

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

**A**  
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SAAKNOMMER: CC 482/85

PRETORIA

1988-02-24

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

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KONTRAKTEURS:

LUBBE OPNAMES  
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VOLUME 352

(Bladsye 20 085 - 20 159 )

MR TIP: The next witness will be Laurine Platzky.

COURT: Lorraine?

MR TIP: Laurine. L-a-u-r-i-n-e, Platzky, P-l-a-t-z-k-y.

COURT: Yes she will testify on?

MR TIP: She will give evidence concerning her involvement in the UDF including an address which she gave to the NEC of the UDF on the question of removals which is referred to in paragraph 5(3) of the indictment. She will testify also concerning the origins and ambit of calls for the release of (10) political prisoners and the mobilisation against the continuation of force removals which are referred to in paragraphs 50 and 61 of the indictment, together with certain ancillary matters arising therefrom.

COURT ADJOURNS FOR TEA. COURT RESUMES.

LAURINE FALCONER PLATZKY: d.s.s.

EXAMINATION BY MR TIP: Miss Platzky you are present employed on a full time basis as the national co-ordinator of the national committee against removals is that correct? -- I am.

And for how long, since when have you been in that (20) position? -- Since May 1985.

In 1974 you graduated from the University of Cape Town with degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Social Science? -- That is correct.

And in 1976 a masters degree in city and regional planning? -- Yes.

Now I want to trace very briefly your involvement in certain organisations and your employment insofar as they are relevant to the evidence that you will give here. During 1972 to 1973 did you hold any office in NUSAS? -- Yes I was a (30) member/....

member of the national executive. I was the Western Cape regional director of NUSAS.

And in the years 1973 to 1974? -- I was SRC president of the University of Cape Town and therefore I was also a member of the NUSAS national council.

In 1977 what employment did you take up? -- From about May 1977 I worked for the Board of Social Responsibility of the Anglican church. It is the Cape Town diocese of the church of the province.

COURT: Miss Platzky if you want to sit down you are welcome (10) to do so at any stage. -- Thank you.

MR TIP: We will come back to your responsibilities there but to continue your employment history in February 1980 did you change your employment? -- Yes from February 1980 I worked for the Surplus People Project as the national co-ordinator. It was a part time position.

And were you employed as a researcher in the South African labour and development research unit? -- Yes that was at a later stage.

During 1984 did you spend some time overseas? -- Yes (20) from February to about August 1984 I travelled in Europe and South America.

And very very briefly what was the, what was that trip concerned with? -- It was an informal trip that I had organised through friends and research contacts to examine rural areas in South America and to find out how people organised themselves against poverty and problems that were similar to the problems that we have in South Africa. I did the same in Europe but spent more time in libraries and talking to people who had done research in similar areas. (30)

Have/....

Have you written on the subject of removals in South Africa? -- Yes I co-ordinated the, five volumes of the surplus people project and wrote much of volumes on the Transvaal and the Western, Northern and parts of the Eastern Cape as well as the Free State and I also co-authored a book that was published by Raven Press. It was published in mid-1985. It is entitled "The Surplus People".

The five volumes of material dealing with removals, when was that published? -- June 1983.

And have you also addressed a number of conferences (10) and delivered lectures on the subject? -- Many times.

Now I want to turn now to look in greater detail into your involvement in the area of removals. From what year did you first become involved on a firsthand basis with communities in South Africa concerned with that problem? -- In 1977 when I worked for the Board of Social Responsibility.

And for how long has that involvement continued? -- Until the present.

Whilst you were employed by the Board of Social Responsibility what was your work principally concerned with? -- I (20) worked mainly with domestic and migrant workers in the Cape Town diocese and many of those people lived in the informal settlements around Cape Town such as Crossroads and Modderdam and Unibel.

COURT: Sorry, the first was Crossroads, the second one was? -- Crossroads, Modderdam.

Modderdam? -- Ja.

And the other one? -- Unibel.

Uni? -- It is short for the University of Belville, it is U-n-i-b-e-l.

(30)

MR TIP:/.....

MR TIP: Were any of those settlements interfered with by the authorities? -- Yes in September 1987 the first of them was destroyed, razed to the ground and all three, well there were three settlements next to each other, Modderdam, Unibel and a very small place called Werkgenot and by January 1978 they had all been razed to the ground.

I am sorry I think you might have said September 1987.

-- Sorry, September 1977.

Thank you.

COURT: Did it start in September 1977? -- That is correct. (10)

And it ended in? -- January 1978.

1978. -- Yes.

MR TIP: Were you involved at all in a response to the fact that these settlements had been razed? -- Yes I was involved on a almost a twelve hour a day basis in helping the victims of the removal both with relief services, food and clothing and so on and also with legal responses that the community felt that they wanted to try to restore themselves to the area legally and also with publicity, in contacts with journalists and so on, and then after the third camp had been demolished(20) there was a rumour that Crossroads which was the last remaining african, so-called squatter camp, in the Western Cape, that was rumoured to be the next in the series of removals planned and a number of organisations and individuals concerned with that launched a campaign called the Save Crossroads Campaign. That was early in 1978.

What, do you recall the names of some of the organisations that involved themselves in that campaign? -- Yes. There was the Civil Rights League, the Black Sash, the Womens Movement for Peace ... (30)

COURT:/.....

COURT: Take it slowly please. -- Sorry.

Civil Rights League, Black Sash? -- Black Sash, Womens Movement for Peace, the Catholic Commission for, I think it is called Justice and Peace, the Western Province Council of Churches and an organisation that was centrally involved called the Cape Flats Committee for Interim Accommodation.

MR TIP: Could you give his lordship please just a brief indication of the nature of the campaign that was run, what were the activities that were undertaken? -- It was a local, national and an international campaign involving petitions, (10) car stickers, posters, pamphlets, public meetings, we had public meetings in the Cape Town City Hall. We made a slide/tape show on Crossroads showing the life, the daily life of the people in Crossroads, how they built their own schools, their own clinic, how they employed themselves and carried on their daily life. We took visitors to the area, including members of parliament and visiting church leaders and business people, everybody we could think of we tried to expose them to the realities of the day to day struggle of the people in Crossroads. (20)

What was the success or otherwise of the campaign? -- Well I suppose the great success was that Crossroads was not moved. The plan was that Crossroads would be razed to the ground as the other settlements were and by November 1978 the new minister of, I think it was called plural relations at that time, went to Crossroads himself and met the elected committee of the people of Crossroads and thereafter there was about three or four months of negotiations that took place between the officials, including the minister and the Crossroads committee. (30)

And/....

And when did those negotiations finally crystallise? -- I think it was the beginning of April 1979 when minister Koornhof announced that Crossroads would remain. There were certain categories of people who would still have to move but the vast majority of people felt that they would be allowed to stay in the area.

Now at about that time was there any publicity concerning any other area similarly threatened? -- Well this was what, this was of great concern to us because with the Crossroads campaign and the international publicity and the very real (10) general knowledge by the public, both black and white, on Crossroads it had resulted in this negotiated reprieve but the week, in that same week, there was a very small report, one or two sentences, in the Cape Times saying that more than 20 000 people were to be moved in the Tugela basin in Natal and it struck a number of us who were involved in this campaign that where people were in remote areas, where they did not have access to the press and to lawyers and to visiting dignitaries that in fact the removals policy of the government continued unabated and almost unreported. (20)

What was the response by yourself and others? -- Well after some months, I think we were all very tired after that campaign and felt that we could not actually save every community in the country that was threatened with removal but after some months when we began to hear that the Black Sash had been campaigning on a national basis, in fact one of the vice-presidents Joyce Harris had gone on a national tour to speak about removals in the more remote areas and the South African Institute of Race Relations was planning at that stage to publish and later did publish a book on forced re-location (30)

in/....

in South Africa that there were initiatives and concern shown by other people in the country and towards the end of the year those of us who were concerned in Cape Town travelled around the country a bit and by February 1980 we called together a workshop of, I cannot remember, twenty or thirty people and launched the Surplus People Project which was to be a national research project on removals throughout the country.

And you have indicated to his lordship already that you were appointed as the national co-ordinator on a part time basis of that project? -- That is correct. (10)

For how long did the project continue its efforts? -- Well it continued on a, although I was employed part time it was a full time position. It continued for about three and a half to four years. After the volumes were published in mid-1983 two of us who had been in the project were mandated by the group to write this more accessible single volume, this summary and analysis of the removals issue and so, I would not say that the project itself continued you know in much depth but two of us worked very hard until that book was complete.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): Yourself and two others or only two? (20)

--- No just someone called Cheryl Walker and myself.

MR TIP: In how many provinces of the republic was research undertaken by the surplus people project? -- In all four.

Did your responsibilities involve merely writing up material or were you actively involved in research in the field? -- No I was actively involved. In fact we only had small groups in Cape Town, Grahamstown, Pietermaritzburg and Johannesburg and those groups comprised voluntary people so even if they could go out over weekends and see what was happening in the surrounding areas they very often could (30)

not/...



not go far and they certainly could not cover the Free State and the Northern Cape and the Northern Transvaal and areas like that. So that became my responsibility to visit, I travelled from Kuruman to Louis Trichardt to Cosey(?) Bay, all over the country.

Did your group, the surplus people project, come to any conclusions concerning its effectiveness in trying to stem the process of removals? -- Well I think yes to some extent. In 1984 while I was overseas the minister of, he was then co-operation and development, called a two hour press conference in Cape Town and questioned some of our findings but the result of the press conference is very interesting because he said that the government had stopped its forced removals policy and although we continued to monitor and find areas in which removals were definitely taking place they, in some cases the conditions under which people were removed were slightly better and certainly they put a lot of effort in trying to get people to move themselves voluntarily. So I would say that with all that pressure and publicity and very hard work we did achieve something. (10) (20)

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): When was this? -- That press conference was during early 1984. I was outside the country at the time but I heard about it and read the press releases. And in fact, if I could just add, that when President Botha was in Switzerland in I think it was June 1984, June and July, in Berne he told the Swiss government that forced removals had stopped in South Africa and I think we regarded that as an important change in policy.

MR TIP: To what extent were you personally involved with the members of the communities in to which you researched? (30)

-- Well/....

-- Well it varied. In some places we merely visited an area and spoke to a few people, sometimes just a priest or a teacher who spoke the language because often we could not speak the local languages but in some areas we became quite involved with the communities. They said you cannot simply come here and take down the details of what is happening and disappear, you have got to help us.

Did you attempt to provide help? -- Yes our resources were extremely limited. What we tried to do was put them in touch with the local priest or the local council of churches or, (10) if it was a question of research then the nearest university, we would try and get locally interest people and sometimes it was a question of whether there was legal advice that they could get and we would try and get a lawyer to visit the community with us the next time.

And to what extent did publicity play a role in the work of the project? -- I think it was very important because after these statements had been made by the politicians the people who were in the communities affected by removals then felt they had some kind of choice. They could say look, you (20) know Minister Koornhof said this and we do not want to move so what are our rights in this situation. So from their point of view I think it was very important and I think from the point of view of the general public in South Africa it is quite difficult to know what is happening, particularly in a remote rural area and you know we tried to bring to the attention of the press what was happening.

Yes. Now without giving the content of reports that you received did you receive reports from members of various communities about how officials were approaching the question(30)

of/....

of removals?

COURT: You mean government officials?

MR TIP: Government officials my lord, yes. -- Yes when we would visit an area we would say to people you know we have seen in say the consolidation plan for Kwa-Zulu or whatever it was that this area is threatened with removal, have you seen any signs of the removal and people would say yes we have, in some cases, we have had officials visit us, they have numbered our houses, they have told us that we must move but we do not want to move so in other places we have heard that they embark on a sort (10) of series of pressures and I myself have heard of communities that have for example had the water supply cut off for periods of time, a bus service between their place of work and their homes changed so that the bus now only runs between the new place to which the government officials want them to move and the place of work. In other cases the school has been closed down and the new school opened in the new area so that if parents want to send their children to school they are more or less forced to move to the new area. These are examples.

Did you take up the matters raised through these (20) reports with the various communities? -- Well yes what we did was try to inform communities on the way removals take place because sometimes there would be enormous divisions in a community. Some people would say we are not moving under any circumstances and other people would say well the government has said we will not be forced to move so they will not force us to move and other people would say well we cannot be so sure because we do not really know how they will move us and we always worked on requests. We never went to a community that was quite happy with its removal or quite happy with (30) its/....

its resistance to the removal. We only passed on information where we were asked to do so and we would tell people what had happened in other areas or what had happened in other parts of the country and also what strategies those communities had taken up to fight the removals. In some cases for example the authorities would demolish someone's house and then not allow them to rebuild in an area and sometimes there were successful court cases and we could tell other communities that if they do that and, you know you do not, you want to rebuild your house you have a legal right to do so. The (10) court found that. Now people in those areas do not read newspapers let alone reports of cases so that was important information that we could hand on.

