called sell-outs. (20)

Those participating in that system. In boycotting them, was this boycott secretly or publicly conducted? -- This boycott was publicly conducted. There was no question of secrecy about the opposition of the majority of workers against it.

As a result of the failure of the type of structure for black workers, did anything take its place? -- Yes, two things took place as part of the development. If we look (30)

at/...

at the whole industrial situation field, first by 1972/73 as a result of the failure of these institutions to address the aspirations of black workers, illegal strikes, a series of illegal strikes took place which in turn resulted in the appointment of the Wiehahn commission.

Did that lead to the recognition of trade unions by black people? -- Yes, the Wiehahn commission investigated the issues and the laws that it was mandated to investigate and came out with recommendations for the recognition of black trade unions and that was done. (10)

In opposing the council system, were any parallels drawn between these two activities, the boycotting of the liaison and the regional committees and the boycott of the councils? Or council elections? -- From the position as one who has engaged in industrial relations, myself both from the union side of the table and the management side of the table, I cannot say they were, but I say there are specific parallels that can be drawn that are relevant between these two positions.

Was the boycotting of the council system during your(20) personal experience intended for creating chaos or making the country ungovernable or for some other purpose? -- To the best of my knowledge in accordance with my own perception, the boycotting of community councils of these institutions including some other broader ones, in no way aimed at creating a situation of ungovernability in the country, but they were aimed at pressurising the government to grant black people meaningful political participation.

You earlier mentioned to us that you noted what was happening in the coloured community. Was that experience(30)

a/...

a guide to you in any way as to what fruits the boycotting of the council system might bring about?

COURT : Did you organise a boycott of the council system?

-- I did not organise the boycott of a council system, but I agreed with non-participation in the council system based on my experience, practical experience on the system.

MR BIZOS : Did people involved in the Soweto Civic Association in 1978 participate in the election of the community councils in 1978? -- The people involved in the civic association in 1978 did not participate in the launching of the (10) community councils. They boycotted it.

Either as candidates or as voters? -- Or as voters.

In adopting this attitude of non-participation or boycott or ignoring it, call it whatever you want to call it, was what happened in the coloured community ... (Court intervenes)

COURT : Could you not ask him what led you to it instead of leading him onto the answer you want?

MR BIZOS : If I ask him that way, we may get again all the objections to the council system over again. That is why (20) I am directing it to us, but I am prepared - well, it is now too late for a person of this intelligence and articulateness, but this is why I did it. It is self-defence. Do you understand what I am asking now?

COURT : Do you understand what council wants as an answer?

-- No, can I have the question repeated?

MR BIZOS : I will try. Were you watching what was happening in the coloured community? -- Yes, we watched what was happening in the coloured representative council with interest.

What happened to that council eventually? -- The council (30)

ultimately/...

ultimately was dissolved as a result of the boycott of the proceedings by the labour party.

Did chaos come about in the administration of coloured affairs? -- To the best of my knowledge no chaos whatsoever came about as a result of the boycott.

Who administered the affairs when the council ... -- Someone was appointed chairman to pass the budget. I do not recall, I think it was a Mrs Theron or someone who was appointed by the state.

COURT : Do you mean Erica? -- Erica. (10)

MR BIZOS : Any way, you say a woman was appointed to exercise the functions of the council? -- Yes. I may not recall the exact name but a woman was appointed to pass the budget.

I will leave it at that, my lord. I think the rest is argument. I want to deal with ... (Court intervenes)

COURT : The name was Mrs Althea Jansen.

MR BIZOS : I want to turn to another subject and that is commemoration services. Have you attended any commemoration services? -- Yes, I have attended commemoration services in Soweto. And outside Soweto. (20)

Where in Soweto? -- Regina Mundi, at the Methodist Youth Centre, in Kathlehong.

Let us deal with Soweto. When did you become aware of the holding of commemoration services in Soweto for the first time? -- Commemoration services were held in Soweto for the first time to my recollection after Sharpeville in 1960. In the years following Sharpeville commemoration services were held.

We know that that is 21 March - Sharpeville day is 21 March 1960 and the commemoration day is 21 March. What (30)

else/...

else was commemorated in Soweto? What other day? -- One of the major events that are commemorated in Soweto is June, 16 1976.

Any other days that are commemorated? -- It could very well be, I cannot recall immediately, but major events are commemorated.

Let us deal more particularly with the one that you say is the major one and ... -- The death of Biko is another one.

Let us deal with 16 June one which you say is the major one. Were they held in the main in Soweto? -- Depending (10) upon on whether an agreement is reached to hold a joint service, Regina Mundi is generally used or was generally used, otherwise various churches are used to hold commemoration services in Soweto on June, the 16th.

Have you yourself presided at any commemoration service? -- Yes, I have.

When was that? -- I think this was about 1979 or 80. I do not recall the exact year, but I co-chaired one of those commemoration services.

Who actually held that commemoration service that you (20) co-chaired? -- The people of Soweto.

What does that mean? The people of Soweto? How did these things happen? -- The residents. It is generally known that on June, 16th the population will commemorate that day that event by holding meetings, going to church, praying, reminding themselves of that event, recalling their whole history in the struggle for justice and it is a general thing, it is almost a custom that that will happen.

Let us take as an example the one that you co-chaired. Who actually decided that you would co-chair the meeting? (30)

Who/...

Who had come together before June, the 16th in order to arrange this commemoration services? -- Depending how the commemoration services are arranged and which one you go to, you go to a commemoration service at a church and you will find perhaps the person that was originally expected to chair, does not turn up and you come there and some people approach you "We have been waiting for so long. Could you chair the service?" and because you are part of it, part and parcel of it, part and parcel of the feeling, you do not ask what am I expected to do. You know exactly (10) what to do and you chair the meeting and you run the commemoration service in the normal way that you have seen others run.

