

SHUN CHETTY

84

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF SOUTH AFRICA
(TRANSVAAL PROVINCIAL DIVISION)

CASE NO: 18/75/254

DATE: 7th MAY 1976

THE STATE

VS

S. COOPER AND OTHERS

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LUBBE RECORDINGS (PRETORIA)

COURT RESUMES ON THE 7th MAY, 1976.

STEVE BIKO (Still under oath)

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. ATTWELL (Continued): Mr. Biko, you were a member of which branch of BPC before your restriction? --- Durban Central.

Now Mr. Biko, I can't take copious notes while you are giving evidence but during your cross-examination my recollection is that you said something to the effect that the State had proved nothing in this case but a pile of documents, or something like that? Do you recall saying something like that? --- I had (10) used some words like that.

Could you just expand on it again? Could I just get what you ..? --- I was referring to the meaning of the word Terrorism. I was saying that in the minds of Blacks, and people like myself, what happens to Black society at the receiving end of the system of oppression, and I quoted several examples, constitutes much more definite terrorism that what these men here are accused of. I said that you have brought a pile of documents from which you are trying to glean out some conspiracy which I said exists only in the mind of Security Police. (20)

Did you express the opinion that the State had proved nothing but a pile of documents? --- No, I was just expressing a sentiment. I was not commenting on the facts of the case. I am just talking about the general impression that we as Blacks have of this case.

Do you know anything about the evidence which has been led in this case? --- Nothing except from press reports, nothing more definite.

So apart from press reports, do you know nothing more? --- Nothing more, yes. (30)

If I/...

If I may transgress for a moment to the Mangena trial, at the time of Mangena's trial, were you restricted? --- Yes, I was restricted.

Did BPC members and/of officials give evidence at the trial of Mr. Mangena? --- Yes, I think some BPC officials gave evidence there.

Who? --- I remember Mrs. Kgwari specifically, I can't remember the others.

But there were others you say? --- There could have been others, yes. (10)

Do you know whether those people were concerned with the image of BPC? When giving evidence? --- Naturally they were concerned because part of the indictment as far as I could interpret it was suggesting that BPC had such problems of violence.

Now you too are concerned with the image of BPC? --- Yes, I am.

That is why you volunteered to give evidence in this case? --- That is correct, yes.

Now I also understood you to say that you had assisted to get funds for the Mangena defence from the Council of Churches? (20) --- That is correct.

Why did you do that? --- It was because it turned out that just before the trial was due to start Mangena had not been able to get support from anybody for the trial and the instructing attorney in that case, who was a Mr. Tembene was just chatting with me about it saying that this might limit the extent to which they can go in defending this man, for instance if an appeal is necessary they will never be able to go that far because of the insufficiency of funds. So I thought then I would assist. I wrote to the Council of Churches to find out if they could assist(3
in a/...

in a matter of this nature.

Was such assistance forthcoming? --- Eventually yes, it was forthcoming.

Did you have anything to do with the funds for the defence in this case? --- No, I don't even know where it comes ...

As I understand it, as I understand your evidence, SASO and BPC are in effect opposed to White racism? --- That is correct.

How strongly are you opposed to that? --- Well, it is very difficult to refer to it in terms of degrees. I can merely say that we are opposed to it, and we do not see any possibility(10 of adjusting to White racism.

Now I would like your comments on the following statements I am going to put to you, Mr. Biko. Would you agree with me that it is SASO and BPC's purpose to bring about a total change in South Africa? --- I would not put it that way.

How would you put it? --- I don't think SASO has a programme of bringing change in the same way that BPC has a programme, of bringing a change. I think there is a slight difference between the two organisations. SASO aspires to change and I think SASO does articulate as I said earlier on the ideology which (20) should form the guiding light in that process of change, but their operation is limited by their very nature, mainly to the student theme. On the other hand BPC is a political organisation and because of this it does adopt programmes which are meant to bring about change. You know, the facilities, the whole process of change.

The point I am trying to make is that the purpose then, if we could confine it to BPC specifically, to bring about a total change in South Africa? --- Yes.

And they want to replace the Western Capitalist system? (30)

--- Yes, /...

--- Yes, they have stated their particular viewpoint which is opposed to Western capitalist system.

That the existing wealth and property will have to be re-distributed? --- Something to that effect.

In other words that the Whites are going to be deprived of their so-called privileges? --- I don't think so, I think the Whites are going to be made to BPC's mind to be like everybody else. In other words, the creation of a non-racial society without any particular minority protection. Everybody becomes equal before the Law. Everybody enjoys the same opportunities.(10)

Is it the opinion of BPC and SASO that the Whites are privileged and possess certain privileges? --- Yes, that is true.

This presupposes I imagine, purely as a matter of logic, that they have what other people don't have? --- That is correct.

And would it then be correct to say that it is the intention to deprive the Whites of those privileges? --- I think the intention is to normalise the situation.

To deprive them of their privileges? --- No, deprive might mean for instance take away private property which is all part of the privilege. Now SASO has not even and BPC has not given any (20) ruling of that nature. All that BPC has said is that they want to create a non-racial society without any protection for minority or any section of the community. Everybody becomes equal before the Law. One man, one vote.

Did you say "without any protection for minority"? --- That is correct. Or to put it more straight, without any recognition of minority.

Was it the intention to apply pressure to the State and to the Whites? --- I think in the course of the political process pressure will be applied.

(30)

And to/...

And to achieve this the aim of BPC was to build up the Black Power bloc? --- I would not put it that way. I said they have opted for what they call Black Solidarity which I have interpreted several times now before the court, to merely imply a creation of themselves as the spokesman of the majority of the people. In other words they require majority backing for what they say.

Black Solidarity in the united black voice? --- Yes, these are the words that are used, but I mean I am interpreting it in terms of reality, in reality it shall merely imply majority (10 support.

And is it correct to say that up until the time of the arrest of the accused in this case, there had been no decision as to how this change was going to be brought about? --- I think there were thoughts but it had not been reduced to a very categorical policy.

There had been no decision I said? --- Sorry?

There had been no decision as to how this change was to be brought about? --- Yes, there was no formal policy taken, as I say they were all just thoughts around BPC circles all the time. (20

Now how does your conscientisation programme fit into this? --- I think again I have explained, you had a beautiful definition of conscientisation that you gave me, and I think that places it in its context.

So you would refer the court to that? --- That is correct.

Definition of conscientisation? --- Yes. If you don't change it that is.

Well, it is on record, you read it then? --- Yes.

Can you recall what that definition entails? --- Yes, I can recall vaguely. (30

Now the/...

Now the accused before court at the moment were your associates? --- That is correct, some of them yes. Some of them I have not known.

Specifically, yes? --- Yes.

And together with some or all of them you were involved in these two organisations to whose aims you certainly had fully subscribed? --- That is correct.

And if the accused should be convicted in this case and an adverse finding be drawn, this would in your view be a severe setback to the BPC and SASO? --- Not only that, but to individuals concerned. (10)

And you volunteered to give evidence in this case? --- Yes, I volunteered to give evidence, to give assistance to the court in so far as I was involved right at the beginning of SASO and BPC.

I have no further questions, thankyou, My Lord.

RE-EXAMINATION BY MR. SOGGOT: Mr. Biko, to get to perhaps an essential question, I think what was suggested to you was that the BPC - I will confine myself to BPC for the moment, by its conduct is creating a dangerous situation, that BPC by its manner of conscientising people or the way it puts out these things (20) for example is creating a dangerous situation. What is your view on that proposition, bearing in mind that you have some experience in kind of BPC and the effects on people? --- Yes, I think I have indicated in parts of my evidence that my interpretation of the BPC approach is that BPC more than anything else was seen as giving a hope to the people. They are an interpretation of events or things happening to the Black community which is essentially common knowledge amongst Blacks. When we speak of suffering amongst Blacks we speak factually so to speak merely to establish a point of departure for all of us, (30) and/...

and certainly the language used is not the kind of language which could provoke any form of reaction within Black society that is akin to hostility, because it is a summarised version so to speak, of what Black society knows from experience.