Who would make decisions about the community's attitude to a removal? -- The community itself.

I want to turn with you now to the formation of the organisation with which you are presently employed, the National Committee against Removals. Could you tell his lordship please when and how that organisation or that committee became formed? -- Well once the surplus people project volumes and book had (20) been published the image of that organisation was very much a research one and we had now done what we could to expose and to publicise what had happened but those, some of those small groups that I mentioned earlier, for example in Grahamstown and Cape Town were groups of concerned people who wanted to continue to work with the communities that they had made contacts with and there were also other groups that had been working a long time in the same removals area like the Black Sash and arising out of the Black Sash advice office in Johannesburg the Black Sash took a decision to start an organisation (30)

to/....

to help with the removals problems in the Transvaal and so on. So there were by the end of 1984 four quite separate regionally based organisations working with communities threatened with removal. They were doing more than just publicity work and research work. They were doing, you know as I mentioned earlier things like helping with lawyers and in some cases relief and so on and they felt a need to undertake certain common research. For example reading the Government Gazette and reading Hansard debates in parliament and monitoring newspaper clippings and so on. Because those groups were regionally based they felt (10) that they would all four have to repeat exactly that same background research or you know have to duplicate or quadruplicate their work. So they came together at a meeting in December 1984 and formed the NCAR and by May 1985 they asked me to work full time for it, this organisation, because they could not just work as a committee on a voluntary basis in four different parts of the country.

Incidentally you have mentioned the Black Sash on a couple of occasions. Were you yourself a member of the Black Sash? -- Yes since I became, well since I left school, I (20) turned 18, I joined the Black Sash.

COURT: I thought they were all elderly ladies? -- No your lordship.

MR TIP: Between the formation of the NCAR in December 1984 and your taking up the full time office in May 1985 were you involved with the committee? -- Yes I was working as a research assistant at SALDRU at the time, at the University of Cape Town and I continued to monitor these gazettes and publications on a part time, well not a part, on a voluntary basis. I was employed by the university. (30)

Well/....

Well just for the record SALDRU is an acronym, S-A-L-D-R-U which is the ... -- South African Labour Development Research Unit.

His lordship has heard that by December 1984 the United Democratic Front had been formed. Did the NCAR become an affiliate of it? -- No.

Did any of the groups which came together to form the NCAR become affiliates of the UDF? -- No.

You have testified earlier about the manner in which the Save Crossroads Campaign unfolded and how a negotiation (10) process resulted between the community leaders and the minister and officials of his department. -- Yes.

Are you able to say from your own observation in different areas around the country whether or not anything similar to that pattern has been observed? -- Yes certainly. From time to time communities organised themselves with committees and approached the local officials. Sometimes it went up to ministerial level as well and examples of those communities are St. Wendolines(?) outside Durban and ...

COURT: What places? -- St. Wendolines. The Makgato, (20) M-a-k-g-a-t-o, community north of Pietersburg, it is about 50 kilometres north of Pietersburg, they were threatened with complete removal and they won themselves a reprieve by speaking to the officials from local to national level. They went to Cape Town, they saw people in parliament and so on. Ja there are certainly quite a few others.

MR TIP: And just for the sake of precision the period of the indictment with which we are concerned runs up to April 1985. Did these instances take place before that date or after?

-- Both.

(30)

I/....

I would like now to ask you about the involvement of the UDF in removals, again on the basis of your own observations and ask you first of all when you first became aware that the UDF had a concern with removals? -- I attended the rally at Mitchells Plain in 1983 and ...

COURT: That is the launch? -- The launch. I was not a delegate to the conference. I attended the rally only. And I heard it mentioned in a number of the speeches that, well the speakers were concerned with forced removals and the victims of forced removals and I think there was also a resolution (10) taken on the subject.

MR TIP: And what did you feel about what was said about removals and the fact that a resolution was taken on the subject? -- I was extremely pleased. I thought well here is another organisation, another large grouping of organisations that were going to concern themselves with removals.

To what extent, I am going, we will detail this subsequently but I would like you to tell his lordship immediately to what extent from August 1983 to April 1985 did it become apparent to you that the UDF was involved practically in (20) the field of removals? -- Well from time to time I heard it referred to in speeches and mentioned in the newspaper and so on but I do not think that you could, I could say that the UDF from my experience was consistently involved in removals on an ongoing way. Sometimes a local committee would be contacted and they would provide a speaker for a meeting or something like that but I do not think that you could say it was consistent.

Could you comment on an allegation in this case to the effect that the UDF ran a campaign on the subject of forced (30) removals?/....

removals? -- Well in my experience that is not the case.

Did you yourself ever receive an invitation from the UDF concerning removals? -- Yes I received an invitation to address the National Executive Committee in late 1983.

Do you recall where that NEC met? -- Yes it was in Lenasia, Johannesburg.

And what was the content of the invitation to you, what were you asked to do? -- Well I was told I would be given about an hour and I should give a short history of removals and a sketch of what was happening in different parts of the (10) country as far as removals were concerned, how the authorities got people to move and what the response or the resistance of the communities was.

What was your response to receipt of this invitation? -- Well I was very pleased. I thought that the UDF would take up the issue, if I had been invited to the top governing body of the organisation then they must be taking it seriously.

And you in fact travelled to Lenasia and gave an address to the NEC? -- I travelled by car through the night from Cape Town. (20)

For how long did you in fact address the NEC? -- Fifteen minutes I think at the most. They told me that they were running late, that their programme, their agenda, was very full and unfortunately I would only have a short time and could I please summarise what I had planned to say.

My lord this is the portion paragraph 5(3) of the indictment.

COURT: Thank you.

MR TIP: Now are you able to recollect in essence what you were able to convey in those fifteen minutes? -- Well I (30) gave/....



gave an extremely brief history mentioning a few of the basic acts of parliament like the 1913 Land Act, the Group Areas Act, the National States Constitution Act and how the homelands had come to be formed and that there had been a lot of resistance to people being moved off land and out of group areas and so on and then I gave a short report on the different categories of removals, such as farm workers, group area removals, people moved for consolidation of the homelands, squatter removals, different categories. And I mentioned places that were examples at the time, the Makhopa removal (10) in the Western Transvaal was heavily threatened at that time, the building of Khayelitsha in the Western Cape and so on. So I gave current examples of these different categories of removals and I think I mentioned you know that often these communities would like assistance from outside, they would like moral support, at the very least they would like to have their plight publicised and you know would welcome the UDF's interest in this and would welcome their presence at meetings or when they were being bulldozed and things like that. But there was not much time to discuss what could be done really. (20)

Did you deal at all with how people should become involved? -- Well I think I probably issued more words of warning than anything else because in my experience you cannot just go into a rural community and sort of say to people what is the problem and here is the solution. So I cautioned involvement, saying that you have to respect the local people's customs and their traditions and rural politics is a lot more complicated in my experience than even township politics where you cannot simply say that because a man is employed in some official capacity that therefore he is you know not on the (30) people's/....

people's side and, or that because somebody is not employed in that kind of capacity that they should not be trusted. It is very complicated and I was trying to get across a feeling that if the UDF is going to become involved they must please be very careful as to how they approach these communities and to respect the hard won small victories that could not perhaps be compared with the scale of Soweto rent issues or anything like that. So it is a question of local people's response must be respected.

My lord I would of course like to refer the witness to (10) the minutes of that meeting, EXHIBIT E.1, to identify, those are the minutes of the UDF NEC meeting held on 5 and 6 November 1983 at the Jiswa Centre in Lenasia in Johannesburg. Could I ask you to turn please to paragraph 5.1.4.3 which is on the third page of the minute where there is a sub-heading "Removals and Relocations". It begins by saying:

"A representative of the Surplus Peoples Project addressed the NEC on removals and relocations" and that you have testified is in fact a reference to yourself? -- Yes. (20)

Now could I ask you please very quickly to look at the points noted in these minutes, paragraph (a) reads:

"Bantustans benefit from removals in terms of increase in population."

Is that a fair minute or portion of your address? -- Well I think it is a reference to, I mean it is the kind of summary.

I would have said, added something like the tax basis increased or you know that, it seems just a bit removed but I am sure it is basically what I said.

Then paragraph (b) reads: (30)

"Resistance/....

"Resistance to removals is increasing in areas where there are communities as opposed to isolated families on farmlands."

Could you indicate to his lordship please what you said that gave rise to that particular minute? -- I think it refers to the fact that where people are grouped together and in some cases these communities are quite large and they have owned land for generations, they live on freehold properties that were bought at the turn of the century, others live on tribally owned land, in other words communally, and they (10) have been in those areas for well hundreds of years, they have not, their land perhaps has never been taken over or bought out by anybody else and they have much more basis for resisting their removal. They feel very much tied to the land and they feel their ancestors are buried there and so on and I think I am juxtaposing it here with families on farms. In other words farm workers some of whom may have been on those farms for generations as well but others move from farm to farm and are frequently evicted or the farm is bought out by a new owner and he or she brings the labour from the last(20) farm and tells the people who are existing there to go and they have much less, I would not like to call it right but much less basis for arguing their right to stay on the land and I think that is what I am referring to.

Yes. Before we go on to the next paragraph in the minute I want to refer you to the manner in which this paragraph is reflected in the indictment and to ask for your comment on that. It is at page 28 my lord of the indictment and it reads as follows:

"(b) Resistance to removals is growing in areas where (30) communities/....

communities exist, other than in cases of isolated families on farms and therefore there is more potential for organisation, mobilisation and politicisation by UDF in such areas."

Now did you in your address say anything about a consequence of what you have just told his lordship, that there would be then more potential for organising, mobilising and politicising by the UDF in such areas? -- No it did not come into the question at all.

To save repetition in paragraph (c) and (d) of the (10) indictment similar reference is made to organising, mobilising and politicising by the UDF. Did that question come into your address at any stage on that occasion? -- No but I think I would like to refer to the potential for organisation. Again compared with settled communities who have lived on land for generations squatter communities, areas like Crossroads or those kind of informal settlements, are relatively recent and when I talk about potential for organisation I am referring to the fact that they are not necessarily organised already. It has got nothing to do with whether the UDF should think (20) about organising them. It is referring to an existing situation.

And in fact in paragraph (c) of the minute, over the page, there is a reference:

"Squatter settlements have a potential for organisation." And is it in that context that you are, that the remarks that you have just made would apply? -- As well as for unemployed people, the same thing. It has got nothing to do with whether the UDF should or should not go in there. I never mentioned anything like that. (30)

Perhaps/....

Perhaps you should explain paragraph (d) in the minutes.  
It begins:

"Unemployed rural people have nothing to lose therefore there exists potential for organisation."

What did you convey on that occasion in relation to this?

-- Well unemployed people have far more time on their hands for one thing. They have nothing in the sense of losing their jobs but in my experience unemployment is extremely high in these areas and there are long queues of work seekers outside offices recruiting people for the mines or workers (10) for farms and so on and very often the individual feels that he or she is more committed to getting a job and the family and so on than looking at the broader issues such as whether they are going to lose their homes as a result of the removal. So if somebody has a job then they are much more likely to try to maintain that than get involved with organisations against removals. That is the context.

Thank you. Could we go on to the next paragraph in the minutes, 5.1.4.4 headed "Involvement of Outsiders in Removals of the Communities". It reads: (20)

"Examining the involvement of outsiders the following were observed."

And then the first item reads as follows:

"That it was easy for outsider to undermine the people."

I would like you please to explain to his lordship the remarks by you in this connection? -- Well that refers to what I was saying earlier, that people have their own understanding of what the threat of removal means to them as a community, as individuals, and I was cautioning the UDF on going in and undermining people's confidence in their own (30) ability,/....

ability, their self, their what do you call it, their understanding of their own position and their self reliance because in fact when the UDF might come in to have a meeting and there might be a lot of support expressed for people they might go home to the cities or to the small towns and those people are left by themselves. So I was saying that you know undermining the confidence of the people in the sense of unless one can really offer them concrete material help in a situation one must be very careful about making promises.

Now once again I want to refer you to the manner in (10)  
which this is reflected in the indictment against the accused.  
It appears as follows:

"It was easy for outsiders to manipulate these people."