COURT : Who appoints the chairman who has not turned up?
-- The people who might be organising the commemoration service at a particular location.

MR BIZOS : Who are these sort of people? In Soweto for instance, who comes together before June, the 16th to say there will be a commemoration service like the one you co-chaired in 1979? Who came together beforehand to say (20) "We will now hold a commemoration service"? Not necessarily all of them by name by whom do they represent, where do they come from, what sort of occupations are they involved in?
-- I would like to go into the operational structure of the thing. Take my church. At my church the members of my church council with me involved in it will decide, we want a commemoration service on this Sunday here and I will be part of the group that will organise that. The same applies to various localities. A group of people or individuals will decide we will organise the commemoration service (30)

and/...

and such people will say we want so and so as a chairman, we want so and so as a chairman. It is difficult to pinpoint exactly who, but any member of the community, any group of members for the community can come forward and do that.

Do I understand from what you said that if we are under the impression that there is only one commemoration service in Soweto on June, the 16th, is that correct ... -- Then that has got to be handled at the organisational leadership level where the church leadership, the political groups, (10) the community organisations will agree that we will have this service and we will then decide who will chair the service. That is a much, much bigger one.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : Will that now be the type of service that you were holding at Regina Mundi? -- At Regina Mundi. That is right. A venue capable of holding the expected number of people, will have to be selected for that sort of size of commemoration.

MR BIZOS : Regina Mundi is a Catholic Church? -- Yes.

And you yourself, are you a Catholic? -- Yes. (20)

Has Regina Mundi a resident dean or an archdeacon looking after it? -- I do not know what the present position is, but in the past it has had a resident priest who manages the place. Because of the shortage of priests today, it could very well be that a priest who manages a series of missions also manages as one of his missions Regina Mundi. I do not even know who is the present one.

Let us take the sort of service that you co-chaired in. Is there a fixed program arranged beforehand for these commemoration services? -- There may, there may not be a (30) fixed/...

fixed program. Usually there is none. The chairman knows the way he should run such a service and he is asked to chair it and it is expected that, as part of the community, he already knows what to do. There must a priest or a minister of religion to open the service. There will be hymn singing, there will be praying. There will also be singing of songs to uplift the spirit of the people. He knows that.

And are there speeches made? -- There will be speeches made.

Have you yourself spoken at commemoration services?(10)
-- Some of them, yes.

Were these services being conducted before the formation of the UDF in 1983? -- Since the days of Sharpeville, to the best of my recollection, these commemoration services have been held and the format of their running has not changed. The content of their programs has not changed.

What is the content of their program? -- Praying, singing hymns, singing upliftment songs, freedom songs, sloganising. These are characteristics of any commemoration service. (20)

And the singing of these freedom songs and the sloganising was that there before 1983? -- Long before that the singing was there.

COURT ADJOURNS UNTIL 14h00.

COURT RESUMES AT 14h00.

K1147 LEONARD MILE MOSALA, still under oath

FURTHER EXAMINATION BY MR BIZOS : Mr Mosala, we were dealing with commemoration services and what happens there. Did you continue going to commemoration services after 1982?

-- Yes, I continued going. Whenever I was around, whenever I had the opportunity I attended it. (30)

And/...

And did you go to commemoration services during 1983/84/85/86? -- I cannot clearly recall because that was the period of my study and most of my group study work was done over the weekend. I think I missed several of those during my study period.

But did you attend some? -- I am not sure whether I got a chance to, because every weekend, practically every weekend I had a study session.

Could you please tell us what sort of songs were sung at these commemoration services and what sort of slogans(10) were used? Let us start with slogans perhaps first. What slogans were used at these commemoration services that you attended prior to 1982? -- Amandla is one of the slogans used. Mayibuye is another.

Could you please explain your understanding of the Amandla slogan to his lordship? -- My understanding of the slogan is that it is a call to your spiritual innermost to stand together to be brave, not to give in. It is an encouragement to continue with along the roads that you have chosen. (20)

The road to what? -- Along the road in the struggle for justice that you are committed to.

For how long have you known this slogan? -- Amandla I first came into contact with in Lesotho at the University of Lesotho where we had occasional meetings of students which addressed the political situation on the continent and here we had students from Uganda, from Kenia, from the then Rhodesia and if you recall Kenia and Uganda, where they are in the middle of a colonial battle to free themselves from the clutches of colonialism. (30)

Was/...

Was the ANC an organisation which - was Lesotho or Basutoland organisation when you were a student there? -- The Basutoland National Congress was already there in existence in 1952.

But was that a different organisation to the Africa National Congress? -- Yes, it was a totally different organisation. It was an organisation for Lesotho people.

What would you say if it was suggested that the Amandla Ngawethu slogan in response was an ANC slogan? What would you say to that? -- I would say I do not believe because (10) people like the present minister of economic affairs in Zimbabwe used that slogan, people from Kenia; people from Uganda used that slogan as well at that time already.

The minister that you referred to, was he a fellow student of yours? -- The minister that I refer to was the president of the students representative council at the University of Lesotho - Pias The Twelfth University.

COURT : What language is Amandla? -- Amandla is a Zulu term, a Zulu word referring to power.

But now in Kenia and in Uganda, do they understand (20) it? -- I do not know, but they were in Lesotho and Benard Chazero came from Zimbabwe where Ndebele is virtually similar to and had attended school in South Africa at Marionhill. Where he got it, we cannot say. He was not the only one. There was Pazoppo Moyo, there was Kon Ndlovu from the same country. There were a number of these students from all over Africa.

MR BIZOS : The slogan Mayibuye, when did you first hear that? -- At the same place. These African chaps were very strong from Zimbabwe to Mayibuye. I first heard of it (30)

at/...

at Lesotho.

What did you understand with the slogan Mayibuye? -- I understood the slogan to refer to African to be restored into the hands of original people.