Yes, Mr. Biko, let us talk about some actual history. BPC has been in existence -it came into existence formally at the end of 1972, not so? --- That is correct.

But even at its -even prior/^{to} and after that it had contact with the people, is that right, with certain members of the public? --- That is correct. (10)

Can we just get the forms, would there have been some leaflets distributed? --- Mainly meetings, occasionally depending on issues they may be pamphletering.

There may be pamphletering? --- That is correct.

Now have you been to actual meetings where members of the public, presumably the Black public as defined by you, were spoken to? --- Yes, I have been at such meetings.

Now at those meetings, what was the kind of language used, and what was its effect on the people? --- As I say it was a - (20
it depends again on the issues, if the meeting is over a specific issue we tend to focus on that particular issue, and related events. Like for instance if it is Sharpeville commemoration we speak of similar events. Now the language used is as I say more or less fair comments on what is going on within society. It is a summarisation, it is not what I referred to earlier on in my evidence as the kind of colourful language which if one wants to one may use to evoke a reaction. It does refer to killings if there has been killings. You refer to detentions if there has been detentions. And you pinpoint the part of the problems of Black society in an effort to get a common under- (30
standing/...

standing of where we as Blacks start from.

Now that is in the case of such things as Sharpeville day?

--- Yes.

Can I put this question to you. Do you think that if the consequence of the speech was to inflame racial hostility or anger towards the White man, you would be able to detect that? --- I would be able to detect it, yes.

How would you - how do you imagine that would manifest itself?

--- I think one of the characteristics of Black perception is that they tie up pretty closely to how emotionally dramatised an (10) issue is. If I want to inflame a Black audience I won't talk glibly in broad facts, I would describe details, as I said to court, just the issue of a starving child, I can say children are starving, it will be taken as a fact that is normal in Black society. But if I want to use it now for the sake of emotional rousing, my description of that starvation will be in minute detail describing the ribs, the protruding mouths, the protruding teeth, and so on, you know, calculated to hit the Black man where he most responds, that is at a level of emotion. Now I don't think the BPC language generally was of that kind. I (20) think it was more of the broad factual kind. There is of course political exaggeration one place or the other, but this is all common amongst politicians.

At these BPC meetings, there was presumably the followers and active supporters of BPC? --- That is correct.

Who else would be there apart from them, members of the public, Mr. Biko? --- Yes.

Press men? --- Yes.

Presumably members of the Security Branch? --- That is correct, yes. (30)

Anybody/...

Anybody else, any other class of individual? --- Yes, you would get the so-called intellectuals somethings, I am sorry, My Lord, I am being disturbed (Mr. Rees intervenes).

MR. REES: My Lord, I am saying to my learned friend that he should not put the key questions or the key phrasing to the witness, like the security branch ... (inaudible).

MR. SOGGOT: My Lord, this would be more or less common cause. Go on, Mr. Biko? --- As I say that you would find for instance the kind of group that goes there for intellectual purposes you know, amongst Blacks, your lecturers at universities some- (10) times would pitch up, ministers and so on, but broadly speaking they are all members of the Black community with the exception of course of the security policemen.

And if I may put the question this way, again looking at it historically, would you say that apart from the effect of conscientisation and the question of identity and solidarity, that the effect of let us say SASO propaganda or SASO talk on the students has been to change their attitudes in any way towards what is perceived as Whites or White oppression? --- You will have to repeat the question, I did not follow? (20)

What I want to find out is whether in fact SASO talk, SASO propaganda, has historically - as a matter of fact I am asking you now, not as a matter of speculation, altered the attitudes of Black students towards what is perceived as White oppression? --- No. There has been no alteration whatsoever.

Now a phrase which was put to you was you people foresee difficulties? --- Yes.

What sort of difficulties did you and do you foresee? --- You mean difficulties with respect now to the individuals involved?

I think that the question by the cross-examiner was in (30) relation/...

relation to the organisation, which would presumably involve the individuals as well? --- Yes, we speak about struggle precisely because although the programme we are involve in is completely above board and quite within the ambit of the Law, there are certain elements within White society who would tend to feel threatened by the emergence of any clear thinking Black leadership. We could foresee for instance from a long distance the possibility of banning orders, not because you have done anything illegal, just because basically the State has been made afraid of Black leadership through its history. As I said it (10) also oprates from the basis of fear. This is part of the problems that we foresaw. We foresaw for instance possible disruptions of our organisational programme. You might get meetings banned, you might get - and this has happened of course in history now - you might get sometimes even the organisation banned, not necessarily because of anything you have done but just because of the fear within White society. These are some of the difficulties we are referring to.

Yes, another question that I want to put to you is this. And that is the possibility that certain members of your organi- (20) sation might produce documents which in fact contain racial hostility and therefore has an important social effect. What is the likelihood that that can happen? IN BPC and SASO? --- Certainly at executive level as far as I know, at top level, there would always be control over areas like that. I think BPC like any organisation in this country is concerned about its image as was suggested, and would look out specifically for things that go out of their way to infringe law or give a particularly bad slant to the BPC policy.

You were the editor at one stage of the SASO Newsletter? (30)

--- That/...

--- that is correct.

Was any mechanism or arrangement made in respect of it being - your production being monitored by legal experts or anything like that? --- No, unless you were in absolute doubt. But nevertheless the editing of SASO Newsletters was - in tenor, Strini did most of it. On occasions when he was not sure he would consult me and if we were in absolute doubt then we would phone the SASO lawyer. That is correct.

Were SASO Newsletters all sent out at once or what was the position? --- No, we would do the sensing before actual printing. (10)

And once they were printed was there an immediate distribution of everything can you remember? Or did you have different lists of recipients, or what? --- We first start normally with our centres, then we attend to our postal list of subscribers which is kept in the office.

Yes, and as far as the SASO Newsletter is concerned, have you - can you give any evidence as to what the response was to articles SASO [?] spearheaded an important determinant? --- Normally on the campuses the Frank Talk column used to be very widely discussed. It had a bit of mystery because they did not know who (20) the Frank Talk was but at the same time they could detect a certain partisanship on the part of the Newsletter towards Frank Talk, in other words policy matters were generally left in the hands of Frank Talk to deal with, in the course of the column.

Yes? --- So that I think there was a very warm response on all the campuses in fact.

Yes, Mr. Biko, the suggestion made to you was that there was a vagueness in SASO constitutional or policy statements as to the future of Whites. Now you have already told His Lordship that what you people intended was an egalitarian society? --- Yes. (30)

Were there/...

Were there any discussions which dealt with the top, the future of the Whites? --- I remember this debate only in the context of the SASO Policy Manifesto, when we were ^{not} discussing the future of the Whites per se, but the future of our society. As I said later on I do not think it is vague at all, I think it is very clear, the policy manifesto of SASO, a student organisation cannot go further than that, in projecting their understanding of the future society. You will find that this is common to all student organisations. They have got perhaps one or two paragraphs to state what kind of society they believe in. (10) The article is quite clear.

Yes, on some specific points, the words "liberation movement" you explained its different meanings? --- Yes.

Now in the way that you people used it, was it a phrase which belonged to your vocabulary or what? --- I think it is a word that is generally used by Black intellectuals these days to name in a sense the process of change resulting in ultimate freeing from present bondage, when I say freeing I am talking about freeing from oppression so to speak. It is used widely by political scientists these days, it is used by ministers (20) in their talks. It is used by people like Gatsha Buthelezi, like the Labour Party, and Sonny Leon, and a whole lot of people use it. It has come to be accepted now to mean a moving away from a state of oppression to one where one is free.

Have you yourself had experience of meetings by other political organisers or political leaders in the Black community? --- Yes.

Can you give us examples? --- I used to go to meetings of the Labour Party for instance in the Wentworth constituency, it was at the time when the people out there were against certain (30) changes/...

changes in the transport system, so they had several protest meetings. I attended those meetings which were addressed by people like Norman Middleton, Derek Kariwane? and Roland Manditsi?.

Now as you understood them, was there phrasing of the situation or the problems different from SASO's? --- No, there was no difference whatsoever.

MR. REES: My Lord, is he asking this witness for an opinion? This witness can tell the court what was being said or ... (Mr. Rees does not speak into the microphone). I suggest that this is not relevant at all and does not arise out of cross- (10) examination.