Now ...

COURT: Is that the same page?

MR TIP: It is on the same page my lord.

COURT: 28?

MR TIP: Yes my lord. I am obviously giving a translation.  
Perhaps I should read the Afrikaans onto the record.

COURT: It is not necessary. (20)

MR TIP: As your lordship pleases. Now could you comment on that allegation? -- It is not true. It is quite the contrary.

What is your attitude to manipulation of communities of the sort that you were involved with? -- As I say I think it is very important if you are, I am talking specifically about removals because that is where my experience is. It is very important to start where the people are, that there is absolutely no possibility of coming in and saying to a community "You don't want to move do you" and organising resistance to removal. It is not possible. And I do not think it is (30)

advisable/....

advisable or desirable either. People who feel strongly about their position and who look to outsiders look only for support. Very often they do not know what kind of support they can expect. They are after all very often illiterate people who have had very limited rural experience, they have not even perhaps been to the cities for jobs and I would say that offering support has to be dependent on what that community can expect. For example pouring money into a community is perhaps one of the best ways of undermining it by taking away people's self reliance and taking away their self respect. (10)  
So, ja.

Thank you, if we could turn to the next paragraph in the minutes which reads as follows:

"Progressive groups had to attend meetings when invited by communities threatened with removals and participate in debates to provide clarity."

Would you similarly comment please on what you said in relation to this record? -- Well I think there are two things. One is that if groups are invited by communities to attend their meetings they must go. They must not ignore the pleas of (20) those people and they must not be late because that shows arrogance and not basic support and the question of providing clarity to me, or what I was saying in this instance was very often a community or members of a community will stand up and say we are suffering, we are hungry, we are this, we are that and they do not really, they have not got the experience or the education to make any connection between something like being poorly housed and a housing policy. So that what I was saying is that it is up to people from the progressive groups to help explain these things and provide clarity in that (30) sense./....

sense.

COURT: What is a progressive group? -- I would call a progressive group a group involved in working towards the better material and well being of the community, whether it is on a local level or a national level.

MR TIP: Again the way that this is reflected in the indictment, this is at page 29 my lord against paragraph B, it appears as follows:

"Activists must attend meetings at the invitation of such communities and must take part in debates and (10) manipulate them."

Did you say anything of that sort? -- Definitely not.

Could we turn to the next item in the minutes, the word is politicise my lord. In context it appears to be an error and should evidently be "politics":

"Politics in the rural areas were very complex.

Reactionary groups-organisations were often viewed as progressive."

Now you have already given his lordship some indication of the questions that arise in this relation. Is there anything (20) that you would want to add?

COURT: What is a reactionary group then which is viewed as being progressive? -- I would say the group that is, that in some cases claims to be working for the material and spiritual well being of the people who in fact are perhaps subject to bribery and corruption or who are not really, do not really have their interests at heart and do not follow through with, well with their word perhaps of support, with actions of support and genuine support. And I am referring here to what I said before, politics in the rural areas being complex. (30)

That/....



That you cannot simply walk into a meeting and decide who is who.

MR TIP: Thank you my lord. I need to draw your attention once again to the indictment, paragraph C, still on page 29, which reflects this portion as follows:

"When activists are politically indoctrinating the people in the rural areas they must bear in mind that those people often regard reactionary groups or organisations as progressive."

Now did you in the course of your address to the NEC on (10) this occasion in any sense suggest that people should politically indoctrinate persons in the rural areas? -- No I would say quite the opposite.

Then returning now to the minute the next item:

"That there were local committees formed by the people to resist removals."

Did, does that fairly minute what you said in that regard? -- Yes in many areas threatened with removals the local people form committees and resist the removals that way.

To conclude this portion of your evidence the minute (20) then goes on to say:

"It was reported that a workshop on removals and re-location was being planned by the SP for December 1983."

Did you make such an announcement? -- Yes.

And did the planned workshop in fact take place? -- Yes.

Did the UDF send a delegation to that workshop? -- No.

And if asked you would be able to detail the various organisations that were present? -- Yes.

Thank you my lord, I have finished with that exhibit. (30)

Now/....

Now subsequent to the occasion in November, we now know 5 and 6 November 1982 on which you addressed the NEC of the UDF did it become apparent to you from your observations in the field that the UDF was playing a role in connection with removals? -- Well a very limited role. From time to time I had requests for information about what was happening in various areas but it was very limited.

Did you yourself on occasion visit the offices of the UDF in Johannesburg? -- Yes I think once or twice when I was in Johannesburg I went to the offices in Khotso House and met, (10) I think it was Mr Lekota and Mr Molefe and told them. But it was more or less like a discussion in the passage. We did not ever sit down and systematically go through what was happening in the removals area. They had also asked for copies of our publications and when we brought out the odd newsletter I would either, if I was in Johannesburg, take it there or just send it but not more than that.

Just for the sake of record Mr Lekota and Mr Molefe that you refer to are they accused no. 20 and 19 respectively in this trial? -- Yes. (20)

I want to turn briefly to the question of publications. Did the surplus people project produce any publications other than the five volumes of material and the book which you have already mentioned to his lordship? -- We produced odd newsletters and information sheets on a very sporadic basis and then things like conference papers but I do not suppose that would be a publication.

And once the UDF had been formed did you, do you know whether these were, these newsletters were sent to the UDF? -- Yes they were. (30)

And/....

And looking at the other side do you yourself know whether UDF publications were sent to the surplus people project for distribution? -- Not that I recall, no.

Have you personally ever distributed UDF material in any rural area? -- No.

You have told his lordship that you were away from the country from February to the middle of August 1984. Could we turn now to the period after that, after August 1984. When you returned to the country did you become aware of a UDF committee concerned with removals in the Cape Town area? (10)  
-- Yes there was a committee called the Anti-Forced Removals Committee that met pretty regularly, almost weekly, in Cape Town.

Did you become a member of it? -- Yes I was asked to join.

Now what, can you recall which bodies were represented on this committee? -- They were mostly UDF affiliates like the Womens Movement for Peace, the Ecumenical Action Movement, TEAM, MIRGE ...

COURT: Just a minute. -- Sorry.

MR TIP: Just for record my lord TEAM is an acronym, (20)  
T-E-A-M, for the Ecumenical Action Movement. And MIRGE is?  
-- I think it stands for the Mowbray Inter-Race Group Experience.

Now what were the ...

COURT: And what is its acronym?

MR TIP: M-I-R-G my lord. -- G-E.

G-E, I beg your pardon.

COURT: M-I-R? -- G-E. And also the Western Cape Civic Association, United Womens Organisation, Women's Front. A number of township groups.

MR TIP: For how long were you a member of this committee? (30)

-- About/....

-- About five or six months.

And could you indicate to the court please what the activities were of the committee during that period? -- We met to hear reports of what was happening. It was at a time when all the african townships were threatened with removal to Khayelitsha, all the townships of Cape Town, Langa and Nyanga, Gugulethu and the informal settlement of Crossroads, and we would hear reports from the township members of the committee and sometimes others who came with a specific problem. We publicised some of that material through press(10) releases and pamphlets and we had meetings. We also organised a conference because we believed that the committee was working slightly in isolation and that the other affiliates should know what was happening on the removal scene in the Western Cape. I think that was the main activity.

You mentioned meetings, were those committee meetings or public meetings? -- Both. We did not ever have large meetings but they were public, but nothing like we had in the Save Crossroads campaign.

Were they meetings in Cape Town or in Crossroads? -- (20) Particularly in Crossroads and on the Cape Flats.

Could the witness please have EXHIBIT X.1 my lord.

COURT: What is the admission on X.1?

MR TIP: I will establish that in a moment. The witness will in any case be able to identify the document on my instructions. Do you have X.1 Miss Platzky? -- Yes.

That is for record a document entitled "United Democratic Front Conference Against Forced Removals" and on the second page it is headed "Agenda". It is admitted as having been found in the SAAWU offices in Cape Town. Do you recognise (30) this/....

this document? -- Yes.

As being what? -- It was the programme for the conference that I referred to. It went out to the affiliates in advance of the conference.

And did you personally play any role in the preparation of the agenda? -- Yes, together with another member of the committee I drew it up.

When one looks at the agenda it appears that a series of questions are posed under the various headings? -- Yes.

What was the motivation for drawing it up in that form?(10)  
-- Well we did not want to make it a dry conference where we had people just coming along and telling us what was going on. We thought it would be better to try to get the affiliates to prepare their own presentations. It would basically make them do some homework and then come and have more of a discussion and more people would participate, more people would have had to find out what was going on and in some areas for example so-called coloured people do not know that much about influx control and pass laws and so-called african people do not know that much about group areas and the problems in areas such (20) as Mitchells Plain. So we were trying to cover those gaps and get people to come prepared to have real discussions.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): Madam just before you go on, I am sorry Mr Tip, can you please make plain, did you only draw up a portion of this document? Or did you draw up the whole document? -- As I recall we sat, the two of us, and I mean I probably spent most of the time talking about the removals part because the programme, because I had run many workshops like this before.

Yes, no I appreciate that but this document, the document(30  
as/....

as such consists of shall we call it a front piece and an agenda. -- Yes.

Did you draw the whole document? -- Well the two of us together, yes.

And then there is also two pages after the page entitled "Agenda". -- I think that is the same.

This is merely the same, yes thank you. It is merely a reprint.

MR TIP: That appears to be so my lord. We are really assuming that the first two pages constitute the entire document. (10)

COURT: Is that correct? -- Yes it was just a back to back sheet.

The document you had a hand in is merely, merely is these two pages? -- The document that I helped to put together was a back to back A4 sheet, ja.

Oh I see.

MR TIP: You have detailed for his lordship the expectations that you had about people preparing. Were those expectations fulfilled? In other words was the conference successful? -- No I would not call it successful. Most people had not had (20) time, they said, to look at the questions and they came late many of them and it was, it was not really well attended. We were expecting about 100 people and I think perhaps half that number were there all the time. People came and went. My feeling was that they did not take it seriously enough.

Now on the basis of your attendance at meetings of the Anti-Removals Committee, of your participation in its activities, are you able to say whether this committee was operating at a local level or whether it was operating as part of a broader campaign of the UDF? -- Well from my experience it (30) was/....

was certainly only at a local level. I think I would have wished it to be part of a national campaign but it never was.

Were you also, in relation to your involvement in the UDF is it correct also that you joined what was called the Gardens Area Committee of the UDF in Cape Town? -- Yes.

When did you join? -- I do not remember exactly but it was when I came back from overseas so it must have been the end of 1984.

What sort of structure was this, was it formal or in- (10)  
formal? -- It was an informal structure. It was part of a, what was called a sub-regional group of concerned and interested people in the Gardens area joined this committee. I mean they did not all come to committee meetings. There were about 100 members on our books and we did not have formalised committee structures of secretaries and all that, if that is what you mean by formal.

What sort of activities did that committee undertake? -- It was mainly education in our area, including the city centre of Cape Town because the Gardens area is just on (20)  
the slopes of Table Mountain above the city. We organised a series, many series of public meetings in the city at lunch time, sometimes in the evening, on issues of concern. We organised petitions, we handed out pamphlets, we put up posters and we raised money for the UDF, Western Cape region. We had cultural evenings and film shows and dances and so on to raise money.

Did you personally attend any meetings of the General Council of the Western Cape UDF? -- Only one.

And what, do you recall what the subject of that (30)  
meeting/....

meeting was? -- Yes it was a special meeting called to discuss the visit of Senator Kennedy to Cape Town.

Perhaps you should indicate to his lordship very briefly why you attended that meeting and what the result of it was? -- Well the sub-region was invited to send delegates to this meeting to try to gauge the attitude of the whole of the Western Cape region and I expressed an interest in the Gardens Area Committee as being concerned with the visit and with the debates and discussions and it was clear to me at that meeting that there was heated debate about the issue, that it was (10) reported that in other parts of the country Senator Kennedy's visit was being hosted by the UDF and the feeling at that meeting eventually, after many hours of debate, was that the Western Cape region felt too divided on the issue and that other arrangements to host his visit to the Western Cape should be made.

Do you know whether or not that accorded with the approach of the UDF head office on the subject? -- I think they rather expected us to host him. In fact I think that was the case but a decision was taken locally not to do that. (20)

Now although you personally only attended on General Council meeting did you on occasion at meetings of your area committee receive any report backs of the sorts of things that were discussed at the council?-- Yes there were in fact almost seemingly endless reports of what had happened and what, and items on our agenda for mandates from the local committee to be taken to the regional, to be taken to the sub-regional to be taken to the regional to be taken to the general council and so we often discussed and rediscussed issues for many hours. (30)

Now/....