Would you say that that was an ANC slogan? -- I do not believe it was, because practically every meeting that I have attended or organisations of church people is used to that slogan. It is not characteristic of the ANC only.

You have told us that hymns, freedom songs are sung at commemoration services. Can you please tell us about some(10) of the songs that you heard sung at commemoration services before the end of 1982? -- Some of those songs were in praise of the leaders of that moment. Some of them referred to the spiritual feeling of the people like "Senzeni na." What have we done. This is an appeal, a moan about suffering that the people are going through, what have we done. It is a form of a prayer. Some of it is we shall overcome, which is a call to the people to dedicate themselves to the cause they had committed themselves to. Some of them are in praise of the leaders that we shall follow our leaders, we shall(20) follow so and so, he is our hero.

Let us just stay for a moment with "Senzeni na". When did you first hear that? -- "Senzeni na" I first heard, let me recall a bit, I do not recall that prior to 1976 I actually - it was prominent, but from 1976 "Senzeni na" became very prominent and an integral part of any commemoration service.

You say that there were songs of praise of leaders. Could you give us an example of some of the leaders that were praised at these commemoration services prior to (30)

1982/...

1982? -- Yes. In the labour field, trade union leaders such as Kadalie, Clement Kadalie were sung at the trade's hall(?), Another name was Leslie Masina, a trade unionist. Songs were sung in praise of those leaders.

When was it that you heard these praise songs being sung for the first time? -- These were in the early fifties, from 1953 these were sung.

To what tune were these songs sung? Without asking you to sing them. I do not know what sort of voice you have. What is the word? -- Somlandela (witness uses bantu language) (10) Wherever he goes, we shall follow him. We shall follow him wherever he goes.

This Somlandela tune have you heard it in Lesotho at all? -- No, in Lesotho we did not sing that at Pias The Twelfth But we sang it in the trade union movement.

COURT : Pias The Twelfth is that the university? -- The present university of Lesotho.

MR BIZOS : Pias The Twelfth or Roma University as it was known at the time.

COURT : Yes. I know it as Roma. Is that Pias The Twelfth? (20) -- Pias The Twelfth.

MR BIZOS : And subsequently became the university of Lesotho? -- That is right.

Was Somlandela Mandela sung in your presence at commemoration services? -- Yes, it was sung.

From when did you first hear Somlandela Mandela for the first time? -- Somlandela Mandela I heard for the first time I think I may not be specifically correct, after Chief Luthuli was banned from the leadership of the ANC and Nelson Mandela had gained prominence, his name became prominent (30) and/...

and songs were sung about him. As well as the others.

Which others? -- Tambo, Sobukwe, Sisulu.

That commemoration services, is there - the ones that you had anything to do with - any decision as far as you know beforehand which songs are going to be sung at a particular commemoration service? -- To the best of my knowledge there is no specific program drawn beforehand as to which songs will be sung. People, individuals, little groups all over the hall will start a song, anybody can start a song and then the rest of the audience takes (10) it up.

You yourself at the commemoration services you attended, did you sing Somlandela Mandela? -- Yes, when the people sang it, I sang.

And when you co-chaired the commemoration meeting at Regina Mundi, was that song sung? -- Yes, it was sung.

Can you recall whether Somlandela Tambo was sung?

COURT : Could we just have clarity now. This Regina Mundi meeting, when was it? -- The Regina Mundi meetings have been held over a number of years. (20)

You were asked about the one you co-chaired, when was it held? -- It must have been around 1979 or 80. I do not remember the specific year. At about 1979.

MR BIZOS : Did you sing on that occasion the songs that were sung at the commemoration service about Mr Mandela? -- Yes, I sang together with the people.

Is there a police presence at these commemoration services - I am not suggesting in the hall, but in the immediate vicinity? -- Yes, there has always been a police presence where political meetings have been held either (30)

outside/...

outside or even within the hall itself. Sometimes in disguise. This is a wellknown feature that the police presence would be there.

Were you or as far as you know anyone else approached at any time in any investigation about the singing of these songs at these commemoration services? -- I have never been approached about the singing of these songs at commemoration services.

Do you know of anyone of your colleagues in the Soweto Civic Association or any other community leader that was (10) ever approached about this? -- I know of no one who has been approached as a result of the songs that are sung at commemoration services.

At the commemoration services that you attended primarily prior to 1982, were there any what I may describe as narrative freedom songs about Tambo, training people in the bush or references to soldiers or anything like that? -- After 1976, yes, those songs cropped up particularly by the young people. They would sing them. We heard them for the first time then. (20)

After 1976? -- After 1976.

Do you know whether any complaint was made about those songs being sung at commemoration services do you or any other community leader in Soweto? -- I personally have never been approached about the singing of these commemoration - about these songs, nor do I know anyone with whom I worked in the civic association who has been approached specifically about that.

I want to turn to the question of colours. Does the or do the colours of black, green and gold have any (30) significant/...

significant meaning to you? -- Yes, those colours have some significance to me.

What is their significance? -- Their significance is that they represent the national colours of black people and they represent the lands, the vegetation and the wealth, the mineral wealth of all end.

What would you say to the suggestion that they are the exclusive colours of the African National Congress? -- To the best of my understanding I do not agree with that, because many other organisations that I know, several other organi-(10) sations that I know use them and nobody has objected against their use by these organisations.

Please tell his lordship and the learned assessor which organisations you know to be using those colours? -- I have seen very specifically these colours being worn and flags being flown at annual rallies of the Inkatha organisation. I have seen these colours displayed in skullcaps by (?) some Rustifarian organisations, not only in this country but outside the country. I do not regard them as the specific ownership of a particular organisation. (20)

Let us deal with Inkatha. Where have you seen flags flying and the colours being worn, these three colours? -- These three colours fly every time Inkatha has a rally in Soweto at the amphitheatre. These colours are worn every time an Inkatha member is buried. These colours are worn every time the Inkatha organisation has got branch meetings.