MR. SOGGOT: My Lord, my submission is it does arise from cross-examination because the language used was something which was raised by my learned friend and my submission is that I am asking him for evidence on fact as to whether the vocabulary and phrases was different from SASO. I suppose one could go through the rigmarole of asking him for an entire inventory but my submission is that that would be pointless. If he does say there is a difference one could ask him.

Mr. Biko, you also mentioned that in Port Elizabeth you (20) had a meeting of the then SASO Executive? --- That is correct, that was in December

At the stage of evidence-in-chief I told Your Lordship that he did not have any Minutes at all. During the course of his evidence there was a further hunt amongst papers of which there are many in this case, and he found some, My Lord. I have already tended a copy to my learned friend. This would be BBB. Mr. Biko, I don't know if you have seen that document recently? --- No, I haven't seen it recently.

Can you identify the document at all? --- Yes, these (30) certainly/...

certainly are the Minutes of the December, 1970, meeting of the Executive.

Would you have a look at the following three paragraphs. On page 6, E34. Would you just read it without reading it aloud? And then E36? --- That is correct.

And E21, I am sorry, that would be on page 4? --- Yes.

Can you tell us what those three paragraphs relate to? --- Well, they relate to the setting up, these are resolutions setting up the bilateral meetings that are referred to in my evidence, between SASO and several Black organisations. (10)

Yes. My Lord, I don't think it is a document which takes the matter further other than to confirm in this form what the witness has described. On the question of SASO and BPC, I think what you told His Lordship in reply to a question by His Lordship was that certain members of SASO were influential in BPC. Is that correct? --- That is correct.

Would you tell us whether apart from that as it were informal connection there was any other connection, in particular any organisational connection? --- No, there was absolutely no structural link, no organisational link, and no standing functional link between the two organisations. (20)

Yes, and SASO itself, did SASO as an organisation ever set up the aim of establishing a grass roots political organisation? --- I think this was spoken about but it was never adopted as a SASO aim as far as I remember. Certainly people within SASO would speak about this as being a thing to be desired, but SASO itself never took a resolution to that effect as far as I remember.

Yes, I wont ask you about the Port Elizabeth meeting because you ..(inaudible). Now on the question of bargaining which has occupied a considerable amount of time, you were (30)

cross-/...

cross-examined on the possibilities of settlement and bargaining and what you said at one stage was that the bargaining had already started. --- Yes.

Can you develop that please, as to what you mean? I know you gave us some examples, but on an overall political - a macroscopic view, how would you explain that? --- What I mean here is that both sides, that is now Black and White, see the need for a solution in a sense. Both sides reject the present situation.

Now when you say both sides, that includes the Whites? --- Yes. (10)

Why do you say - what is in your thinking, that is why I am posing this question, that the Whites see the need for a solution? --- I am referring here to White political leadership, namely the thinking tank so to speak of the Nationalist Party. If you remember there are organisations like synthesis which have already been brought up in our society which bring together elements from different backgrounds politically to try and map out the future and people like Professor Nick Rhodie for instance would be there. The Government itself has started to make moves which are calculated to offer some kind of solution. (20)

What sort of moves? --- Moves for instance like Bantustans, like the CRC, all these are things which have come up in the recent past. They were not there originally in the policy of the Nationalists. And I think I see them as attempts to try and meet the Blacks some distance. On the other hand, Blacks, have already started applying pressure in certain areas. I referred to sport. Now I regard all these as elements of the bargaining process. There will be aspects of it which are rejected, you know, Blacks for instance still reject on the whole the Bantustan concept, but I do recognise it as an attempt by the White (30
society/...

society to solve you know, what they regard as an impulse presently.

And that rejection by Blacks, what can it lead to in your thinking? --- I think it leads to a rethink in the first instance it leads to a rethink, it leads to a demonstration of the minimum that Blacks are prepared to accept and if there is a majority decision to reject Bantustans itself, like there has been already with the Labour Party and the Coloured CRC, the Government has got now to come up with something new for the Coloured population for instance. They are not going to sit back and look upon (10) CRC as the solution after it has been so drastically rejected, by the Labour Party and the Coloured leaders as a whole in this country.

Yes, My Lord, I have no further questions.

BY THE COURT: Mr. Biko, was a protest regarded as being the same as confrontation? --- A protest?

Yes? --- No, I think there has been a progressive change in thinking on this question. For instance, at the Port Elizabeth meeting which is the present minutes which have just been given in, when we spoke of Sharpeville and started talking about the kind (20) of programmes that we were going to engage in on that day, somebody suggested that we should pamphleteer the public to inform them about elements of the Sharpeville incident historically. Now there was a lot of difference of opinion at that time about the advisibility of pamphlets. We were quite clear about what was to go onto the pamphlet if we do take it up, just a factual account of what happened at Sharpeville and similar incidents but people felt that you know, the very idea of dishing out pamphlets to the public might be seen by the police as provocation, (30) in other/...

in other words it might constitute consultation. Now thinking has changed from those days, people now are much more freer with issues like pamphleteering, so that now a protest would depend on how it is conducted, it would depend on other factors around it. If a protest is for instance on a student campus you know, within buildings of the campus, we are not infringing any law. It does not constitute what I would call confrontation. But if the protest is such that students go and say occupy a police station, because one or two of them have been arrested, such protest begins to enter into the realms of confrontation (10) now, because they are illegally occupying a police station. So it just depends on surrounding factors.

Yes, this Executive meeting in Port Elizabeth, they decided to coördinate and initiate and direct all protests in the event of centres indicating a willingness to go on protest? On whatever issue that affects them either indirectly or directly. ---
Alright.

Now what would then be an issue affecting them indirectly? --- If we take directly perhaps we will get to indirectly in that way. Directly would be if students as a whole are told that they(20 have got to pay R20.00 more next year, they may decide to go and protest, this would be something affecting them directly. On the other hand a member of the administration may just sack a popular member amongst students, he may be sacked by the rector for instance, and students may feel that although they have got no direct relationship with this man, the very sacking of a man without say a consultation with the SRC institutes some kind of indirect infringement on their ability to influence affairs at the university and then they go and protest. (30)

I see at this meeting you people also decided to lay down
a policy/...

a policy in respect of Sharpeville, SASO Day and the Day of Compassion? --- That is correct.

Did you people decide to hold a Frelimo rally down in the Eastern Cape? --- No.

In September ... --- Well, there was supposed to be a Frelimo rally in East London, but I think it was not a local decision, I think it was an instruction from head office.

Do you remember what the instruction was regarding that? --- Well, I was not involved in SASO, I just heard about this from rumour. I was not personally involved. (10)

I really wanted to know whether the instruction came from BPC or SASO? --- No, there is a SASO office there, so the instruction would have come from the SASO head office.

You said that BPC was not exactly the same as SASO because BPC had programmed. Now did the existence of a programme make any real difference? --- No, I am saying My Lord, they had a political programme, in other words they were directing themselves at effecting political attitudes, and this was their total occupation. On the other hand SASO really is a student organisation. They have got a political outlook which is not all that SASO is (20) composed of.

It is a part of their objectives? --- That is correct.

Now both these organisations regarded themselves as being part of a struggle for a total change? --- That is correct.

And both these organisations were out to see that each and every Black man was committed to this struggle? --- As I said the interpretation of that is that they wanted to get majority backing, they merely spoke of Black Solidarity in terms like that, but these were political terms, the practical reality of which was merely to attain a majority backing. (30)

Yes, that/...

Yes, that I follow, but now, I think I did get the impression from the documents that where the interests of students flagged, the attitude was that they were not committed to the struggle and something had to be done to get them properly committed to the struggle? --- That is true, that as SASO we did shape the political thinking of students.