Now I want to ask you this, throughout your involvement in the UDF in whatever committee it was has there ever been anything approaching a suggestion that there was a conspiracy involving the UDF and/or its affiliates? -- No there was never any suggestion.

Was there ever any suggestion that the true object of the UDF was to secure the overthrow of the state through violence? -- No, again quite the contrary. It was emphasised that the UDF was a peaceful organisation and would use peaceful means to bring about change. (10)

Was there ever any discussion about furthering the objects of the ANC or of the SACP? -- No the ANC and the SACP were never mentioned.

Now to round off the joint subjects of the removals and the UDF could I ask you to please look at EXHIBIT A.1. My lord it is the resolution on forced removals and group areas which is, it is on page 32. You have mentioned to his lordship that you were present, not as a delegate, but at the rally of the UDF and that you were aware of a resolution having been taken on this subject, is that correct? -- Yes. (20)

Have you, before giving evidence here, had the opportunity to read this resolution again? -- Yes I have seen it.

And would you, could you comment at all on it on the basis of your experience in this field? -- Well it is essentially the same in wording and in spirit to what numerous other organisations have called in my experience since 1977, but even before that when there was a Catholic priest by the name of Cosmos Desmond who travelled around the country in 1969, exposing removals and wrote a book on the subject and I really do not see that it is much different from that. (30)

In/.....

In your experience, from your observations made in the field, in the communities affected by the policy of removals, can you indicate to his lordship the, what the strength of feeling is of the people in relation to this policy?

COURT: Which people?

MR TIP: The people in the community, in the affected community? -- People who have been moved are extremely angry and upset about that. I have often been surprised at how welcoming they are towards white people, towards people who help them in these situations and it is something that goes very deep (10) when your home is taken away from you and I have never experienced that but I have worked with many people who have had not only their homes but their whole communities torn asunder and I think it, ja it is something that goes very deep and it is one of the most frequently raised issues amongst black people in South Africa.

I want to ask you again generally, and covering the entire span of time that you have been involved in communities in the question of removals and group areas from 1977 to the present have you at any time at any place encountered any suggestion (20) that there is amongst those working in the area a conspiracy to achieve any unlawful object? -- No. The work on forced removals is purely out of the concern for those people and for the victims of the removals who are suffering in remote and rural areas in general.

I want to turn now to the concluding aspect to be canvassed with this witness and that is the question of political prisoners and calls for their release. Could I begin by asking you please to look again at EXHIBIT A.1, at the resolution which appears from page 30 entitled "Detentions, Political (30)

Prisoners/....

Prisoners and Exiles". You will see that it runs over onto page 31. Before giving evidence again in this trial did you have an opportunity to read that resolution? -- Yes.

Now can you tell his lordship please whether the terms of that resolution are new in the sense that they have not been enunciated before? -- No they are not new. They are very similar in wording to the campaign that we as students ran in 1974 for the release of all political prisoners.

When did you personally first come across calls of this nature? -- I think about 1971 at the time of the 10th (10) anniversary of the Republic when there were calls for clemency for political prisoners from people such as Helen Suzman and other archbishops and church leaders and so on.

When you say there were calls were those calls made at private meetings or did you come across them being broadcast more widely? -- No they were public. I think at the University of Cape Town we had meetings around the 10th anniversary of the republic and people spoke on public platforms, it was reported in the student and in the commercial press.

And you have told his lordship that as a student leader (20) the campaign was run in the course of 1974? -- That is correct.

In terms similar to the resolution which appears in EXHIBIT A.1? -- Yes.

If you are asked will you be able to detail the meetings, the various fora, the various people who were involved in giving rise to that decision? -- I think so, yes. Sorry is that the decision for the 1974 campaign?

The 1974 campaign yes. -- Yes.

Did you personally play a role in motivating that, the adoption of that campaign? -- Yes I proposed the notion (30) that/....

that was adopted at the NUSAS national council meeting in, I think it was about September 1973, that we hold a campaign the next year looking at opposition in South Africa because there was a rumour of a general election and that we look specifically at the issue of political prisoners and call for their release.

When you motivated the adoption of this campaign was there in any sense a, were you in any sense carrying out the objects of the ANC or the SACP or any other unlawful conspiracy? --

No.

(10)

COURT: Knowingly?

MR TIP: Knowingly yes my lord. -- Knowingly no, but I had never heard them call for such things. I had not read any of their literature or seen any of their material, so I would say it would be unknowingly as well.

What, was the campaign of, yes I will be another five minutes perhaps with the witness.

COURT: Yes it might be a convenient time for the court to adjourn.

COURT ADJOURNS UNTIL 14h00.

(20)

C.1174 COURT RESUMES AT 14h00.

LAURINE FALCONER PLATZKY: d.s.s.

FURTHER EXAMINATION BY MR TIP: Miss Platzky we had got to the stage before the luncheon adjournment of your evidence dealing with the decision to run a campaign at the University of Cape Town. Do you know whether a similar campaign was run elsewhere in the country at the same time during 1974? -- Yes I believe it was at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Now insofar as it is within your personal knowledge what did the campaign consist of, what were the activities that (30) were/...

were run for it? -- Well we organised a number of meetings on the campus to which we invited speakers, both from the academic university community as well as from outside. We wrote a number of articles mainly for student newspapers but also sent copies of that material to the press in the city. We printed stickers, we had posters printed and put up all over the campus. I am not sure if we had a banner but usually with campaigns like that we hung a banner on the Jameson Hall steps, above the steps.

And to what extent were these matters carried, was (10)  
publicity given to it in the commercial press? -- Yes to some extent, not as much as we would have liked but ...

Subsequent to the running of this campaign in 1974 what, do you have knowledge of any similar calls being made? -- yes there were calls made regularly. I read about them in the newspapers and at meetings, public meetings I attended calls were made from a variety of organisations and people, here and overseas. It was, it became fairly commonplace I think.

And for what period are you, to what period do you relate having seen those calls? -- Well right up to now. (20)

Have you ever read or heard anywhere that the ANC has called for a campaign concerning forced removals or a campaign for the release of political prisoners? -- No I have not heard or read that.

And throughout your involvement in the campaign which you personally motivated and the period since then when you have repeatedly seen similar calls and in to the extent that you have been involved in committees of the UDF have you at any time become aware that the UDF has conducted a concerted campaign concerning political prisoners and exiles? -- I (30)

do/....

do not think it has been concerted. I think that from meetings I have attended and publications I have read in the same way as they condemned forced removals they called for the release of political prisoners and the release of detainees, an end to the pass laws, all these things were part and parcel but not a specific campaign on political prisoners.

In conclusion on this aspect could you indicate please to his lordship what was your motivation for the proposal of a call for the release of political prisoners? -- Well I believe that we need to work as fast as possible towards a (10) peaceful solution in this country and it seems to me that with people locked up in jails, with people detained and their organisations not freely available that it is impossible under the present circumstances to begin a negotiating process, to sit round a table and to talk about a peaceful future and so I believe that it is necessary to release political prisoners to allow people who have gone into exile to come home and as South Africans, not as anybody else, to sit round, black and white, and to discuss the future of the country and come to some consensus and to write a new con- (20) stitution and to have free and fair elections for all adult South Africans.

My lord that concludes the examination-in-chief.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR JACOBS: Miss Platzky have you come to this court to give expert evidence or is it not expert evidence? -- I regard myself as something of an expert on forced removals. I have been working in the field since 1977. I would not regard myself as an expert on anything else.

Have you read or studied any documents or publications of the ANC on forced removals? -- No. (30)

Do/....

Do you know what the ANC policy is on forced removals and political prisoners? -- No but I would assume that they would be opposed to forced removals and they would be in favour of the release of political prisoners.

Do you know on what charges Mandela and the Rivonia trialists were tried and sentenced? -- I think it was the Terrorism Act.

Do you know whether Govan Mbeki is still an adherent to the SACP and the ANC? -- I do not know. I have not spoken to him. (10)

He was released? -- Yes I saw pictures in the newspaper?

Have you read in the papers as well that he is still an adherent to violence? -- I have not read that in the newspaper, no.

Do you know whether Mr Mandela is still supporting the ANC and the SACP and violence? -- I do not know that.

Have you not read his statement when the President promised him to release him if he, on the State President's promise to him for his release? -- I am sorry, to what, what are you referring to? (20)

His press statement when the State President promised him to release him if he will say that he will not adhere to violence? -- I mean I understand that he is still in jail so that presumably he did not accept the State President's offer but I do not recall reading a press statement of it.

Have you studied any UDF publications and documents on their policy, aims and objects in regard to forced removals and political prisoners? -- I have read the resolution that was passed at the launch, both resolutions, and I have only seen the Western Cape document arising out of the committee (30)

in/.....

in which I was involved. I think I would be aware of UDF documents on forced removals because I was involved myself in forced removals on a national basis.

I do not want to know what you think. Have you studied...  
-- Well I have not seen UDF documents on forced removals other than the resolution and the Western Cape document.

And their policy on political prisoners? -- I have seen the resolution that was passed at the launch.

Is that all, you have not studied their other documents?  
-- Well I am not aware that they ran any kind of campaign, (10) so therefore that they put out documents. I mean from time to time there were press statements and I heard speeches at meetings but I do not recall any documents on release of political prisoners.

Do you know that the organisations affiliated to UDF issued documents on forced removals and political prisoners? Organisations like SPEAK or SASPU(?) National, that kind of community papers? -- I have seen articles in SASPU National, yes. But I would not regard that as a UDF document.

And as a UDF affiliate document? -- I am not sure if (20) SASPU National, it is a newspaper, I do not think it can be affiliated to the UDF.

Do you know that the organisation, politicisation and mobilisation of the black people in the rural areas is a very important part of the aims and the objects of the UDF? -- Well in my experience it certainly was not, it did not come across as an important policy decision. I do not know where it is written that it is an important policy decision. I have seen the resolutions but other than that I think that there was, and I know from my own experience that there was very (30) little/....



little evidence of that.

Do you know that forced removals is part of the programme of action of the UDF? -- Insofar as it is the resolution that was passed I presume yes. But other than, I have not seen a list of issues that you could regard as a programme of action, I must admit I have not seen any list like that.

Have you seen any programme of action of the UDF? -- Yes in the Western Cape I saw programmes of action.

And in the other provinces? -- No I did not, I have not seen ..

(10)

Or the other regions, it is not provinces? -- Not in the other regions either, I have not seen programmes of action.

Have you seen any programmes of action of the national office? -- Not as a list no. I have only seen the national resolutions.

Have you studied any of the documents of the UDF in which they popularise the political prisoners and banned organisations? -- Popularise? I think I have seen UDF publications in which there is mention of political prisoners and calling for their release but I have not seen articles in (20) which they detail or specify why or what happened, or history and that kind of thing, no.

So is it then correct to say that on the UDF policy on forced removals and political prisoners you are not an authority and you cannot help this court at all? -- No that is not true. I am not an authority on political prisoners or their release. I would regard myself as something of an expert on forced removals.

But not on the UDF, the UDF's part of it? -- Insofar as I was involved with the UDF and I gave information to the (30)

UDF/....

UDF and I was a member of a committee I think I would have known if these things had been a campaign or a concerted effort on the part of the UDF.

Have you studied, you have not studied any documents from the national office on this? -- Well I would be happy to be shown documents in which these things were ...

No I would like you as an expert, or a person, a knowledgeable person or an authority on that to tell us which documents you studied? -- On forced removals there were no, to my knowledge, national documents on forced removals. (10)

Did you ask for any documents? -- Did I ask them for any documents?

Yes. -- No they usually asked me for information.

So you did not even ask them their policy, on what their policy was on forced removals? -- Their policy to me was quite clear from the resolution that was taken.

Now EXHIBIT E.1, were you present for the whole meeting when you addressed the General Council? -- No I was present for fifteen minutes.

So you cannot tell the court what discussions were (20) there after you delivered your speech? -- At the end of the time when I delivered my speech whoever was in the chair - and I do not remember who that was - asked if there were any questions and if there was any discussion and there were one or two questions of clarification and then I was thanked and I was told, well as I walked out I heard that they were going on to the next item on the agenda.

Do you know what decisions were taken on that? -- The decisions, there were not any decisions taken to my knowledge. What is minuted is a reflection of what I said and that was (30)

it/....

it as far as I was concerned.

For what purpose were you invited to this meeting? -- For information on force removals.