You say the flags are flown at the amphitheatre. Just one flat or a number of flags? -- Sometimes a number of flags.

Fluttering up ... -- Fluttering up and I am not far from the amphitheatre. (30)

COURT/...

COURT : So, could we just get clarity. You say organisations that you know that use these colours are the Inkatha organisation? -- Yes.

And in South Africa, what Rustifarian organisations?
-- I have seen some Rustifarians wearing skullcaps, woolen caps made of exactly the same colours.

And what do you mean by Rustifarians ? -- The chaps who leave the long hair - how do you describe a Rustifarian?
It is chaps with funny hair. The size, very long.

Stringy hair? -- That is right. (10)

Are they of a particular religious outlook or why do they wear their hair like that? -- I do not know much about the Rustifarian cult, but they seem to have a particular philosophy or some sort of religious closeness that they follow because they all leave their hair, string their hair the same way. They all seem to dress the same way.

Very well, some of them wear it and what other organisations do you know of? -- I do not recall any other organisations immediately. No other organisations immediately come to mind. In the civic association we used similar (20) colours and a T-shirt which had a gold background. It also had badge with black and green.

MR BIZOS : Your civic association, the Soweto Civic Association? -- Yes, our T-shirt had similar colours.

When was your T-shirt first introduced to members? -- I do not recall the exact month and year, but I think it was around 1979 when we issued it.

Was this a limited edition or did you have many of these shirts made in these colours? -- We had several thousand made on order for the membership. (30)

And/...

And were these worn openly? -- Yes, they were yellow and they had black and white and green.

Did anyone raise with the association that these colours were taboo and should not be used? -- No one has ever raised any question my wearing of that T-shirt or anyone that I know of.

Did you yourself wear it? -- Yes.

Thank you, my lord, I have no further questions.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR FICK : Mr Mosala, did the SCA decide at any stage to accept the colours black, green and yellow(10) as their colours? -- The SCA T-shirt was comprised of those three colours, the yellow being the general one and the green and the black being the other colours and no member of the SCA objected to it.

But did the SCA ever decide to accept these colours as colours of the SCA? -- They accepted the shirt, the T-shirt.

COURT : As your official colours? Did you for example have rosettes in those colours? -- We did not make rosettes. We wore the T-shirt. (20)

MR FICK : And it was made only once in 1979? -- That order, to my knowledge yes, in the period that I was on the executive. We did not place any other order. We placed one order.

You say Inkatha also used the colours black, green and gold. Do you know in what order the colours appear on the flags of Inkatha? -- Yes, at first was completely mixed. Later on there was a consistency on the flags and the colours that were worn which followed the order of black, green and gold, but earlier on there was quite a bit of confusion. (30)

I/...

I know this because this attracted me and it sort of confused me because you would see that one wearing the colours in this order and another one wearing the colours in that order and you just did not know what was ... (Court intervenes)

COURT : But now the Inkatha flag, where does one start reading black, green and gold? Is it from top to bottom or from side to side? -- From top to bottom. The top bar, the middle bar and the bottom bar.

MR FICK : Do you know when Inkatha changed the order of the colours or accepted a specific order? -- No, I do not (10) know.

Do you know what Inkatha's policy was towards the ANC? -- What I know of Inkatha's attitude towards the ANC is what I read in the papers from statements uttered by its president.

COURT : Are these colours also the colours of the ANC? Black, green and gold? -- These colours are also used by the ANC.

Do they use them in the same sequence? Black, green and gold? -- In the days when the ANC operated in this country I recall specifically whether they were used in (20) that order, but I believe they were. I have no reason to believe that they were used in any other order.

MR FICK : Do you know for what reason the Inkatha members are buried under the flag? Or with the flag draped on the coffin? -- I do not know what the reason is.

Mayibuye, what language is Mayibuye, do you know? -- Mayibuye is a Zulu word. It is also found in Xhosa.

Were there any Zulu speaking people with you at the university of Lesotho? -- There were.

From South Africa? -- From South Africa. (30)

You/...

You do not know the origin of the slogans Amandla and Mayibuye e Afrika? -- I do not know the origin.

Did you before the ANC was banned attend any ANC meetings in South Africa? -- I did not attend any ANC meetings as I lived mainly and attended school in the Cape and in Lesotho.

Do you regard Mr Nelson Mandela or Oliver Tambo or Sobukwe or Mr Walter Sisulu as your leader? -- All of these men are accepted and respected as leaders of the black people for the sacrifices they have made in the cause for(10) fighting for justice for black people and I as a black man align myself with black people in admiration of the sacrifices they have made in their fight for the attainment of a just society in our country.

Do you agree they are also known leaders of the ANC? Mr Mandela and Mr Tambo and Mr Sisulu? -- Yes, I agree they are the known leaders, they were the known leaders from as long ago as they were appointed and they still are.

Do you also agree that Mr Mandela and Mr Sisulu were imprisoned for the planning of acts of violence against (20) the state? -- Yes, I know that they are in prison for what is alleged to be that offence.

And do you regard that also as sacrifices of Mandela and Sisulu? -- I do not agree. I do not support, I do not believe in violence of any sort, whether institutional or physical or whatever source whatsoever and for that reason I reject violence irrespective of where it comes from.

But the fact that they planned violence and planned to overthrow the state and committed violence, do you see that also as part of the sacrifices? -- I do not see that (30).

as/...

as part of the sacrifice. I do not believe that such a cause could have a chance. I have in fact gone on public at international conferences to the effect that violence is not the solution to the problems of this country and that South Africa, in fact, is still powerful to be tackled on that field even by the combined might of Southern African countries. I have gone on record in Germany making that statement. At the conference were people like Louis Nel, Barend du Plessis present.