But now how did you propose getting people committed to the struggle? --- I think My Lord, if one has to take all the aspects of Black Consciousness and the whole belief we have in our humanity and political approach, we believe that through together- (10) ness we can be a sufficiently important pressure group. *mm*

Now that I follow, but now how were you to set about to get people committed to that philosophy? --- It is through meetings, private discussions, and so on, where we examined as I said initially our common problems and try and convince the people concerned of the need to overcome those problems, firstly by readjusting their own internal thinking about themselves, and secondly by availing themselves to be with other people within an organisation like BPC. In other words the whole membership recruitment centres around those two questions, they (20) call on people to readjust their own thinking, not to regard themselves anymore as slaves, not to regard themselves as unimportant, they are very important. And to avail themselves for membership within the BPC.

Did you have a definite policy as to how to set about getting people committed to this struggle, or was it merely left to the ingenuity of individual members and executive members of these movements to get people committed? --- Yes, I think it was like any political party, there is no particular policy that you have got to follow when you recruit a member. (30)

I think/...

I think you just explain the principles that are espoused by the organisation to the potential member, and on the basis of this you may or may not convince him.

And you did not lay down rules as to what they may not do in trying to get people converted to this policy? --- I do not remember any such rules being laid down, My Lord.

Now I notice in SASO A.1, that is the - I think the Meeting of the GSC, you were mainly concerned with constitutional matters? --- That is correct.

And I notice that you also were involved in the resolution(10) relating to Black Consciousness? --- That is correct.

Now how do you people set about in formulating such a resolution? Do you have a committee which works out these resolutions, or how do you set about it? --- The particular resolution - are you referring to the Policy Manifesto?

Yes, the SA Policy Manifesto for instance? --- That is right, this is an outcome of a commission that sat possibly for about six hours before reducing their thoughts to that suggestion. The various aspects of the organisation and its IQ's were discussed, and points are taken down, and then the whole thing is phrased (20) and read to everybody in the commission until they reach complete unanimity on what they want to bring out to the house. Then one of the people on the commission is appointed as the mover of the motion, because when it comes before the house which is SASO now, it normally comes as a resolution already, and this motion is drawn up already to facilitate discussions, and then the whole thinking of the commission would be explained by the mover of the resolution.

Now that is in the plenary section? --- In the plenary, yes.

But now a manifesto such as a SASO Policy Manifesto, (30)

is a very/...

is a very comprehensive document? --- Yes.

Now was this extracted from what was fed into the commission, or do they reflect original thinking in the commission? --- That particular motion was actually phrased in the context of the commission, because it was so important we felt that the commission must accept the motion in its complete form before it is brought to the house. So there were no other reports, there were no special reports from that commission, it was just that motion as it stands now. I think it did get amendments in the house, as to the words and so on, (10) but nothing extensive.

And your writings relating to Black Consciousness, were they written before this or after this SA Policy Manifesto? Which includes a definition of Black Consciousness? --- It would depend on which specific article, My Lord, because I wrote from 1969 onwards, and by that time/^{this} resolution was taken I had already written many articles, so it would depend on the placing of an individual article.

Did they incorporate many of your thinking, much of your thinking in this manifesto? --- Yes, there are some phrases (20) which were taken from some article I had written, probably rephrased a bit. I think for instance that whole part talking about Integration was taken from an article I had written already on - it was a focus on White Liberalism, White Progressive Thinking and Nationalist Thinking in this country. And somewhere in the article I spoke about the kind of integration that we understand as Blacks. I think in respect of what appears there as Integration, aspects of that, such papers were available for reference to the commission. They are not only mine, there were others, as well, but certainly some of mine were used(30)

Now /...

Now Dr. Turner says that he referred people to you as a person representing SASO thinking? Now what was the relationship between you and Dr. Turner? --- I would say it was an intellectual relationship.

Did you meet him at university or ...? --- Yes, I met him at university.

Not in Cape Town? --- Not in Cape Town.

But didn't he know you when he was still in Cape Town? --- No. I met him when I got to Natal University.

And was his thinking very much the same as yours on these (10 matters that you deal with here on Black Consciousness and so forth? --- Not really, I think he is more of what one might call a radical liberal so to speak, he is liberal by persuasion, but he - I don't think for instance he attaches any importance to race as a factor in his fundamental thinking. I think he recognises it now because so many people do raise the issue, but basically he is much more bothered about distribution of wealth and liberal values, those two.

How he was rejected by the Black movements. Now why was he rejected? --- Well, there are some reasons. In a sense his school (20) of thinking tended to scorn our attachments to colour as a criterion in our thinking. He felt that what is important these days is to refer as I was saying to the distribution of wealth within society, this is the most important thing. Now we didn't feel like entering into serious debate with him, and there was also an element of arrogance in his approach to us which tended to make some of us angry, so we just

Well, in fact it was a personality .. --- Well, partly the ideological but certainly also personal. I did relate to him, in fact I had several debates with him about his point of (30 view/...

view and my point of view. I think Mr. Moodley also did have several debates with him mainly about our point of view.

Was he the man that wanted to introduce class as against colour? --- This is correct, yes.

Was he very much involved in student politics, because I understand that he addressed a meeting at the university where he urged students to demand greater participation in university affairs? --- Yes, he was involved, he was regarded as an authority by students. I think he certainly was one of the most intelligent/^{political}science lecturers that we had at Natal University, so that(10) even if we disagreed? with him we respected his viewpoint as important.

Well, he says that he addressed many meetings at campuses, do you know about that? --- No, certainly not on Black campuses.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

MR. SOGGOT CALLS ACCUSED NO.4:

MAITSHE NCHAPE AUBREY MOKOAPE d.s.s.

EXAMINATION BY MR. SOGGOT: Dr. Mokoape, you are accused no.4 in this matter? --- I am.

I wonder, doctor, if you would please speak up. You will(20) find out that it is difficult to hear from the witness box.

BY THE COURT: I think he will have to stand on the chair. ---

LAUGHTER. Am I that short?

MR. SOGGOT: Doctor, if you would try and face His Lordship when you answer, and try and speak loudly, not necessarily shout, so that we can hear one another. Doctor, you were born in September, 1944, is that right? --- Yes.

And you matriculated? --- I matriculated in 1961, at the Orlando High School in Orlando.

And thereafter did you become a medical student? --- Yes, (30) thereafter/...

thereafter I became a medical student.

At what university? --- At the Natal University, Black Sextion, but in those days it was known as the Natal University, Non-European Section.

Non-European Section? --- Yes.

And you eventually qualified as a medical doctor in what year? --- In 1974.

Now at the time of your arrest you were living in Durban and you were carrying on practice as a doctor as an employee in the King Edward Hospital in Durban, is that correct? --- That is (10) correct.

Now doctor, I wonder whether you could start your evidence by dealing with the development of SASO as you saw it in the UNB campus? I don't want you to unnecessarily repeat evidence which has already been given before this court, but in so far as it concerns you and your attitude toward the rise of SASO and what you understood SASO to signify. I would like you please to deal with that briefly now? --- Yes, perhaps it would be proper to start with the reign of NUSAS at the Natal University, Black section. In our Black section NUSAS was the body to which the (20) University of Natal Black section had affiliated to, but ... (Court intervenes).

BY THE COURT: Is it necessary to go so far back, Mr. Soggot?

MR. SOGGOT: No, My Lord. I think this is merely ... (Court intervenes).

BY THE COURT: It all depends, what do you want to get from him?

--- MR. SOGGOT: My Lord, he had a role in fact and I think he is merely expressing it as a sort of background, he gives that the following happened.

BY THE COURT: But would that illustrate what sort of role you (30) played?/...

played? If you start as early as that? --- Yes, I think it would, My Lord.

Yes, alright? NUSAS was the principal body and then? --- That is right, and well, one would say that NUSAS as a body on the campus was not really secure but it was sort of precariously on the seat of power. There were a group of - a substantial group of students who were against NUSAS on the campus and I was amongst these. On the other hand there were those students who were for NUSAS and I was

MR. SOGGOT: Perhaps I could interrupt you at this stage, why (10) were you against NUSAS? --- Well, my aim being was that the sort of multi-racialism that was preached by NUSAS as a solution to the problems of this country was something, it was rather in the air, because primarily I thought that the White students in NUSAS were insincere, the Liberal students in NUSAS, and that they were paying lip service only to this multi-racialism.