So there was the purpose that they want information on that. Is that in order so that they can act on your information? -- I assume that they were interest in what was happening in forced removals nationwide and they asked me therefore to give them that information.

Do you know what the UDF planned to do in order to organise and politicise the people in regard to forced removals? -- No there was no plan. (10)

Even after you left it was possible for them to plan then? -- It was possible but I am quite sure that they would have asked me for my opinion, seeing they knew very little about forced removals and that they had asked me to come all the way from Cape Town to give evidence.

To get information? -- To get information, I am sorry.

Do you know whether the question of forced removals were taken up by the UDF speakers and UDF affiliated organisations public meetings in order to politicise the people against forced removals? -- When I heard forced removals mentioned in UDF meetings there was no question that it was because of politicisation or, what was the second? Mobilisation? (20)

Organisation? -- Organisation. They condemned forced removals from time to time, they occasionally sent a speaker to a meeting but there was nothing further than that.

Are you aware of accused no. 20's views on forced removals?

COURT: That is Mr Lekota.

MR JACOBS: That is Lekota. -- Well Mr Lekota asked me to provide/.... (30)

provide him with information from time to time on the issue of forced removals. So I presume he was opposed to the government's policy of forced removals.

I would like you to refer to an interview that Mr Lekota had, and it appears on EXHIBIT C.55. That is volume 4.

COURT: Page?

MR JACOBS: Page 3.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): Did you say volume 4 Mr Jacobs?

MR JACOBS: Volume 4. C.55 page 3. Have you got it? -- Yes page 3. (10)

Will you read to us the paragraph starting with "This is true of these areas". -- Sorry I would have to read the question first, could you give me a moment.

There is a part, the first part it starts from "That is true of these areas" and it goes on and I want you to read the paragraph:

"People are going from the Ciskei to the Western Cape for instance and then being taken back to Ciskei. We must not forget that these people are members of unions in towns and through this their political consciousness (20) is raised and this leads them to have a critical look at the circumstances in which they have left their children and their wives in the rural areas. All this is petrol which generates heat and must generate action through organisation."

-- Yes.

And this, do you agree, are you aware of this view in the circles of the UDF that in the politicising of the people from the rural areas and on forced removals? -- Yes I am and it is nothing new. It has been the same issue canvassed (30)  
for/...

for twenty, thirty, forty years. People have been coming to the urban areas and leaving their families behind. Influx control has been going on, people were moved from Crossroads back to the Ciskei. In fact I was present when they boarded the buses under guard and to me it seems nothing new.

Yes that is alright, it is nothing new but the UDF wants to use this to politicise the people to generate action? -- I do not see that it says the UDF is going to use that.

"All this is petrol which", but Mr Lekota is speaking here as a UDF representative and speaking on behalf of the (10) UDF? -- Well I must beg to differ. It is in the passive voice which could mean that anyone could, I mean the issue generates heat and that is just a phrase in English that does not say that the UDF is going to do anything about it.

And if you see in the first page there is

"UDF beginning to focus on rural areas. We have taken a decision to intensify our organisation in rural areas in the period of the election."

And this is what you have read now I put to you is part of the planning when UDF moves to the rural areas? -- Well with (20) all due respect it may have been part of the plan. I do not know that but I can tell you from my experience that it did not actually happen.

Do you know whether UDF people went out to the different places and spoke to people in areas to be removed? -- I think perhaps on one or two occasions, yes. I know that in my own experience we informed the UDF of what was happening in certain areas and they did not follow that up.

Is that the only instance you know of, the one instance, you do not know of any other? -- They were present in their (30) affiliate/....

affiliate form in Crossroads, which is a community threatened with removal but it is not in a rural area. I cannot think of any examples.

Is it not that you do not know? -- I think I would know because I was national co-ordinator of this organisation and...

It is not a question of think now. Do you know or not? -- I know that they were not involved with the vast majority of communities threated with removal. That I know for sure.

Do you know whether they sent out people to places for instance in the Transvaal where people were to be removed? (10) -- They may well have done.

Is it not so that it was the civic organisations, affiliates of UDF, that were the people who actually took up the questions of removals? -- I repeat that I do not think that the civic organisations as affiliates of the UDF or UDF itself took up the question of removals. They, from time to time they attended meetings, they included a condemnation of removals in their speeches and in some publications but it was never more than a line or two in passing.

Do you know what part the, in Huhudi, Vryburg the Huhudi (20) Civic play in the question on removals there? -- Yes I do. The Huhudi Civic was formed long before the UDF and in fact I went to Huhudi many years ago and met people from the civic association who were fighting against the removal.

Yes, and were they affiliated to the UDF? -- I think they later became affiliated with UDF was started.

When was the Huhudi Civic Association formed? -- 1981, maybe 1982. Ja. I cannot, I am trying to think of the exact date. I first went to the Northern Cape in 1981 so it could have been that they were already formed. (30)

And/....

And was there a region of the UDF formed in Vryburg? --  
Yes after the UDF was formed. I know they had a region, yes.

And did the UDF region in Vryburg take up this question of, t  
this issue of removals there? -- I do not know. I presume so  
seeing it was an extremely burning issue in the minds and the  
day to day lives of the Huhudi people so I would hope so.

Well why do you not know? You are a knowledgeable person  
as you said, you knew all about the places where UDF were  
taking up the question of removals? -- I did not attend a  
UDF regional, Northern Cape, meeting and I have not seen (10)  
documents of the UDF in the Northern Cape. So I cannot tender  
what you might regard as hearsay evidence. I assume that they  
did because the Huhudi Civic was later affiliated.

But as an expert did you not know that, what was going  
on in the Northern Cape, in Vryburg? -- Yes the Huhudi Civic  
Association certainly fought the removal tooth and nail I  
would say, like many other organisations involved with removals.

But you do not know about UDF? -- The UDF in the Northern  
Cape region I assume took up the issue. I have not seen either  
documents or did I personally attend any meetings. (20)

Can you tell the court is there an area near George in  
the Cape to be removed? -- Yes there is.

COURT: Just a moment now what is the name there? -- Well  
there are a number of areas threatened with removal near  
George so I do not know which one is being referred to.

Thank you.

MR JACOBS: Do you know of civic associations being involved  
in that? -- Are you referring to Knysna, George, Plettenberg  
Bay, which ...

Knysna. No George. -- George, civic association? (30)

Yes./....

Yes. -- Yes.

Which civic association is that? -- The George Civic Association.

And when was it formed? -- 1986.

Is it affiliated to UDF? -- No.

And which area is to be moved there? -- Lawaaikamp.

Is it not so that you are ...

COURT: Just a moment. Spell me the name please? --

L-a-w-a-a-i-k-a-m-p.

Thank you.

(10)

MR JACOBS: Is it not so that you are actually working in your endeavour to organise against forced removals that you engage the civics all over the country for that purpose? -- No in most areas there are not any civic associations. There are in some areas and the George Civic Association happens to be one that is centrally involved in the struggle to maintain Lawaaikamp.

Yes. Are there others? -- Other civic associations.

Yes. -- Involved in removals?

Yes. -- The Western Cape Civic Association, yes.

Affiliated to UDF? -- Yes.

(20)

Yes. -- I cannot think of other ones. Most of the places threatened with removals do not have civic associations. They have action committees or ad hoc committees and they are very low key local organisations and they are not affiliated to the UDF.

Is it correct that you in your organisation, you yourself, were going all over the country organising the people against removals? -- I think that is an exaggeration. I do not think it would have been possible for me to organise people against removals. I certainly in my job inform people about

(30)

removals/....



removals and go from place to place and document what is going on and help where I am asked to help in terms of legal assistance or putting people in touch with the local advice office, with the local church. But I certainly do not organise against removals.

Do you organise meetings in the places and address meetings? -- I address meetings. I have never organised a meeting.

And when you address the meetings do you advise them not to, against being removed? -- No never have I advised people against being removed. I have only, at the invitation of (10) the local organisation given information on how removals occur and how people in other areas resist removals.

As an example for them to follow? -- They can do what they like with the information. What I am concerned with is that they know what their legal position is, they know what promises are made to some people and they are adult people. They can make their own decisions.

And where do you get your money from? -- From the churches. Where? -- Where?

Yes, which countries? -- Which countries? From the (20) catholic church in South Africa.

Is that the only one? -- We have in the past had money from catholic churches elsewhere but at the moment we get money from the catholic church in South Africa.

In 1986/87 did you receive money from abroad? -- As what organisation?

National committee against removals? -- Yes.

From which countries and which organisations? -- From which countries?

Yes. -- The Netherlands and Germany, no not Germany. (30)

From/....

From Switzerland, I am sorry.

Which organisations? -- From the Protestant Church in The Netherlands and from the, it is translated as the Ecumenical Church Movement in Switzerland.

Do you know something like Miserior Achen, West Germany? -- There is an organisation in Germany that I understand gives money to the catholic church in South Africa and we have got money from the catholic church. I do not know if you are making any connection there.

COURT: What is the name of the organisation? (10)

MR JACOBS: I will spell it, M-i-s-e-r-i-o-r and A-c-h-e-n, that is Miserior Achen, West Germany. So you only heard about it? -- No we have not received money from them.

Have you written a letter to them? -- Yes I have written information letters to all sorts of people.

Have you written a letter to supply your budget to them? -- I have only, you asked me whether we had received money from them and we received money from the catholic church in South Africa.

Have you not received money from this and asked them for (20) funds? -- No.

Have you not sent a budget ... -- I have not sent, I have not received any money from them.

Have you not sent a budget to them? -- I have sent a budget to them.

Why? -- Why not? They asked, if they are interested in work in South Africa and that is not an illegal activity.

ICCO, do you know such an organisation? -- That is the Dutch protestant organisation.

Yes. Now for the financial, for your financial year (30)

January/....

January to December 1986 did you receive money from ICCO?

-- Yes.

Not from the church?

COURT: 1986?

MR JACOBS: 1986. -- It is the Inter, I do not know, my Dutch is not very good, it is the Interkerklike Co-ordinating something or other, organisasie. It is the protestant churches of the Netherlands.

So you received money from them? -- That is what I said, that is the protestant organisation of churches. (10)

And not from the catholic church, not through the catholic church? -- We have a contract with that organisation and that is what we receive money for.

And from Niserior ...

COURT: I am sorry now, I am getting mixed up. Is it the NCAR that has a contract? -- Yes.

Yes thank you.

MR JACOBS: And did you receive money from, for the same financial year from M-i-s-e-r-i-o-r? -- No.

You budgeted for R22 240,54? -- Your information may (20) be quite correct but we did not receive any money from Miserior.

Is that not, did you not send them a report when you sent your budget to them? -- I do not remember what I sent.

I have only got one copy but have a look at this. -- Okay. It obviously never reached there.

COURT: If it is a copy the original may have reached them. -- Maybe. That is why we did not get the money.

MR JACOBS: Do you know that document? -- It looks as though something has been photocopied on the end page but I mean the substance of the document is familiar to me. (30)

COURT:/.....

COURT: Now just tell me what is the document because I have not seen it? -- It is a budget and a report of activities, it is the same report that we had at our AGM on areas of operation. It is essentially exactly what I have been telling your lordship about how we travel around the country and we get information to organisations that are organising against removals. It talks about workshops that we have held and I have already referred to the kind of workshops that we have held, it talks about dossiers, press dossiers, press conferences, the NCAR workers often asked to address meetings and conferences on removals. It talks about what conferences. Taking visitors around, issuing newsletters. It is essentially a summary of our work. (10)

A report to your AGM on what you did the previous year, that sort of thing? -- That is correct, yes.

MR JACOBS: And the budget, on the budget is there money received, reflected as money received from, the R22 000? -- We have not received money from Miserior. We have received money from the catholic church and you could check our bank accounts to that effect. (20)

And that first page is that a letter written by you when you sent this budget to those people? -- This is a letter written by me, yes.

And it was sent directly to the people in West Germany? -- Yes.

Not through the church? -- Well I thought it was sent direct, yes.

And in that budget there is nothing that has been, that was budgeted for to help the people themselves in their plight in the squatters camps and so on but all this for organisation?/.... (30)

organisation? -- If I can clarify on the nature of the national committee against removals we are not a relief organisation. We organise other organisations where relief is necessary. So if a community is moved in the pouring rain and people are homeless then we would approach the churches or we would approach the St John's ambulance or the Red Cross or some organisation like that that budgets money for relief work. What we do is we employ, at this stage you will see "field worker", I was the national field worker, I still am the national field worker and what I do is travel around to our(10) affiliate organisations which work with communities threatened with removal and I hand on information. So that is why you have workshops, that is why we have for example workshops on the law and removals, what are the latest cases, is there legislation, are there bills before parliament such as there are now and we inform people about these things. We also inform people about what steps other communities have taken. For example approaching journalists or approaching dignataries to come to visit their areas so that they can see for themselves how people live and how they want to stay there. So I would(20) say that that is an extremely constructive way of helping people in their plight. It is not relief work, but relief work is not the only way that you can help people.