To what sacrifices do you refer? -- We refer to the (10) sacrifice in their pleading with the South African government to grant black people political rights, to grant black people the franchise and to agree to establish a non-racial society. I admire their commitment to the establishment of a non-racial society.

Do you agree that in the songs sung about Mr Tambo and Mr Mandela and Mr Sisulu there is no indication that you refer only to the non-violent activities of these gentlemen? -- When people have attained positions of leadership and of acknowledgement of recognition, no fine (20) line distinctions can be made when masses assemble to commemorate events pertaining to their history. And it is not possible to expect masses to make distinctions on occasions such as those.

The song "We follow Tambo" or "Tambo is in the bush training the soldiers", I cannot remember, did you hear that song sung at commemoration meetings? -- I have heard that song sung mainly by young people at commemoration meetings.

And did you sing along? -- I have not sung along. Some people did not sing along. I know that some people (30)

not/...

not the whole audience participated in these songs, in some of these songs for various reasons.

Do you agree that those words amount to popularising violence? -- I do not agree that that is the prime purpose of using those words. I do not even believe that that in fact is meant in the literal sense, for the same reason that I have mentioned that black leaders in this country, black people in this country are fully aware of the power of the government of South Africa and would not I believe engage in a violent confrontation with the knowledge that(10) they would not stand a chance. That would be suicide.

Is that the only reason why you say you do not agree? -- I do not believe that this is meant to be implemented this is meant for real. I do not believe that any sensible leader believes that there can be a confrontation on military terms between the African people and the government of South Africa with all its might.

Did the chair person at the meeting where the song "Tambo is in the bush, training the soldiers" was sung, stop the youth or reprimanded them? -- No, and the reason is (20) very clear. It is not possible for any chair person at a meeting such as that to represent any group or try to stop any form of singing.

But why? If it is a non-violent organisation? -- For the single reason that by doing so you could in fact divide your audience and in fact lead it to a situation where there could be argument and you know that this song would be sung and it will come to an end and you let it run its course.

When you decided to participate in the election for the Urban Bantu Council, did you study the act? -- Yes,(30)

we/...

we studied the act, we recognised its limitations, but we also recognised the hope that it engendered.

Is it true that from the act itself it is clear - it is made clear that the UBC was not a political organisation or a political body? -- From the act itself in terms of the prescribed powers and responsibilities it was not clear that when a committee such as a housing and education committee is formed, that there could be any distinction between addressing those problems pertaining to those true functions that spring primarily from political sources.(10) From legislation, from ideology, from policy. It was not possible to make those distinctions.

Did you or any of the other members of the UBC try and get clarification before the elections? -- We did not get clarification. We went into the UBC with the full understanding that the structure had serious limitations and very limited acknowledgement and support from black people, but we also acknowledged that it was the only possible platform to articulate the aspirations of black people and we went in there to try and do our best to (20) use it for that purpose.

Do you know Mr Ismail Mkhabela? -- Yes, I know Ismail Mkhabela. He is my neighbour or has been until very recently.

Is he or was he a member of AZAPO? -- Yes, he was - to the best of my knowledge he was and still is a member of AZAPO.

Was he or is he on the executive of AZAPO? -- I do not know.

Did any of the executive members of AZAPO participate(30)
in/...

in the Soweto Civic Association's activities as far as you know? -- I do not know what the positions of each member of the executive in their respective organisations were. When I went into the civic association, I belonged to no faction, to no grouping and I did not bother to find out whether people were on the executive of what organisation.

Do you know whether Mr Mkhabela was a member of the Soweto Civic Association? -- Yes, he was.

COURT : A member of the Soweto Civic Association or of the committee of ten? -- No, of the civic association. (10)

Just of the civic association? -- The broad organisation. To my knowledge.

MR FICK : Was he on the executive of the Soweto Civic Association, Mr Ismail Mkhabela? -- No, he was not.

I want to refer the court, but it is only for the court's purposes, to EXHIBIT W9 on page 60 where it is stated - I will read it to the witness "Mkhabela and other national officials regularly attend meetings of the Vaal Civic Association in Sebokeng as an act of solidarity and to take the opportunity of sharing perspectives with (20) them. He and his fellow office bearers are all members of the Soweto Civic Association or their local equivalents and some provide leadership at branch level." You testified that .. (Court intervenes)

COURT : What does that help us? If you are not putting it to the witness, why tell me?

MR FICK : That is the reason why I asked the witness about Mr Mkhabela. What is your comment on what I have read? Do you agree with that? -- I agree that Mr Mkhabela was a member of the civic association but he was not a member (30)

of/...

of the executive of that organisation.

You also testified that you yourself and some other members of your executive were invited to other townships to advise and guide the residents with regard to the formation of civic associations? -- That is so.

You testified that you went to Tembisa and Vosloorust. Is that correct? -- That is so.

Did you help the people of Tembisa to establish the Tembisa civic association? -- Yes, in the sense that we spoke about how we had formed our own, what its purpose was (10) and how they could go about forming their own if they wished to. We also made it clear that it was up to them what constitution they would follow, what program of action they would follow.

Did you address any public meeting at Tembisa? -- Yes, in a church. I do not recall the section then, but it was a very small meeting.

At Vosloorust did you help to establish a civic association there? -- The Vosloorust people established it and I attended their meeting. (20)

What was the name of that specific association? -- It was called the Vosloorust Civic Association.

Was it also established on a public meeting? -- Yes.

Which other places did you visit with the same purpose? -- I did not get or send to any other places for that purpose. There were other officials who went to other places.

Do you know to which other places did the other officials go? -- I know that Dr Motlana went to PE and he went to the West Rand as well as the president. Actually he was the person invited and these officials would stand in for (30)

him/...

him when he could not go.