Yes? --- And that I had observed for instance that although NUSAS had been a national student body for such a long time, most of the NUSAS people in leadership who after they had left campus joined the infra-structure of White society and just became (20) like any other - had the same similar attitudes that the rest of the White community has towards Black people.

Yes? --- So I really thought that their role at university was one of political adventurism and I therefore did not wish to associate myself with NUSAS. On the other hand people like Steve Biko, B. Mashalaba, G. Abrahams? felt that NUSAS had a role and they supported NUSAS quite actively, they partook in its activities. To that extent then we were political enemies so to speak with people like Steve Biko, but I had a particularly close relationship with him, we were friendly on every other basis(30)

but/...

but political, and we were engaging in a lot of political discussions, we argued a lot and so on. I began to detect in him even before SASO was formed and amongst those students who were in NUSAS that they were becoming disenchanted with NUSAS itself. They were beginning to feel that they were being regarded as an appendage within the NUSAS structure. For instance there was the question that NUSAS had never had a Black president and that the highest position that had been reached by a Black student within NUSAS was one of vice president I think, and even then there had been only one or two(10) Black vice presidents of NUSAS.

Yes? --- And those of us who were against NUSAS said this was shere windowdressing. So so to speak there was this new mood amongst the students, amongst primarily those students who had been in NUSAS. And it came as no surprise when around 1968 or so they had the feelings which the previous witness has referred to. I was not involved in these meetings because so to speak I was not yet sure as to what they were doing. In 1969 our campus affiliated to NUSAS but even at that stage I was still - I had still not cast my lot with SASO (20) in fact I opposed our affiliation with SASO, and my reason here was that I knew these people who were spearheading SASO, they had been members of NUSAS, ardent members and supporters of the multi-racial line.

MR. REES: My Lord, I don't know if I am having difficulty with the witness's pronunciation. I thought I heard the witness say in 1969 our campus affiliated with NUSAS? --- No, sorry, with SASO.

BY THE COURT: He said SASO, I have written it here.

MR. REES: I think he said NUSAS and that he intended to say (30)

SASO/...

SASO, that is why I (Mr. Soggot intervenes).

MR. SOGGOT: My Lord, with respect to my learned friend I agree with him, I also heard NUSAS.

BY THE COURT: In 1969 campus affiliated with NUSAS, he first said that, then I opposed the affiliation to SASO, he corrected it then.

MR. REES: The point is he is saying SASO in fact? --- SASO in fact.

MR. SOGGOT: Yes? --- The problem was I thought that NUSAS was staging SASO, that is what I thought, because at that time there was the problem of the so-called tribal universities which were not being allowed by their rectors to affilitate to NUSAS, as we all know, there is a tremendous authorities in control on these campuses. So part of my thinking was that NUSAS was trying to establish a Black body so that it can get a foothold in the Black campuses, but with the passage of time, and because I had this association with Steve Biko and these people, I began to see their point and I was disabused of my initial thoughts, about their being attached to NUSAS. So effectively I may say that I cast my lot with SASO around 1970. (10) (20)

In fact you would automatically have become a member of SASO ... --- In fact I had already been a member technically speaking since 1969, but as an active supporter of SASO that would be 1970, and what really kindled my interest in SASO was the development of what we now refer to as Black Consciousness. And I thought this was a very important phenomenon in Black society, both to the students and to the society in general.

Well, can you very briefly tell us what you perceived its importance to be? --- Well, perhaps I should deal with the question this way, what are the effects of White racism on Black/... (30)

Black people. Now as I see it, the racism that Black people are subjected to has definite debilitating physical effects, effects such as starvation, poor wages, being denied voice in the Government at all levels and all this. These are the physical palpable effects of White racism, squalor, etc. But over and above this, there is another very important dimension, which I think is not mentioned often enough, and that is the mental effect which White racism has on Black people. I think White racism has produced a certain mental morbidity amongst Black people. (10)

Morbidity? --- Morbidity.

Sickness? --- As a sickness, yes. It is - whereby it has rendered the Black man an alien unto himself, it has caused him to become estranged from himself. In a nutshell it has completely disintegrated his individual and his sociological schema, how he perceives himself as a humanbeing relating to himself, to his environment, and to other people, and this is where I thought Black Consciousness was of paramount importance to attempt to get Black people to begin to view themselves in a positive fashion and it was in this context then that I became - I espoused Black Consciousness. (20)

COURT ADJOURNS.

COURT RESUMES.

MAITSHE NCHAUPE AUBREY MOKOAPE (Still under oath)

EXAMINATION BY MR. SOGGOT (Continued): Doctor, you had got to start talking about Black Consciousness, and how was Black Consciousness going to change what you considered to be the psychological disadvantages of the Blacks, and in the context of this answer I would like you to not only answer that question, but to also tell His Lordship how in practice in SASO you (30)

carried/...

carried out the conscientisation process? --- Well, as I understand it, as I say this problem is a psychological one, over and above it being a physical one, what we intended to do was to increase the critical awareness of the people as individuals, as groups, to try to make them view themselves in a positive light, that is to try and say to them - "Look, you are not God's mistakes, you are not a genetic error, in that you were created Black. You are created Black because you are in God's image and you are beautiful as you are, there is nothing wrong with your body, there is nothing (10) wrong with anything that you have received from nature, and you are just as equal to anybody else be it White, yellow or green. And this perhaps puts across what we try to do in conscientisation.

Yes? --- Of course from this flows the fact that people will begin to realise where they have common problems, begin to share these problems, be they problems via the oppression by the super structure, be they problems in their local environment via the facilities and amenities, be they problems in their work situation where they may be wanting salaries, they (20) may be wanting other amenities. If they view themselves, if they see themselves, if they are positive, if they see the commonness of some of their problems then it can present these problems to themselves and to those whom they want to correct the problems.

Carry on? --- In the context in which we use it in so far as community projects were concerned for instance, in fact this is where my real interest was aroused in the community problems. It was to go to a community for instance and there find all the problems that are raised by oppression, /lethargy on the (30) part '...
abject starvation,

part of the people there, dissidence, and general lack of initiative, and then we would sort of jug the people themselves to locate their problems, not for us as an external group to come and say "Look, your problem is this in this area, you don't have water, you must dig a well". We utilise what I may call an internal resources method so that people identify their problems, or they help to identify their problems, they are helped to bring about the solution to their problems. If it is the water well that is required there it will be them and not us who say you require a water well and in the end it will be them who says "Well, let's dig the water well." And it (10)

May I interrupt you. You yourself, did you participate in any project? --- Yes, I did.

Can you name some of them? --- I participated, in fact I was one of the pioneers of the New Farm Project(?) at Inanda which is what I may call a peri-urban area on the northern outskirts of Durban.

Is that referred to in EXHIBIT YY which has been handed in I think through Mr. Biko, The New Farm Project of Preventive Medicine? --- That is correct. (20)

I wonder My Lord, if that can be shown to him. Now doctor, what I would like you to do is have a look at that and then deal as a matter of fact in brief with what you people actually did there, what you did by way of conscientisation and what effect, if any, you had on the people that you worked with? --- Perhaps just before I come to that, let me just explain to My Lordship the point that I was still trying to make. The internal resources method, that as you ... (Court intervenes).

BY THE COURT: It is self-help really? --- It is really a question of self-help, that is right, which is tied up with the/... (30)

the question of self-identity and which is tied up with the question of self-reliance and which is also tied up with the question of liberating the man, liberating the man and his community, and you find as you go on with this kind of thing that you produce even a leadership in that particular community, a leadership that may have been dormant but existed, but which as a result of this comes to the surface.

MR. SOGGOT: Yes? --- Now this particular project at New Farm was started

Will you talk into the microphone please, doctor. --- It (10) probably started fortuitously in that we were invited by a clinic establishment that existed there as medical students to come and assist in running the clinic.

What year of medicine were you in at that stage? --- Well, I don't know, I might have been in third year or something like that, but all of us had a role, the clinic students would attend to the patients, the pre-clinical students would do laboratory things and so on.