Is it not so that in the squatters camps that the people live in very poor conditions? -- Yes.

And you are not doing anything there to help them? -- We certainly are doing something to help them. When they are threatened with removal they move to even worse places.

Is it not so that houses are built for them in some other places? -- Houses are built where?

(30)

Khayelitsha,/....

Khayelitsha, and Crossroads, were not houses built there?  
-- Five thousand core houses were built at Crossroads. There are now more than a quarter of a million people living there and the people living in the five thousand core houses came from the townships of Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu. The Crossroads people who moved to Khayelitsha lived in shacks, the most appalling shacks worse than they lived in Crossroads.

What is the place's name near George? -- Lawaaikamp.

Lawaaikamp. That is also a squatter's camp is it not?  
-- I would not call it a squatter's camp. It is an informal(10) settlement.

And is it not ...

COURT: Is there a difference? -- Well ...

Apart from the terminology? -- No your lordship in a recent case Vena(?) v The George Municipality the judge found that the people were there with consent and therefore they were not liable to the prevention of illegal squatting act so I would not call them squatters. They were tenants of the, they still are tenants of the municipality.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): Are you legally trained in any respect?(20)  
-- Informally legally. I have had to study the law a lot. I am an urban and regional planner by profession.

When you say that you give legal advice do you mean that you give advice yourself? -- Well in a case like that for example I have you know sat in on the judgment, I have sat in on the evidence, I have read the affidavits and it is informal legal advice.

MR JACOBS: And in Lawaaikamp there is not enough water?  
-- In Lawaaikamp.

Kamp. -- Well the George municipality provide four (30)  
taps/....

taps in Lawaaikamp and three of them work.

But there is not enough, it is only four for the whole area? -- That is correct.

And to which place was it suggested they be removed to? -- They are being removed to Sandkraal where water is brought in by tanker.

And in Lawaaikraal is there sanitation? -- In Lawaaikamp there are pit toilets.

Is there any other streets? -- There are bucket toilets, sorry what in the streets? (10)

Streets? -- Ja they are rough rural type roads, yes.

Voetpad? -- No, no, cars go in and out, the trucks go in and out there too.

As it was formed as the cars were driving through it? -- Those are roads, I have driven through, yes.

COURT: In your Volksie? -- No your lordship in my Mazda.

MR JACOBS: Is it also correct that you are sending out a lot of information overseas? -- That is correct.

To which countries and which organisations? -- The United Nations, the International Commission of Jurists, the Commonwealth Body, to churches internationally, to the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights in New York. There are a number of those organisations, yes. (20)

And the surplus people, what is it the surplus peoples project? -- Surplus people project, yes.

Surplus people project, do they receive money from overseas? -- I am not longer a, the surplus people project is an affiliate of the national committee against removals now, it is a local organisation in Cape Town and I am not in a position to answer questions on the surplus people project. (30)

At/....

At the time when you were in it? -- Yes we did receive money from the Netherlands from the same organisation, the Dutch protestants.

Any other organisations? -- No not that I can recall.

And were you sending out information as well on their behalf? -- Not on their behalf. What we do is we have a contract and they are able to send out information based on what we provide on forced removals in South Africa. So what they do with the information I am not in a position to say.

COURT: What do you mean by "contract"? -- Well we ... (10)

Are you contracted to supply information on certain subjects? -- No we provide information in South Africa anyway but as an organisation in Holland, or if the churches in Holland are interested in forced removals here we have an agreement that we send it to them and we do not send it to other organisations in Holland.

Not to other in the Netherlands for example? -- No they have, they can translate it for example and disseminate it. That is the essence of it.

So in fact you are their source of information in (20) South Africa? -- Well I suppose they use other sources as well, I mean they get the newspapers and I do not suppose we are the only source.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL): Do you still have this contract with ECO(?). -- As the national committee?

Yes. -- Yes.

MR JACOBS: Edele hierdie dokument wat ek nou vir die getuie gee ek weet nie of ...

HOF: Ek weet nie of ek belang stel om die dokument in te handig as n dokument nie. As u vreeslik daarop aandring (30)

sal/....



sal ek dit oorweeg of ek dit gaan toelaat.

MNR JACOBS: Ek het verstaan dat u dit wil gehad het edele toe ek ...

HOF: Nee ek wil die dokument nie hê nie. U het nie h poging aangewend om dit in te handig nie. Ek het alreeds veels te veel papiere in hierdie saak.

MR JACOBS: Is there a preference in regard to the political prisoners that must be released? -- You mean by name? No not that I am aware of.

Do you, must all the political prisoners be released, (10) even murderers that have been found guilty of murdering people? -- As I understand political prisoners they have undertaken these acts and been found guilty of acts of sabotage and other things, including killing people, but the way I understand it is that these are people who have done things not for their own gain. It is not like a robbery or a rape or something like that. It is something motivated by political frustration or, and I do not condone it but I do believe that these are people who should have a chance to be tested in an open election and they should be given the opportunity to (20) see whether they have popular support or not.

Do you know what Mr Mandela's attitude towards communism was? Or is? -- I do not think that Mr Mandela was a communist. No from what I have read I do not think so, no.

Do you know whether he wrote any books on communism? -- Not that I know of.

Do you care or do you not care whether communists who work towards the establishment of a communist state in South Africa is released or are released? -- I believe that there should be free and fair elections, that is someone is a communist (30) they/....

they should be able to stand up and if enough people want to vote for them that is their business. I personally think that the communist party in Europe for example is, well there are lots of communist parties but they do not hold much support but that nevertheless does not mean that they should not be allowed to stand for election.

Even if they turn to violence? -- I do not condone violence. I believe that people should be free to stand for an election is what I said.

Thank you sir.

(10

RE-EXAMINATION BY MR TIP: No questions.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

COURT ADJOURNS.

DENNIS VICTOR BLOEM, v.o.e.

ONDERVRAGING DEUR MNR. BIZOS : Waar woon u, mnr. Bloem? --

Ek woon in Henniestraat 37, Brentpark.

Is dit in Kroonstad?-- Dit is in Kroonstad.

En wat is u beroep? -- Ek is 'n winkelier.

Beskou u uself as 'n ondersteuner van die UDF? -- Ja, ek  
beskou myself as 'n ondersteuner van die UDF.

Is daar 'n komitee in Kroonstad van die UDF of enige  
organisasie wat belangstel in die UDF? -- Ja, daar was in  
1985 'n komitee, 'n ad hoc komitee gestig. (10)

Kan u die datum onthou? -- As ek mooi onthou was dit  
31 Augustus 1985.

Was daar 'n vergadering? -- Ja, ons het 'n vergadering  
gehou bestaande uit plus-minus twintig mense.

Waar is die vergadering gehou? -- Die vergadering was  
by my huis gehou.

Hoeveel lede van die komitee is gekies? -- Daar is net  
twee lede op die komitee gekies.

Wie is die twee lede? -- Die twee lede is myself en  
Bizzah Makgate. (20)

Het die komitee dikwels vergaderings gehou, die komitee  
self? -- Die komitee het omtrent twee, drie keer bymekaar  
gekom.

Wat was die plan, wat was die idee van die ad hoc  
komitee wat gevorm is? -- Die plan en idee van die ad hoc  
komitee was om soveel moontlik mense bymekaar te kry om die  
United Democratic Front te ondersteun.

Het dit gevorder daar in Kroonstad? -- Ek sal nie sê  
dit het gevorder nie, want dit het niks uitgevoer nie.

Was daar enige spesiale rede daarvoor? -- Ek dink die (30)  
rede/...

rede was dat ek was na daardie tyd weer aangehou. Ek was verskeie kere aangehou. Daarom het daar niks gebeur nie.

U sê u is aangehou. Is enige klagtes teen u gebring in enige hof? -- Nee, daar was nog nooit enige klagte teen my ingebring nie.

Is u net aangehou en vrygelaat en weer aangehou? -- Ja, dit is korrek.

Hoeveel keer het dit gebeur? -- Dit het ses keer gebeur.

Gedurende watter tydperk? -- In 1985, Februarie 1985.

28 Februarie 1985 is ek aangehou onder artikel 29. (10)

Vir hoe lank? -- Vir ses maande.

Is u daarna vrygelaat? -- Ja, ek is vrygelaat 19 Augustus 1985.

En daarna? -- En daarna is ek Februarie 1986 weer aangehou onder artikel 50. Daarna is ek in Maart 1986 weer aangehou onder artikel 50 en daarna April is ek weer aangehou onder artikel 50. In Maart 1986 is ek weer aangehou.

HOF : Maart 1986 het ek gehad, toe April 1986. Wat is die volgende een? En Mei 1986.

Weer artikel 50? -- Weer artikel 50. (20)

is dit nou elke keer vir 'n paar dae of 'n week of wat? -- Veertien dae. Daarna is ek op 11 Junie aangehou onder die noodregulasies.

ASSESSOR (MNR. KRUGEL) : Nog 1986? -- 1986, ja.

MNR. BIZOS : Vir hoe lank is u toe aangehou? -- Ek was vir 'n hele jaar en 'n paar dae aangehou.

En u is daarna vrygelaat? -- Daarna is ek vrygelaat.

In die kort tydjie tussen u aanhoudings, wat was u besig om te doen? Het u kans gehad om die UDF se werk te doen? -- Ek kon nie tyd gekry het om die UDF se werk te doen nie, (30)

want/...

want soos ek reeds al gesê het is ek 'n winkelier en alles op die grond toe ek uit die aanhoudings uitgekom het en ek moes nou weer van onder af begin om die winkel tot stand te bring.

Hoe het dit gekom dat u by die UDF gekom het? -- Ek het 'n koerantverslag gelees van die United Democratic Front en mnr. Lekota het my besoek toe hy sy ma kom besoek het en vir my vertel van die United Democratic Front.

In watter woongebied woon u daar? -- Ek woon in die sogenaamde Kleurlinggebied. (10)

Dra u kennis van die verkiesing in u gemeenskap gedurende 1984? -- Ja, ek dra kennis daarvan.

Het u enigsins deelgeneem aan enige kampanje in verband met daardie verkiesing? -- Ja, ek het deelgeneem in 'n kampanje teen die verkiesing.

Wat was u houding, waarom het u dit gedoen? -- Ek het dit gedoen omrede ek self nie saamstem met die nuwe konstitusie nie en my rede daarvoor is dat ek gevoel het dat die meerderheid van die land se mense word uitgesluit.

Wat presies het u gedoen om daardie kampanje te bevorder? -- Ek het dit gedoen deur middel van pamflette wat ek versprei het en plakkaat opgeplak. (20)

Wat mense aangeraai het om nie te stem nie? -- Om nie te stem nie.

HOF : Het u dit op u eie gedoen of het u 'n organisasie gehad? -- Ek het dit op my eie gedoen.

MNR. BIZOS : Het die UDF gedurende daardie kampanje enige massavergaderings daar gehou? -- Nee, daar was geen massavergadering gehou gedurende daardie tyd nie.

Is u bewus van enige aktiwiteite in die gebied waarin (30)

die/...

die swartmense in Kroonstad woon? -- Ek is nie so baie op hoogte van wat in die swartwoongebied gebeur nie, maar ek het verneem van 'n organisasie, 'n studente-organisasie daar.

HOF : U winkel is nie in die swartgebied nie? -- Nee.

Waar is u winkel? -- In die sogenaamde kleurlinggebied.

MNR. BIZOS : U sê u het gehoor van 'n jeugorganisasie? -- 'n Studente-organisasie.

Wat is die naam van daardie studente-organisasie? -- Dit is Maokeng Students Organisation.

Wat noem die mense dit kortliks? -- Dit is MASO. (10)

Is dit vir kinders wat nog op skool is? -- Dit is vir kinders wat op skool is, ja.

Is u bewus of daar enige kampanje was gedurende 1983 teen die raadstelsel onder die swart plaaslike bestuurswet? -- Nee, daar was nie so 'n kampanje in 1983 of in 1984 nie.

Weet u of daar wel 'n verkiesing was vir raadslede in 1983? -- Ja, daar was 'n verkiesing.