Do you know of any official or member of the executive of the Soweto Civic Association who visited the Vaal, Sebokeng for this purpose to establish a civic association? -- I cannot recall when the Vaal Civic Association was formed.

On 9 October 1983. - In 1983 I was no longer on the executive of the civic association and I did not know what its activities were and its program was.

Did you during 1985 attend any meetings of the Tladi(10) civic association? -- It may well be so. I think I had come to the end of my studies by then. I would have if I had a chance. There would be no reason why I should not be going.

Is it called the Tladi Civic Association or is it merely a branch of the Soweto Civic Association or what is the position? -- The Tladi committee was always a branch up to the time of my resignation from the executive.

Did you attend any meeting which was addressed by accused no. 19, Mr Molefe, in Tladi?-- I do not recall Mr Molefe addressing meetings in Tladi. I know he was a (20) member of the civic association. He lived at Emdeni. We met very regularly, but he was an ordinary member at that time. I cannot recall specifically that he addressed civic association meetings. He may very well have done that. He was an ordinary member of the association.

Do you know Mr Patrick Lephunya? -- Mr Pat Lephunya? Yes, I know Mr Pat Lephunya.

Was he on the executive of the Soweto Civic Association? -- Not while I was on the executive.

Do you know whether he was the secretary of the (30)

Soweto/...

Soweto Civic Association? -- Yes, became secretary a few years I vacated my position.

Was it whilst you were on the executive of the Soweto Civic Association policy of the Soweto Civic Association to unite the residents so that they can force the councillors to resign? -- It was no the policy of the Soweto Civic Association to pressurise any councillor to resign why I was on the executive of that body. It was the purpose of that body to mobilise the people and organise them into self development, groups as well as to be able to address(10) their grievances with the local authority, whoever he was.

You see, why I ask you this is because in this exhibit before court W2 on page 2 Mr Pat Lephunya is quoted. It is a Speak, The Voice of the Community, March 1985 and according this document ... (Court intervenes)

COURT : Why put this to this witness? This witness says in my time Mr Lephunya was not an office bearer of the SCA. At some stage he spoke to Speak. What has that got to do with this witness?

MR FICK : Only to make it clear that there was a change (20) in policy after this witness ... (Court intervenes)

COURT : I do not know whether there was a change in policy or not, but what does it concern this witness? Why not leave this for argument?

MR FICK : You gave evidence to the effect that it was not the intention to take over the work of the councillors not as an alternative. It was not the intention of the Soweto Civic Association to take over the work of the councillors? -- Yes, that is so.

I want to put to you, in the SCA blueprint which you (30) gave/...

gave evidence about, on page 1 the first paragraph ... (Court intervenes)

COURT : To which document are you referring?

MR FICK : AM25. AM25 and DA something else is the same document.

COURT : DA51?

MR FICK : DA51, yes, but there are DA51, 52 and 53. Which one are you putting to the witness?

MR FICK : I am referring to AM25. The document consists of three pages. It is in volume 2 of the AM series, page 1.(10) Is that the document you gave evidence about? The blueprint?

COURT : AM25 states it is a summary. That cannot be the original. If you look at AM24 you might be nearer the mark. No, it is not.

MR FICK : Do you know this document, AM25? -- Yes, I am familiar with this document. It is among the earliest that were formulated.

Who issued this document? The SCA? -- I do not recall the SCA actually issuing this document, but it was in the hands of the committee of ten when it formulated what (20) ultimately became the blueprint for the establish - the administration of Soweto. It was part of the number of documents that were presented to the committee of ten.

What do you say about paragraph 1 page 1 the third paragraph "Background. We, the people of Soweto, shall govern and decide on our own lives. We will formulate and control the Soweto local authority. It shall be run by the people, for the people and be after the people." -- This could very well be a suggestion of the author of the document and given to the Soweto committee of ten during the (30) period/...

period when it formulated the blueprint. It became the official document, policy document adopted by the committee of ten and presented before the people and to the leaders of commerce and to some political leaders in South Africa. That was the official document that ultimately constituted what the Soweto Civic Association saw as the structure that should be employed for the administration of Soweto. This one was never officialised.

In 1982 you did not stand for re-election to the executive of the SCA. Is that correct? -- Yes, that is (10) correct.

Who else were not re-elected? -- I think Mr Lekgau Mathabathe was also not re-elected. I may be wrong, but I did not attend that meeting.

You gave evidence to the effect that there was support for the UBC in 1968. You said there was fair support and that the people had high expectations and the percentage vote was only 22%? -- Yes, that is correct. 22 to 28. I am not quite sure what the exact percentage pole was, but be that as it was, it was far above what had ever been recorded (20) in local elections up to that time in Soweto.

Was there anybody campaigning against the UBC at that stage? Any organisations? -- To the best of my knowledge no organisations were specifically campaigning against that but there were criticisms about its powers particularly in view of the comments that Mr Blaar Coetzee had been making in 1976.

And it is also correct in 1983 there were a vast number of organisations campaigning against the elections for the black local authorities? -- Yes, that is quite correct. (30)

When/...

When the people had lost confidence and trust in the institutions, the people campaigned against it. The campaign did not only characterise the public. It was launched right within the council itself.

Do you agree, the campaigning was done under the leadership of the UDF or do you not know? -- I reject that. The campaign started right within the council itself. It started in the press. It started in the community. It started at our own public meetings where we were abused for continuing to participate in a useless body. We had to stand this (10) and suffer these insults.

COURT : What are we now discussing? The 1983 elections or the campaign for the UBC?

MR FICK : The 1983 elections.

COURT : Did you stand in the 1983 elections? -- No, I did not stand.

MR FICK : Something else I did not get clear from you. The Soweto Civic Association, did they mobilise, organise and politicise the people? -- The Soweto Civic Association mobilised the people and educated them in respect of the (20) conditions of living and their rights. It also mobilised them to institute self development projects that could be of the nature of skills development and income generating activities, dependent upon the availability of funds.