Yes? --- And when we began working at this clinic we realised some very important things. The first thing was that we realised (20) that our patients came to the clinic repetitively, that is the patient would come, get treatment and go home and it would be expected that the patient would be okay. But after two or three weeks the same patient arrives back at the clinic with the same problem. A certain thing that we detected

Why was that? --- Well, primarily because the factory of the disease lay within the community, the conditions of life in that community, squalor, inhigienic conditions, lack of water, poor salaries, the entire gamut of things where one - what generally tended to create the same disease over and over again. (30)

That/...

That was the first thing? --- Yes, the second thing I observed was that there was a certain disease pattern in this particular group. Most prominent amongst these were things like gastro-enteritis, bilharzia, diseases generally whose epidemiology is connected with poor living conditions. So we then thought that our work at the clinic was being nullified by the fact that the people keep on so to say visiting the well again to drink the disease, and we decided that rather than just station ourselves at the clinic we has better go out into the community, and this is where the conscienti- (10)
sation programme unfolded.

Yes? --- We got to the community. First of all of course there is the question of identifying the existent leadership. We found that these people were living on freehold property actually which was owned by some Black landowners, some of them were absentee landowners. Many of them - the area was really a slum area. These people were staying on these plots, some of them were paying rent, some of them were not. So there was no real coherent leadership, but we were able to get around the people of the community in some way or another and we (20)
began to discuss these problems. Now to stress the important thing that I saw strike these people was that here are Black youngsters, Black university students, coming to ask, not with solutions, but to talk about our problems with us, and there I thought the process of conscientisation had already begun. Here they saw themselves, they live in South Africa, they live in a country where generally everything is done for Black people by White people, because White people have placed themselves in this position of supervisory capacities, and here of course now they were being confronted so to speak with - if we take con- (30)
frontation/...

frontation out of its context because it is used so much in this case, they are confronted with Black people who are interested in them. And the second thing of course was this fact which I mentioned that we were not presenting solutions to them, but we wanted to solve the situation together with them, and this sense of solidarity soon began to manifest itself amongst us and that community, a sense of belongingness. And where for instance we found in the initial stages that on Sundays when we got there people would be scattered all over the village drinking and generally enjoying themselves on (10) a Sunday afternoon or Sunday morning, but when we came on the subsequent Sundays, there was expectation. The rate of drinking decreased. Even the people who had been referred to in that community as useless people, as useless members, the quasi-alcoholics and so on, began to come to our groupings and they began to see the necessity for doing something about that community, to the extent even where they began to censor each other for not partaking in this programme.

Yes? --- Well, the programme unfolded and we identified the problems, we discovered that there was stagnant water in (20) the area which they got from a sugar estate dam which stood nearby. They did not have any wells, they did not have any taps. We discussed with them the possibility of erecting either a dam or pumping water from a nearby stream or digging a well, and all these things came from them. The question arose as to the standard of literacy and again they suggested that they could begin something on literacy. The question arose as to baby care and family budgeting and things like that, and all these things were looked into. The point I am trying to illustrate here is that there was an ostensibly dormant community(30)

we came/...

we came and over the period of about two years, I think it was two years or so, an internal revolution occurred within that very small community of about - I don't remember now how many exactly they were. Unfortunately though in the end we could not really carry out this project to its ultimate conclusion, the erection of the digging of wells and so on, because there came another problem which is also tied up with the racist structure in this country, and that problem was that that entire area was to be removed and those people would be put in some township or another. So (10) the programme could not be taken to its logical conclusion. But that was the to do

In the course of your activities there, apart from helping them, presumably with the advice in the way that you have described, did you preach anything or push anything in the way of specific Black Consciousness ideas or BPC or SASO? --- Well, maybe the question is not as simple as that. We did not say look, we have come here to teach you about Black Consciousness because we were doing Black Consciousness, we were enacting Black Consciousness there, and so far as my (20) judgment goes I think those people began engaging in this revolutionary process of beginning to identify themselves, and in so far as discussing the Whites or the super structure, it tended to fall in, because we would be discussing the question of a child who is sick, and the mother would say well, this child is sick, keeps on getting diarrhea and so on, and we say no, you are not looking after the child, and the mother says - well, I have got to out to work, the White people want me, if I don't work what am I going to eat. Another problem would arise as to family budgeting for instance, and the woman (30) would say/...

would say that White man there he just pays me R3.00 a month, how do you expect me to manage on this? And you would find that invariably discussion about Whites comes in. In fact I know of no Black man who can spend oneday of 24 hours without discussing the harshness and cruelties of White society. It is just something we live with.

And SASO and BPC was that ever mentioned expressly? --- No, one would not say that. We did not go there to sell SASO or to sell BPC, but the point is that people tend to identify you, they knew that we came from the University of Natal, Black(10) Section, and they came to know that there was a students organisation to which we belong, we belong to the South African Students Organisation, but it was not as if we were out for a membership drive. But I suppose that some of them say, maybe if there was a student in this community and he were at university, he would definitely see the need of identifying him with an organisation like SASO, or say if we had been BPC members, I would suppose that the people would see the necessity of relating to an organisation like BPC.

Will you refer to page 5 of this document, YY. You will (20) see under paragraph (d) it says there : "Here we note firstly that the average ..." --- have you got that? --- Good, I've got it, yes.

"Now the breadwinner's average wage is R37.00, the wage being R3.00 to R67.00 per month." ---- Yes.

Now is that correct? --- Yes.

Was that your finding? --- That is right.

What do you say as a medical man and as a person who was there, as to the adequacy of such a salary? --- Well, I don't know how to put it. That salary is just simply inadequate (30) by all/...

by all accounts, looked at from any point of view, even by White researchers who have done work on this kind of thing. I think the poverty datum line in South Africa today for an area like Durban is around R110.00. ..(inaudible).. it will probably be something like R90.00 or something like that. Now this only is about a half or a little less than a half of that, and what tends to happen in these situations is that when a man earns that kind of salary he has to sacrifice on certain essentials, and unfortunately one of the essentials that tends to suffer most is food because it is just impossible(10) to make ends meet with that salary, so he cuts down on a lot of things and he would probably say he would eat half a loaf of bread a day or things like that, and all these things have a definite debilitating effect on adults, let alone upon children where it has been shown that if a child is not - does not receive adequate nutritious food in the growing stages up to the age of seven it can get permanently mentally affected.

At (iii) it says : "The average total income for a family is R44.00 a month, the range being R9.00 to R123.00." --- That is correct. (20)

And the datum line for a family of six is considered to be R72.00 per month for food only, for eight it is R96.00 per month? --- That is right, those must have been the figures in that year.

What is the datum line? --- The poverty datum line as I understand it is that limit of summary at which a family can just manage to subsist, in fact I think in other studies it is referred to as the minimum subsistive level, that it does not take into account things like luxuries, it does not take into account things like holidays, all these other things that are regarded - and I must point out here that no amount of (30) sophisticated/...

sophisticated medicine or drugs alone can stem the tide of disease, the only way of stemming disease is three square meals a day, and the normal method of getting three square meals a day is getting a just salary.

Yes, doctor, you people were from SASO and you were exposed to these conditions. Is that right? --- That is correct.

What would you say about the average SASO student, would he have knowledge of such conditions in his community? --- Oh yes, we were not meeting these conditions for the first time. It was not as if we got shocked. Every student who is at (10) university, or let me say most of them, know about these conditions. Many of us come from such conditions. That is why it has often been expressed that it is a surprise at all to find a Black student at university level, especially taking into account the statement I have made just now that it is known that the lack of nutrition at an early age can lead to permanent mental defect.

Doctor, now apart from the New Farm Project you participated in other projects? --- Yes, I did.

What were they? --- I participated in (20)

I don't want you to go into details, merely tell His Lordship that it is such and such a project which involves this? --- I participated in the project at Dedido, which is a project some - an area some thirty miles to the south of Durban in the Scottburgh area. Here the project at least during the time that I partook in it was in the form of continuation classes, that is there were people there who were furthering their studies by correspondence and we as students came there to assist them with their studies, from all levels, Std. 6, Std. 8, Std. 10. And there were some university students there too, and I know (30) that/...

that since our participation in that project the rate of pass amongst the correspondence students shot up I think in one year in fact it was hundred per cent.

How long were you involved in that project? --- This project started in 1971 and I think I was involved in it through 1972.