Kan u onthou in watter maand dit gebeur het? -- As ek mooi onthou het dit in Augustus gebeur.

In watter jaar? -- 1984. (20)

HOF : U was gevra of daar 'n verkiesing was in 1983 vir swart raadslede, toe sê u ja. Was die verkiesing in 1983 en in 1984? -- In 1984.

Net in 1984? -- Net in 1984.

Dit is nou vir die swart plaaslike besture? -- Ja, dit is reg.

U eie verkiesing vir die kleurlinggebied, was dit in 1983 of was daar nie 'n verkiesing nie? -- In 1984.

Ook in 1984? -- Ja.

Gelyktydig? -- Ja. (30)

MNR. BIZOS : Was dit op dieselfde dag? -- Nee, dit was verskillende dae as ek mooi onthou.

Kan u onthou dat u eie verkiesing op 22 Augustus 1984 was? -- Ja, dit was op die 22ste.

HOF : Dit was vir die parlement.

MNR. BIZOS : Dit was vir die parlement.

HOF : Ek het u gevra oor 'n plaaslike bestuur. Was daar nie 'n plaaslike bestuur gekies nie? -- Nee, ek is nie seker daarvan nie.

ASSESSOR (MNR. KRUGEL) : Wat is die datum wat u gegee het?(10)

-- Van die sogenaamde kleurlingverkiesing? Ja, 22 Augustus.

MR BIZOS : If my memory serves me correctly, the 22nd for the coloured and the 29th.

HOF : Nee, 22 en 28.

MNR. BIZOS : U het vir ons gesê u het van MASO gehoor.

Wat het u van MASO gehoor? -- Tydens ek in my winkel was, het daar 'n paar studente, ek neem aan jeugdige by my opgedaag en hulle was besig om fondse in te samel en hulle het vir my gesê dat hulle besig is om 'n studente-organisasie te stig in Kroonstad, in Maokeng en hulle wil graag 'n donasie(20) van my af hê.

Kan u 'n datum op daardie versoek plaas? -- Nee, ek kan nie 'n datum daarop plaas nie.

Die maand of die jaar? -- Dit was tussen einde Januarie en begin Februarie.

Van watter jaar? -- Van 1985. Einde 1984, begin 1985.

Begin van 1985? -- Begin van 1985.

Het die studente vir jou gesê wat die doel van hulle organisasie was? -- Ja, hulle het vir my gesê dat die organisasie gaan kyk na die probleme van die studente. (30)

Het/...

Het u aan hulle geld gegee? -- Ja, as ek mooi onthou was dit 'n bedrag van R15,00 of R20,00. Ek is nie honderd persent seker nie.

Is dit 'n buitengewone gebeurtenis dat winkeliers gevra was deur mense om donasies te maak? -- Nee, dit is nie 'n buitengewone manier nie.

Het u die UDF aan die jong mense voorgestel of nie? -- Nee, niks nie.

Het mnr. Lekota, beskuldigde nr. 20, van tyd tot tyd Kroonstad toe gekom? -- Mnr. Lekota het omtrent na elke (10) tweede maand sy ma kom besoek in Kroonstad.

Was u bewus van die feit dat hy in die gevangenis was vir 'n paar jaar? -- Ja, ek was bewus daarvan.

Het hy teruggekom Kroonstad toe toe hy vrygelaat was? -- Ja, hy het teruggekom Kroonstad toe.

Het u hom gesien? -- Ja, ek het hom 'n paar dae na sy vrylating gesien.

Alleen of saam met ander mense? -- Ek het hom met sy vrou gesien.

Het hy daarna elke twee weke of so na Kroonstad toe gekom? (20)

HOF : Twee maande? -- Elke tweede maand.

MNR. BIZOS : Twee maande, ek is jammer. Is sy moeder nog daar? -- Sy moeder is nog woonagtig in Kroonstad.

Het hy enigiets aan u gewys? -- Tydens hy teruggekom het van die tronk af of wanneer?

Toe hy by sy moeder gekom het om haar te besoek? -- Ja, toe die United Democratic Front klaar gestig was, het mnr. Lekota vir my 'n deklarasie van die UDF gewys.

Het u dit gelees? -- Ja, ek het dit normaalweg gelees. Ek kan nie sê ek het dit noukeurig deurgegaan nie. (30)

Wat/...



Wat was u houding omtrent daardie deklarasie? -- Ek het die deklarasie as goed beskou.

Waarom? -- Volgens my mening en van wat ek gelees het in die deklarasie van die United Democratic Front was dit dat die United Democratic Front 'n organisasie gaan wees wat al die mense van Suid-Afrika, al die organisasies, bymekaar gaan bring.

Wat was u houding teenoor die drie-kamer parlement wat gestig sou word na die verkiesing van 1984? -- Ek het nie saamgestem daarmee nie, want ek het gevoel dat die sogenoemde (10) kleurlinge en die indiërs gaan 'n tweedehandse behandeling kry in die parlement en dat die meerderheid van die land se mense uitgesluit gaan word.

HOF : Waarom praat u van die sogenoemde kleurlinge en nie ook van die sogenoemde indiërs nie? -- Ek kan 'n rede gee daarvoor. Ek dink die indiërs is indiërs en die sogenoemde - waarom ek sê die sogenoemde kleurlinge, ons is genoem kleurlinge.

Wat noem u uself? -- Ek noem my 'n Suid-Afrikaner.

En as u nou wil onderskei omdat daar 'n onderskeiding (20) is in die bevolkingsregistrasiewet of in die plek waar u woon of wat ook al, wat noem u uself dan? -- Dan noem ek my 'n sogenoemde kleurling.

MNR. BIZOS : Wat was u houding omtrent die onderskeiding van mense, die indiërs of blanke mense of sogenoemde kleurlinge? -- Kan u net vir my die vraag weer oor stel, asseblief?

Wat is u houding teenoor die beleid van die regering dat mense moet onderskei word? -- Wat is die beleid?

Die beleid van die regering dat verskillende mense (30)

moet/...

moet in verskillende groepe geklassifiseer word?

HOF : Wat is u houding oor rasse-klassifikasie? -- Ja, dit is beter gestel. My houding is dat ek nie daarmee saamstem nie.

MNR. BIZOS : Het u een keer of meer as een keer met mnr. Lekota oor die UDF gepraat? -- Ek het baie min vir mnr. Lekota gesien soos ek nou gesê het. Dit is omtrent se maande. As hy in Kroonstad is het hy net sy moeder gaan sien en my nie gesien nie, maar sê na elke sesde of sewende maand het ek Johannesburg toe gekom met die doel om voorraad en privaat(10) besigheid ook vir myself te doen en dan het ek ingedui by die kantoor waar ek net wou hallo vir my vriend gesê het.

HOF : Dit is nou by die UDF kantoor? -- Dit is by die UDF kantoor.

MNR. BIZOS : Het mnr. Lekota aan u gesê hoe die UDF sou gewerk het en wat die organisasie se doelstellings is? -- Ja, mnr. Lekota het aan my verduidelik en gepraat daaroor.

Wat het hy gesê? -- Mnr. Lekota het gesê dat die United Democratic Front op 'n vreedsame wyse te werk gaan om die probleme van die land op te los. (20)

Wat was die uiteindelijke doelstelling van die UDF volgens hom? -- Die uiteindelijke doelstelling volgens mnr. Lekota was dat die United Democratic Front steun nie apartheid nie en dat ons al die mense, ongeag ras of kleur, bymekaar moet kry in Suid-Afrika.

Op enige stadium toe u Johannesburg toe gekom het, was daar enige gesprek tussen mnr. Lekota en u in verband met T-hemde? -- Ja, ek het op 'n stadium Johannesburg toe gekom en ek het mnr. Lekota in die kantoor met 'n T-hempie van die United Democratic Front gesien. Ek het baie belang gestel(30)

in/...

in daardie T-hempie en ek het vir mnr. Lekota gevra of hy dit nie aan my wil verkoop nie of gee.

Waarom wou u dit gehad het? -- Want ek het gevoel dat ek 'n ondersteuner is van die United Democratic Front.

Wat het hy gesê? -- Mnr. Lekota het gesê dat daar T-hempies beskikbaar is in die kantoor.

Het u een of meer gekry? -- Ja, ek het 'n hele paar gekoop van die kantoor af.

Het u daarvoor betaal? -- Ja, ek het daarvoor betaal.

Kan u onthou hoeveel van hulle u gekoop het? -- As ek (10) mooi kan onthou het ek R5,00 betaal per T-hempie.

En hoeveel T-hemde het u gekry? -- Dit kan twintig tot dertig wees.

HOF : Nie vir eie gebruik nie? -- Vir myself en om te verkoop.

Vir die winkel? -- Ja.

MNR. BIZOS : Het u van die T-hemde verkoop? -- Ja, ek het van die T-hemde verkoop.

Vir 'n wins of vir dieselfde bedrag? -- Nee, ek het dit vir dieselfde bedrag verkoop.

HOF : Hoe kan 'n mens in besigheid bly op daardie manier? (20) -- Ek was verduidelik waarom ek dit moes doen.

MNR. BIZOS : Ja? -- Mnr. Lekota het aan my gesê dat die T-hempies nie vir 'n wins verkoop moet word nie. Daarom het ek dit nie teen 'n hoër prys verkoop nie en dit is die wyse waarop die United Democratic Front hulle fondse insamel.

Gedurende Februarie 1985 wat se organisasies van of die jeugdiges of die skoolkinders of die inwoners van Kroonstad het u kennis van gedra? -- Soos ek reeds gesê het, het ek kennis gedrag net van een, die Maokeng Student Organisation.

HOF : Kan u net die volgende vir my verduidelik. Ek het (30)

nou/...

nou gehoor van Kroonstad by 'n getuie en van Seeisoville en van Maokeng en nou van die plek waar u bly en 'n getuie het vir my gesê Seeisoville is die hele Kroonstad en Maokeng is Seeisoville. Hoe sê u sit die ding inmekaar? -- Ek wil net 'n korreksie daar aanbring dat Maokeng Kroonstad bevat, die swartwoongebied. Hulle noem dit Maokeng. Seeisoville is 'n dorpie in Maokeng, 'n gebied in Maokeng.

Laat ons net duidelikheid kry. As u praat van Kroonstad dan bedoel dit blank en sogenaamd kleurling en as daar indiërs is, wat daar nie is nie, ook die indiërs en so (10) aan? -- Ja.

Dit is Kroonstad? -- Dit is Kroonstad.

As u praat van Seeisoville, wat bevat dit? -- Seeisoville is in Maokeng.

As u praat van Maokeng wat omvat dit? -- Maokeng is die - die hele swartwoongebied word Maokeng genoem.

Maar dit is nie die blankewoongebied ook nie? -- Nee, dit is nie.

So, Kroonstad is alles, Maokeng is die swartwoongebied? -- Dit is reg, ja. (20)

En Seeisoville is 'n stuk van die swartwoongebied? -- Dit is reg, ja.

As u praat van 'n swartwoongebied, sluit dit ook in die sogenaamde kleurlinge? -- Nee, dit is op sy eie.

ASSESSOR (MNR. KRUGEL) : Dit is Brentpark? -- Brentpark.

So, Maokeng sluit nie Brentpark in nie? -- Maokeng sluit nie Brentpark in nie.

MNR. BIZOS : Kan u 11 Februarie 1985 onthou? -- Ja, ek kan dit onthou.

Was daar moeilikheid daar in die swartwoongebied? (30)

Maokeng/...

Maokeng? -- Ja, daar was moeilikheid in die swartwoongebied.

Het u enige persoonlike kennis waaroor die moeilikheid begin het? Dit is nou volgens u persoonlike kennis? Was u daar of nie? -- Nee, ek het nie persoonlike kennis daarvan nie.

Het u gehoor wat daar gebeur het? -- Ja, ek het gehoor wat daar gebeur het.

Baie, baie kortliks, wat het u gehoor? -- Ek het gehoor dat die studente, die skoliere probleme by die skool gehad het met die prefekte sisteem en dat hulle in die skool - (10) op die skoolgronde gedemonstreer het en gepraat het en toe het die polisie aksie geneem teen hulle, traangas geskiet en toe het hulle die lokasie in beweeg.

Hoe het hulle in die lokasie in beweeg? -- Hulle het in gehardloop.

Wie? -- Die studente nou.

Wat het in die lokasie gebeur?

HOF : Is dit nou van enige belang?

MNR. BIZOS : Ja. In elk geval sal dit uitkom later. Is u genader kort na die 11de deur iemand? -- Ja, ek is kort (20) na die 11de, ek is nie seker van die datum nie, genader deur die Matches gesin.