Did the Soweto Civic Association also educate the people about the day to day issues? -- Yes, its membership, its leadership particularly within the limitations of financial resources.

Was it accepted by the Soweto Civic Association that the masses are the makers of the history and that they should(30)

be/...

be involved in all activities? -- The perception was not that the masses are the makers of history, but the Soweto Civic Association leadership believed that it was important and fruitful to lead a mass of people who were well informed about the environment in which they live and who could direct the activities of its own leadership and mandate it in a sensible way and to that end the people where nothing was kept away from the people in terms of information dissemination.

I would like to refer you to EXHIBIT C16 in volume 2.(10) Do you know this document? -- I do not recall seeing this document. I do not recall this document being presented at the executive meeting of the civic association.

Did you attend - let me first ask you this. Do you know the Soweto Youth Congress? -- Yes, I have read about it.

Have you attended any of its meetings? -- No, I have not attended any of their meetings.

Did the Soweto Civic Association adopt any policy with regard to the youth, the participation of the youth in the struggle? -- The Soweto Civic Association adopted a policy(20) to align itself with the aims and objects of the organisations that were fighting for the improvement of the local black people.

Does that now include youth organisations? -- That would include youth organisations.

If the Soweto Civic Association worked together with youth organisations? -- The Soweto Civic Association co-operated with youth organisations on such issues as arranging commemoration meetings and also when it protested against the rent increases.

(30)

With/...

With which youth organisations did the Soweto Civic Association work together? -- The Soweto Civic Association adopted an open policy which was aimed at co-operating with any organisation that was willing to co-operate with it on issues that it addressed.

But in actual fact, with which youth organisations did the Soweto Civic Association work together? -- Any of the organisations that existed that were willing to co-operate with it. It did not go out to specific organisations and say we want to work with you. (10)

Which youth organisations did exist in Soweto up to 1982? -- There were a number of student organisations in Soweto at that time.

AZASO? -- Yes, some of which co-operated in the activities of the civic association and others which did not actually come. I cannot recall specifically which and which, but the Soweto Civic Association co-operated because they were willing.

K1148 AZASO and - wait a minute. I am not sure when some of them were formed. During the period of my study there is a sort of a blank period and many of the new organisations were (20) formed at the time. I cannot recall specifically. In general terms the policy was to co-operate with those organisations that were existing, whether they were youth organisations or adult organisations, that were prepared to co-operate with the civic association in its program of action, whatever they were.

Did you attend the AZASO 1984 annual congress? -- I did not attend the AZASO annual congress.

Did you attend any Release Mandela committee meetings in Soweto? -- I did not attend any of the Release Mandela (30) committee/...

committee meetings in Soweto.

You cannot remember whether you attended any commemoration services - June 16th commemoration services after 1982. Is that correct? -- 1982? After I commenced by study it would be very unlikely as almost all my weekends were occupied right through my study period.

The organisation COSAS, do you know COSAS? -- Yes, I know COSAS. I know about it.

Is that in Soweto? -- Yes, I know about its existence in Soweto. (10)

Up to 1982 did the Soweto Civic Association work together with COSAS? -- On those programs where COSAS would be prepared to co-operate, yes, it would have worked with COSAS.

Could you give any examples? -- The arrangement of June 16 commemoration meetings, Sharpeville days and funerals of people who died in police action. It would co-operate with any organisation that would be prepared to co-operate.

Did you attend the burial service of Bongani Khumalo of COSAS in 1984? -- I did not attend that funeral. Wait a minute now. Where did he live? I must get that clear. (20)

I cannot tell you where he lived, but he was the secretary of COSAS? -- I did not attend that funeral. I do not recall attending that funeral. I have attended funerals of youths killed in police action, but I do not recall specifically attending that one.

In the period 1983 to 1984, do you know of any incidents of violence in Soweto itself? Personal knowledge, please, not what you have read.

COURT : Violence in Soweto is a daily happening. What type of violence are you interested in? (30)

MR FICK/...

MR FICK : No, no, by students? -- This really is very difficult to pinpoint the occurrence of violence in Soweto at any specific point. There has been violence happening on a sort of a continuous basis over a long period involving several years. It is impossible to pinpoint a specific - unless it has special significance.

Did you have schoolgoing children? -- I had schoolgoing children up to 198 - I think 1984/85.

Up to 1985? -- I think it is 1985. My daughter finished matric I think in 1985. (10)

Do you know of any school boycotts during 1983 or 84 in Soweto? -- Yes, there have been school boycotts over several years from 1984/85/86.

Do you have any personal knowledge of the cause of the boycotts? Personal knowledge, not what you have read in the newspapers? -- Personal knowledge I do not have. I have knowledge of what I read in the papers.

Do you have any personal knowledge about violence which occurred during the school boycotts? -- Yes, I have personal knowledge of violence that occurred when soldiers attacked (20) students at Tladi Secondary School which is just across the street from my house. I have got direct knowledge, I witnessed the attacking of the children and I know this was common. I have personal knowledge of the arresting of the whole school where my brother's son for whom I am responsible because my brother is late, were loaded on Casspirs and taken to the new jail at Diepkloof and beaten up .. (Mr Fick intervenes)

No, no, what personal knowledge do you have about the students? -- Because my son was beaten up and I saw it. (30)

When/...

When did you see it? -- When he returned. My wife actually was involved amongst a group of women who organised the lawyers to get a court order for the release of the children.

COURT : While counsel is thinking, could I just get the name of that school again, the school across the road from you? -- Tladi Secondary School or High School.

MR FICK : Do you personally know why the soldiers came to the Tladi Secondary School? -- I do not. I do not know specifically why. (10)

Are you sure that it was soldiers and not police? -- I cannot be conclusively sure, because they were in military vehicles, Casspirs and they looked like soldiers. There is very little difference when they are in camouflaged dress between the soldiers and the police.