This was sort of a coaching service for the ...? --- That is right. Well, this project also has the same kind of history as the New Farm Project, in that when we first got there, we did not intend to do this kind of thing, continuation classes, (10) and I started this project again. A friend of mine who was employed as a salesman for a baby food company was doing rounds in that area, and he found the conditions to be absolutely bad, and he told me this, and so we wanted to start there things like family budgeting and so on, but it came out that the community wanted coaching more.

Now as far as that project is concerned, was the conscientisation process similar to the New Farm or were there - was there any difference, in particular ... --- It was quite similar, as I told you we went there as we thought we would start some- (20) thing about children and so on, the fact that it came out as the coaching thing, so the involvement of that community ...

Any other projects? Was it just New Farm and Dedido? --- Yes, I participated in a project on our own campus where we had workers who wanted to improve their education and so on. And we were also coaching them. Some of them in fact I think it was literacy - they were illiterate.

Anything else? --- No, I had been to Winterveld when there was a project there being run by SASO but I did not participate in it myself. I think I only worked at the clinic for one or (30)

two/...

two days.

Doctor, would you (Court intervenes).

BY THE COURT: Winterveld, what is Winterveld really? ---
Winterveld is a freehold

Is it a re-settlement? --- No, no. It is a freehold area for Black owners, and - but what happened was that when there was a great re-settlement around Pretoria people were being removed from Lady Selbourne and so on, Eersterus, Walmansstad, some people were not taken to these townships because the Government only built limited houses and so on. (10)

They probably did not have employment? --- They did not have employment and so on. So the only freehold area, because the ones I mentioned were freehold areas, the only freehold area that remained in the Pretoria complex was Winterveld, so they went there and they.....

They squatted there? --- Well, not really, I think they pay rent to the landlords, to the landlords who own the area. And I think today it has a population of something like ,3 of a million.

Was it developing into a distress area? --- Well, it is (20) particularly a distress area, it is one of the worst slums I think in the country, outside of the ones around Cape Town, around D.F. Malan.

But now what could you people do at a place like that? --- Well, it is a similar kind of thing that we did at this area ...

Health schemes and things like that? --- Health schemes, educational schemes, in fact anything, but we tend to want it to come out of that community, they must sort of see what they think can be done, but we don't go out there to - as I said earlier on to sell SASO and BPC, but that is seen by the people (30
to relate/...

to relate with us, and the strength of belonging.

Yes, but I am just trying to find out what could you people do at a place like that with such a huge population? --- Well, somewhere sometime there is a - I mean our aspirations and what we really achieve are different things. Sometimes we want to move into Winterveld, we want to do something but the problem

Isn't there a lot of dissatisfaction at a place like that and so if you want to spread SASO and BPC policies, well, it is a very fertile area? --- No, not really. The dissatisfaction (10) is widespread in the country, it is anywhere, it is there at Umhlazi where I stay, it is there in Soweto and

Umhlazi, is that also a township? --- Umhlazi is a township, My Lord.

And what is the nature of the dissatisfaction there, also because it is --- ... the nature of the the dissatisfaction is really how White people treat us, White people - you take for instance the people who owns land, the landowners, like the people who were at Lady Selbourne, they were taken without consultation, their area was declared a black spot, they were taken (20) to GaRankua or something, they are dissatisfied with this kind of - they don't like it, they are not consulted. They feel that somehow this Government, the White people seem to have something against them and it is entirely right throughout the country. In fact like I said before there is no single Black man that I know who spends 24 hours without talking and complaining about the White people. When I walk out of this court, if I were not going towards the jail, but if I had the opportunity to walk out of this court, I know I would probably be bumped into by a White man on the pavement (30) and he/...

and he would not find any reason to say "I am sorry". In fact if I ask him or tell him "why are you pushing me" he might call the police, and we know that when the police arrive they arrest the nearest Black man that they can find, in fact in Durban there is a - the people there say with the handbag snatching or anything, any crime in the city, the police just cordon off the area and they arrest any and every Black man that is around there, whether he admits a crime or not he will explain at the police station.

Yes, but isn't that the type of talk that really creates (10) the hostility amongst the Black man, because I don't experience bumping into people if I leave this building? --- Yes, My Lord, I think looked at from a distance maybe by a White man, a White man may say - well, we do these things, there must be hostility in them, it is a question of projection there I think. A White man may say, well, if this happened to me I would get hostile, but the surprising thing about it is that Black people don't get hostile because you see, it is a unique experience, the Black experience is a palpable unique experience, an experience from the cradle to the grave, where I get born at (20) Baragwanath Hospital, where this country can boast of modern hospitals like Tygerberg or the one that they are building at Parktown, and right up to the day I am buried, I will have to get buried at Avalon cemetery and a White man gets buried at Braamfontein cemetery which is a better cemetery, it is from the cradle to the grave. (LAUGHTER).

Tell me, what is the difference? --- I don't know, I suppose the people think when the angel Gabriel comes for the life hereinafter he will start at Braamfontein. (LAUGHTER).

Mr. Mokoape, I don't think you believe in Black Theology? (30)

--- Well, I/...

--- Well, I do believe in Black Theology because they ...

Well, then he would start at Soweto? --- That is trying to create a proper and positive relationship between man and God, Black man and God, Black man as he finds himself in the position in which he is, because although I am not particularly au fait with ..?.. of Christians, but I think that God has a message for every man in whatever situation he is, and Black Theology is trying to find that message for Black people in their situation of oppression.

MR. SOGGOT: Well doctor, I don't think we will accept that (10)
Braamfontein is necessarily more comfortable than Avalon?, but His Lordship asked you a question which I don't think you have answered. You said to His Lordship that in Durban the people say, presumably the Black people, say that if there is a bag snatcher the police just cordon off the nearest crowd of Blacks, and then the onus of proof is on them at the police station? --- Yes, that is correct.

And His Lordship said to you, but doesn't that type of talk cause with respect, My Lord, I don't remember the exact words, but something like racial hostility. Now what do you (20)
say about that? --- Well, I don't think it does cause hostility.

But who says that sort of thing? --- Pardon?

The first question is who talks like that? --- It is the general Black people, every Black man be he an educated Black man, be he a labourer, be he a father, be he a child, they know this, it is part of their experience. This Black experience which we share alone as Black people and which White people do not know, and can not know, because they are not in this situation. It is an experience of people trying to survive when all the (30
odds are/...

odds are against them. And in so far as hostility is concerned, if I understand hostility correctly (Court intervenes).

BY THE COURT: You see, I am not suggesting that the Black man is not at a disadvantage, I don't want you to misunderstand me, but now I am just trying to test, assuming that you are at that disadvantage that you mention, now if you exaggerate it by spreading stories, then there can only be one reason for doing it and that is to try and make mischief. Isn't that so? --- If you spread stories in the Black community (10)

Yes? --- Well, I don't know, My Lord, what your intention would be if you spread stories.

Well, you see, you might say it is a good thing for conscientisation to spread stories? If you feel that conscientisation requires a boost, and you think well, that is probably a good line to get the people to realise that they are at a disadvantage, and that the White man is responsible for the disadvantage, I have got nothing against the logic, I understand the logic, the question only is whether you people really went too far in - well, it is - I think the State has a much (20) more difficult burden, the State will have to show that you did that to endanger the maintenance of law and order, in other words you wanted to create mischief so that eventually when your objects are achieved, you have a hostile power bloc on the point or just ready to disturb the law and order? --- Well, in the first place let me say My Lord, if you went around spreading mischief, which I also interpret maybe to mean lies, you would not be carrying out the process of conscientisation. Because the process of conscientisation in its inherent image is the fact of humanisation, by which I understand that truth (30) is an/ ...

is an integral part of it. The process of conscientisation attempts to bring a man to a level which we believe God has created him for and I think that this kind of thing hasn't to do with mischief. It seems we may talk about the White people, we may talk about what we think White people do to us, but this as I see it hasn't anything to do with conscientisation, it is simple narrative, that is one did not need to belong to SASO for instance to say that Black people were killed at Sharpeville

Well, that I can understand, you asked me a question, (10)
well, why would a person spread such a story. So I am just suggesting to you that either he is trying to make mischief or he is using it to conscientise or he wants to endanger the maintenance of law and order? Well, which it is, well the State will have to prove that. Now I am asking you, because you have asked me why, now I am asking you - now I am suggesting three reasons to you? --- Well, I think if you mean perhaps one has the other two reasons you mention, but I don't think he would be having the reason of conscientising people. Because conscientisation is the process of humani- (20)
sation. I don't think it can be - it does not operate on the basis of mischief. It is - its very basis is the basis of seeking the truth. Its very basis. It does not fit at all with conscientisation. But My Lord, you must not misunderstand me to mean that the man who spreads conscientisation, who has been gaining? the process of conscientisation may not speak about White people. The talking about White people, that is a fact of life.