Waaroor is u genader? Wat is u gesê? -- Die Matches gesin het my kom vra vir hulp. Hulle het vir my gesê dat hulle kind doodgeskiet is op die 11de deur die polisie en daarom kom vra hulle hulp by my vir die begrafnis van die kind.

HOF : Is dit nou dat u dit organiseer of dat u 'n bakkie gee of dat u geld moet gee? Wat se soort hulp? -- Geldelike hulp.

(30)

MNR. BIZOS/...

MNR. BIZOS : Het u saamgestem om hulp aan hulle te verleen?

-- Ek het gesê ek sal sien wat ek kan doen om hulle te help.

En wat het u gedoen? -- Ek het van winkel tot winkel gegaan om eetgoed te gee en vir die kis te sorg en al die benodighede van die begrafnis bymekaar te maak.

Ons weet dat mnr. Lekota na die begrafnis gekom het op 18 Februarie. Hoe het dit gekom dat hy daar gekom het? -- Ek het met die ouers van die oorledene gepraat en voorgestel of ek nie mnr. Lekota kan uitnooi, of hulle enige objeksie het dat ek mnr. Lekota uitnooi as 'n spreker by die begraf- (10) nie nie en hulle het vir my gesê nee, hulle het geen beswaar nie met die idee wat ek het. Ek het teruggegaan en vir mnr. Lekota geskakel en mnr. Lekota het ingewillig om die begrafnis by te woon.

Waarom het u mnr. Lekota genader? Of waarom het u die voorstel aan die ouers van die oorledene gemaak? -- Ek het gevoel dat mnr. Lekota - ek het die voorstel gemaak omrede ek gevoel het dat mnr. Lekota is 'n inwoner van Kroonstad en dat dit 'n vriend van my is en dat hy graag die begrafnis wou bygewoon het en daarom het ek die voorstel gemaak. (20)

Het u geweet dat hy die nasionale publisiteitssekretaris van die UDF was destyds? -- Ja, op daardie stadium het ek dit geweet.

Was u nog geïnteresseerd om die belange van die UDF daar in Kroonstad te bevorder? -- Nee.

Hoe welbekend is mnr. Lekota daar in Kroonstad? -- Mnr. Lekota is baie welbekend daar in Kroonstad.

Was daar 'n partytjie toe hy vrygelaat was in Kroonstad? -- Ja, daar was 'n partytjie toe mnr. Lekota vrygelaat was.

Was dit net 'n partytjie of 'n groot "party"? -- Dit was (30)

n/...

h baie groot "party".

Hoeveel mense sal u sê het die "party" bygewoon? --  
Daar was plus-minus honderd-en-vyftig tot tweehonderd mense.

Het dit net op een dag plaasgevind of meer as een dag?  
-- Dit het die naweek plaasgevind.

Kan u die datum onthou waarop die begrafnis plaasgevind  
het? -- Ja, die begrafnis van Matches was op 18 Februarie.

Was dit die eerste begrafnis van h persoon wat oorlede  
is in die onluste wat daar plaasgevind het? -- Dit is korrek.  
Dit was die eerste. (10)

Het u na die huis van die oorledene gegaan? -- Ja, ek het  
die oggend na die huis van die oorledene gegaan.

Het u mnr. Lekota daar gevind of het hy daarna gekom?  
-- Ek het vir mnr. Lekota daar gevind by die begrafnis.

Wat was hy besig gewees om te doen toe u daar gekom het?  
-- Mnr. Lekota het h blaai in sy hand gehad en dit gelees.  
Dit was van die landdros in Kroonstad. Dit was die reëls en  
regulasies van die begrafnis wat mnr. Lekota gelees het.

In watter taal was dit? Kan u onthou? -- Mnr. Lekota  
het dit in Engels gelees en dit toe weer vertolk in Sotho. (20)

Praat u Sotho? -- Nee, ek praat nie Sotho nie.

U is taamlik goed in Engels? -- Hier en daar.

Het u verstaan wat die reëlins vir die begrafnis was?  
-- Ja.

Wat was die reëlins wat u verstaan het? -- Die reëlins  
wat ek verstaan het was dat die kis nie gedra moet word nie.  
Die tweede was wat ek kan onthou dat ons die begrafnis net  
twee ure - die begrafnis moet net twee ure duur. Die derde  
is dat geen vryheidsliedere gesing moet word nie.

Enige ander reëlins? -- Ek kan nie op hierdie stadium (30)  
onthou/...

onthou nie.

Na mnr. Lekota die reëlings verduidelik het of vertaal het, het iemand anders iets gesê? -- Ja, die predikant wat daar teenwoordig was. Daar was twee predikante teenwoordig en een het gebid nadat mnr. Lekota klaar gepraat het.

HOF : Dit is nou by die huis? -- Dit is by die huis, ja.

MNR. BIZOS : Het die mense van die huis weggegaan waarheen? -- Ja, die mense het toe van die huis af beweeg na die begraafplaas toe.

Te voet? -- Sommige van die mense was per motor en (10) sommige was te voet.

Hoeveel mense sal u het daar deelgeneem aan die begrafnis? -- Ek maak 'n skatting van vyf- tot agtduisend mense wat daar teenwoordig was.

En die meerderheid, het hulle per motor of te voet beweeg? -- Laat ek sê dit was half-half. Ek is nie seker nie. Ek kan nie met sekerheid sê nie, maar daar was baie mense wat ook te voet gestap het en daar was ook baie motors.

Hoe was u gekleed op hierdie dag? -- Ek was in 'n geel UDF T-hempie gekleed en 'n swart broek. (20)

En mnr. Lekota? -- Mnr. Lekota was in 'n geel T-hempie en 'n grys broek gekleed.

Was daar mense wat COSAS T-hemde aangehad het? -- Nee, op daardie stadium was daar nie mense wat COSAS T-hempies aangehad het nie.

Of AZAPO T-hempies? -- Nee, daar was nie.

Sover as wat u weet, het COSAS daar bestaan of nie? -- Nee, op daardie stadium het COSAS nie daar bestaan nie.

En wat van AZAPO, het AZAPO destyds daar bestaan? -- Nee, ook nie. (30)

HOF/...



HOF : Is u 'n kerkmens? -- Ek is 'n kerkganger.

Het u al vantevore met 'n T-hemp na 'n begrafnis gegaan?

-- Ja.

Is dit gebruiklik? -- Ja, dit is gebruiklik.

MNR. BIZOS : Kan u onthou of daar 'n banier was? -- Ja, as ek onthou was daar 'n banier.

Was dit 'n banier van enige organisasie of nie? -- Nee, dit was nie van 'n organisasie nie.

Kan u onthou wat op die banier geskryf was? -- Ja. As ek mooi onthou was daar geskryf "We are not fighting. We (10) are only come to bury our brother. Yes to SRC's."

Toe die mense van die huis na die begraafplaas beweeg het, was daar enige - hoe het die mense daar gestap of gery? Was daar enige moeilikheid of enige wanorde? -- Nee, daar was ordelikheid van die huis af tot by die begraafplaas.

By die begraafplaas, hoe het die verrigtinge verloop? -- Die predikant het - laat ek so sê. Die familie het my gevra om as voorsitter daar op te tree by die graf en ek het die predikant gevra om te begin. Die predikant het toe klaar gemaak met sy boodskap uit die Bybel uit en daarna (20) het hy gebid. Toe het ek vir mnr. Lekota geroep om iets te kom sê en nadat mnr. Lekota gepraat het, het ek die predikant gevra om weer te bid.

In watter taal het mnr. Lekota gepraat? -- Mnr. Lekota het in Sotho gepraat.

Het u verstaan wat hy gepraat het? -- Ek verstaan nie Sotho baie goed nie. Ek verstaan Sotho baie sleg.

Ons sal nie vir u vra wat hy gesê het nie. Was dit vertaal in enige ander taal? -- Nee.

HOF : Watter taal het u gepraat? -- Ek het in AFrikaans (30) gepraat/...

gepraat.

MNR. BIZOS :

Was u Afrikaans na enige ander taal vertaal? -- Nee.

Die mense daar verstaan Afrikaans? -- Die mense daar verstaan Afrikaans.

Het u self gepraat na mnr. Lekota gepraat het? -- Ja, ek het self gepraat na mnr. Lekota gepraat het.

Wat het u gesê? -- Ek het vir die begrafnisgangers gesê presies wat mnr. Lekota gesê het dat die United Democratic Front nie 'n gewelddadige organisasie is nie en dat die mense vreedsaam uitmekaar moet gaan al gebruik die polisie geweld teen ons, maar ons moet vreedsaam uitmekaar uit gaan. (10)

Toe u besig was om te praat, het u opgelet of enige persone die mense by die begrafnis genader het? -- Ja, toe ek besig was om te praat het ek gesien dat die polisie by die begraafplaas se hek inkom en nader beweeg na die mense, na ons toe.

Ja, gaan maar aan. Wat gebeur toe? -- Ek het vir die mense gesê hulle moet uitbeweeg, hulle moet solank uitbeweeg uit die begraafplaas uit. Ek het gesê daar moet net omtrent (20) vyftien of twintig wees wat die gat vul.

Het die mense begin weggaan? -- Ja, die mense het onmiddellik begin beweeg uit die begraafplaas uit.

Waarom het u hulle versoek om dit te doen? -- Ek het gesien dat die polisie nader beweeg na die mense toe. Hulle het 'n ver ent van ons af gestaan, maar ek het gesien hulle het in die begraafplaashek ingekom en na ons toe beweeg.

Was daar enige beperkings op die tyd wat die begrafnis sou duur? -- Ja, ons het tyd gekry hoe lank die begrafnis moet duur. (30)

Kan/...

Kan u onthou hoe lank dit moes geduur het? -- Ja, dit was net twee ure wat dit moes geduur het.

Het u of iemand anders die tyd dopgehou? -- Ja, ek persoonlik het die tyd self dopgehou.

Toe die polisievoertuie in die begraafplaas ingery het, hoe was die tyd?

MNR. JACOBS : Daar is nie gesê polisievoertuie het ingery nie. Polisie het ingekom.

MNR. BIZOS : Het die polisie te voet ingekom of per motor? -- Hulle het per motor ingekom. Met verskillende voertuie. (10)

Het julle nog tyd gehad? -- Ja, ons het twintig minute oor gehad.

Toe u die mense gevra het om weg te gaan? -- Ja, toe het ek die mense gevra om weg te gaan.

Was u een van die persone wat daar agtergebly het om die graf te vul? -- Ja, ek en mnr. Lekota was agter met omtrent agtien ander om die gat te vul.

Wat gebeur toe? -- Terwyl ons besig was om die gat te vul, het die polisie toe traangas in ons rigting geskiet na die gat toe. (20)

Na u toe of na die mense wat besig was om weg te loop? -- Na ons toe.

Waarom sê u so? -- Want 'n kannetjie van die traangas het by ons geval. Ons het uitmekaar uit gehardloop in verskillende rigtings.

Voor of na die graf gevul was? -- Dit was voordat die graf - die graf was omtrent half vol, toe begin hulle skiet.

Was dit net julle wat by die graf was wat weggehardloop het of die ander mense ook? -- Ons het in verskillende rigtings weggehardloop en ek het ook opgelet dat die mense wat (30)

uitbeweeg/...

uitbeweeg het ook in verskillende rigtings gehardloop het.

Weet u, as u kan sê, of daar traangasblikkies op die mense wat besig was om weg te loop geskiet was of nie? -- Bedoel u nou van ons wat daar gestaan het of die ander persone?

Die ander mense? -- Ja, ek weet van 'n voorval van 'n ou kêrel wat hospitaal toe geneem moes word as gevolg van 'n kannetjie van die traangas.

Wat hom getref het? -- Wat hom getref het.

Wat nie by die graf was nie? -- Nee, wat nie by die graf was nie, wat uitbeweeg het. (10)

Was daar enige lede van die raad van Maokeng teenwoordig by die begrafnis? -- Ja, ek het raadslede van Maokeng daar by die begrafnis gesien op daardie dag.

Wie? -- Dit was ene mnr. Peter Molema, 'n mnr. Lefafa, mnr. Mfazi. Ek kan nie mooi onthou wie die vierde een was nie.

Het enige persoon enige beswaar gemaak teen die teenwoordigheid van die raadslede? -- Nee, geen persoon het beswaar gemaak teen die raadslede nie. Hulle was aanvaar.

HOF VERDAAG TOT 25 FEBRUARIE 1988.