You say that the students were beaten up. Were they beaten with sjamboks? -- They beat them up with the back of their guns, kicked them, hit them with their fists.

Was it on the school premises or outside? -- Yes, on the school premises. They got into the yard and beat (20) them up because they were standing outside.

What day of the week was it? -- I do not recall what day of the week specifically that was, but I was on a short leave then and I was able to witness it.

Can you tell whether it was over the weekend or ... -- It was during the week.

Was it during a school boycott? -- It was during the time when the school boycott was at its height.

Do you know whether the ... -- But it was at the time when the NECC was pleading with the students to go back to (30) school/...

school and the children had in fact started going back to school. It was at that time when they were beaten.

COURT : What is the NECC? -- The National Education Crisis Committee.

MR FICK : Do you know whether there were any teachers at school on that day? -- There were teachers at the school.

All the teachers or just some? -- I do not know whether they were all there, but on that occasion there were teachers at school.

Do you know whether the buildings of the Tladi Secondary(10) School were damaged on that day? -- I did not see any inflicting of damage on the buildings on that particular day.

And later? -- I have never seen damage caused on that school, but that school has been in a perpetual state of damage. The windows have always been broken. It has stayed like that and I have never seen it in any other shape.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : So, what you are saying is that you did not see any damage being done, but the school was damaged in any way? -- It is now in a state of damage. The window-(20) panes .. (Mr Krugel intervenes)

I am not talking of now, I am talking about when this incident happened that you ... -- Yes, it was already damaged. It was in that state.

MR FICK : Do you have any knowledge of violence erupting in 1983/84 because of rent issues? -- Let me recall. Specifically during that time I am not sure whether violence erupted specifically in those times, but violence associated with the rent boycott has occurred when police have come to evict people. I do not know, I cannot pinpoint the (30)

specific/...

specific period when this occurred, but it has occurred on several occasions in several parts of Soweto.

Do you have any knowledge of violence erupting because of increases in bus fares in Soweto in 1984/83? -- There was a period when - yes, when violence occurred in the sense that buses were stoned during the bus boycott.

When was that? -- I do not recall the exact year, but in Soweto around those periods or later. There was a period when the buses were not allowed to go in.

Thank you, my lord. (10)

RE-EXAMINATION BY MR BIZOS : No questions.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : It is not really a question. Just explain please what do you mean by there was violence during this period when buses were not allowed to go in? What do you mean by that phrase? -- By that phrase I mean that there was stone throwing on occasion and people drove through this sort of stone throwing. Buses were smashed.

The buses were not allowed to go in. Buses coming into Soweto? What do you mean? -- Some went in and their windows were broken. (20)

And got smashed. So, who was it that did not allow the buses to go in? -- It is difficult to pinpoint - to identify the personality. The buses were simply stoned by crowds.

When are we talking about now? You say you cannot say exactly, but more or less, when are we talking about? What period? -- During that whole period there are a lot of factors that come into play here. Buses have always been stoned when violence has erupted as a result of police intervention, at funerals of people who died in police action. Buses were stoned and they drove into Soweto when the fares (30) were/...

were increased and that sort of led into one continuous period of protracted violence. It is difficult to pinpoint a specific period and the specific cause of the violence. It separated between funeral - violence resulting from police intervention at funerals and violence resulting from bus increased, but jointly, taken together, there has been some stoning during those periods.

Even before 1982? -- Yes, this is a long practice. I remember in the fifties when PUTCO buses were boycotted in Alexandra and Soweto. Those which attempted to go in (10) were stoned. Right in the fifties. It was an old, old practice.

COURT : You were asked in chief by Mr Bizos about freedom songs which were sung before the end of 1982. After 1982 you were not very active any more it seems to me. You said that the type of freedom songs were in praise of leaders of the movement. "Senzeni na" and "We shall overcome." So, "We shall follow our leaders", that is the one that is Somlandela, Mandela or Luthuli or whatever it is. -- (Witness speaks simultaneously with court) (20)

You add a name. "Senzeni na" we know. Is "We shall overcome" an English song or is it a Zulu song? -- "We shall overcome" is an English song which is mainly sung in labour circles.

And it is sung in English? -- Yes, it is sung in English.

Apart from these, we have Somlandela, Senzeni na and We shall overcome, what freedom songs were also sung in meetings where you participated and where you helped sing? -- There are a number of others that I cannot recall. If you go to a meeting and you hear a new tune with new words (30), and/...

and you hum the tune. I cannot recall - but they were varied. They were many. I invented continuously particularly when major events occurred, songs composed around that major event. It was an ongoing process.

So, you cannot give us any more names? -- I cannot immediately recall more names, but definitely there are many more than those that I have mentioned.

Or content apart from names? You cannot give us any more names or the content of the songs? -- The names really depend upon the occasion and also on occasion like say we(10) have an invited speaker ... (Court intervenes)

I am not talking of Somlandela or in praise of our leaders, that sort of thing, other songs? -- Other songs for many leaders have been sung.

Another type of song apart from songs in praise of leaders? -- Yes, types of songs that are composed around major events that occurred and you suddenly hear a new song.

What type of events? Can you give us an example? -- Let us say that a youngster dies tragically in a situation where the state was involved and the position of the young-(20)ster was such that in the youth movements he occupied a prominent place. A song could be composed around him. His life, his achievements and the circumstances that led to his death.

Anything else that springs to mind? -- I think when Bishop Tutu received the Nobel prize, I think some song was composed. I may be wrong, but I think some song was composed in acknowledgement of that achievement. I went to a service where several songs were sung. I think some song was composed. I may be wrong, but I think it was. An event like that (30) would/...

would definitely easily lead to the composition of a song
in recognition of that achievement.

Anything else? -- No, I cannot recall.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.