No, I follow that, but you tell me that whenever you leave (30)
this/...

this building you would be knocking into a White man and a policeman would arrest you, then I say well now, I have never knocked into a Black man, because I keep a watch out and he keeps a watch out. Now if a man sort of bumps into you he either does so by accident or deliberately? Now I don't know, do you think that the White man does it deliberately and ... --- In the perception of the Black experience we believe that it is deliberately, because it happens ever so often. And not only does that happen, it happens when I get into the corner shop when I buy cigarettes (10) and the lady, the shop hand there says "Ja, my boy, wat kan ek doen vir jou". Now he is already referred to as "boy" and he (Intervention).

You see, there again, there do you think the White man when he refers to the Black man as "boy" that he has any motive behind it? I appreciate I mean you are a grown-up and you in your case you are a doctor. But I mean you resent a person calling you a boy, I mean I can understand that. But now unfortunately it has a historical background which of course the White man must get rid of it, I know, but now (20) are you entitled to infer that when he refers to a Black man as "boy" that he is really trying to be well rude to the Black man, or trying to be derogatory? --- Well, My Lord

There again I must concede that there may be people who do it. --- Okay, My Lord, that is exactly the point, it has a historical background. And this historical background is the background of racism, where White people have said tacitly overtly that they are superior to Black people, and they have reason to believe that they are entitled to call Black people "boy" and this is the vicious grip in which the country is (30) caught./...

caught.

Well, you say it is a paternalistic ... --- It is paternalistic and it is oppressive also, because one can, as we see it, we Blacks, we can take it in its logical step right up to the top of the super structure. If my employer calls me "boy" or sorry, if a White man in the street who does not know me calls me "boy", if I work for that White man, he is - he thinks he is even more entitled to call me "boy", that is as I see it. If I live in a township he thinks I must have a White superintendent because I am a "boy", to supervise me, to see that I behave normally, Or as he thinks normally. It goes on, I can't get into the Provincial Council because I am a "boy". And it goes right on up to Parliament where the major decisions of this country are taken, and there too I can't get in because I am a "boy". I can only bring tea. And this is so, whilst "boy" on its own may seem to be innocuous taken in isolation, we Black people after 322 years of contact with White people have developed certain perspectives. (10)

You see this as part of your psychological oppression? ---(20)
We see all this as part of our psychological and our physical oppression. The two are really tied together, and this is the Black experience My Lord. And I have to stress I don't think White people can understand the Black experience, because there is such a great social difference between Black people and White people. It is very unqie and especially because it is based on colour. Because in other countries for instance there is oppression, maybe in Europe or somewhere, but there the oppression tends to be perhaps on class or on education, there is the bourgeoisie, there is the peasantry, but because there is/... (30)

there is no recognisable symptom of a man who is a peasant, he can cross into the bourgeoisie if maybe he becomes rich, he gets some money from the football pools, but in South Africa I can have a million Rand today as a Black man and I walk down the street and they ask me my pass, so my skin is a boundary of my experience, my colour is a - I can be a professor of anything, I can be able to read the stars, but the boundary of my experience is this Black experience. And this is what makes it so unique, Black experience.

MR. SOGGOT: I have two propositions which I would like you (10) to deal with. The one is if I may still persist with this, the phrase that whenever a person steals a handbag in Durban, the police arrest everybody who is Black, now if that is said in the community, isn't that an exaggeration? And because it is an exaggeration perhaps a lie? You see, what I would like you to do is to try and explain this because it might sound like a lie to someone who hasn't got your experience? --- I think there lies the crux of the matter, it is a fact that we perceive oppression in this country as a totality. We see - our experience has taught us that this entire thing (20) is one coagulum so to speak, and that is oppression. So where a man may say, as suggested by one of the exhibits I think, that White people are out to exterminate us, us all, to the listener and to him, the speaker too, he does not mean that White people are killing every Black man because we know that White people cannot kill us all. They require us for their labour, they require us for their factories, so that man who is saying that, he is not trying to convey that there is actual decimation of the entire population of Black people. What he is trying to say is that there is such a harsh oppression as to (30)

produce/...

produce extreme debilitation, debilitation of the Black people. To pull them asunder so to say. So what perhaps a White person and a man reading cold words written on paper, they think this is a lie, this man went out to go and lie to the Black community, it is really to Black people, it is merely a way of putting their experience, and this thing is said every day by all Black people in some situation or other, because of the total perception of oppression as we see it.

You told His Lordship just now that if you were to walk (10) out of this court - I can't remember what you said ... --- That I would probably be bumped into by a White man.

You said probably bumped? --- Yes. Well, even there it is again (Court intervenes).

BY THE COURT: It is an illustration? --- Yes, but

You don't mean it as literally happening but I mean it is something which is not outside the pale of possibility? --- That is right, yes.

I mean I take it that ... --- Not only is it not outside the pale of possibility, My Lord, it is because I may not be (20) bumped into in actual fact, in fact I don't remember being bumped into over the last few years, but what it conveys here is that Black people can be

I know, that is just the image which you gave to make your point? --- That is right. And I think that it may elucidate even some of the statements that have been made in the papers.

MR. SOGGOT: Well, doctor, if we can return to your theme. You have explained to us what conscientisation involves? --- That is right.

Can you briefly relate this to your prospective - when I (30) say/...

say "your" I mean the SASO/BPC perspective on the acquisition of freedom or liberation? --- Yes.

In this context you might as well deal with the theme which has come up in cross-examination, and which does concern us, and that is whether you have an effect on people which makes them, if not overtly, at least latently ready for perhaps indiscriminate or violent action? --- I think I should deal with your first question first.

Yes? --- As I attempted to illustrate before, the very meaning of conscientisation is a liberatory process because (10) it begins to engage the man with himself, with his environment, and with other people. It is a process which begins to initiate in him the attempt at problem solving which is what I see as a very important facet of this entire question of conscientisation, the ability to solve problems, to look at things critically, to ask yourself questions. And this - psychological liberation is tied up with physical liberation, in that BPC especially and SASO to a smaller extent, see themselves beginning to be able to speak with an authoritative voice for these people who are engaged already in the (20) process of liberation, and it sees itself as an organ which can place their grievances to/^{White}people, to the White super structure.

Yes? --- The suggestion that the people may carry that it will be a coagulum, a bloc, I am afraid that is not quite correct, it is not going to march down like a column of an army onto Cape Town or onto Pretoria Union Buildings with a demand, it is just a question of being able to present, with some authority, the problems that face Black people. And of course we aspire to total change, we aspire, we say we are (30) looking/...

looking for total change, but as I said earlier on, aspirations and what ultimately comes out may differ. And that is how really we see the question of conscientisation, and liberation being tied up.

Yes, would you go on to the next question? --- Yes, ..?

That is whether the effect of your activities isn't to make of Black people who have been exposed to your example or ideology or your conscientisation as you have described it, to make them if not overtly, at least latently ready or susceptible for violence? To taking violent steps? --- No, I (10) don't think it does this at all. In my association with both SASO and BPC in Durban from which ..?..., I have not noticed this kind of thing. I think that BPC, what BPC does it provides a vent for Black people caught up in this morass, and to that extent it provides a hope for Black people. It elevates them spiritually to know that we have an organisation who is speaking for us. That is a platform where our grievances may be aired. It elevates them spiritually and to this extent it defuses even White hostility that may have been there. As I say, if we look at it from the other side, (20) suppose there were no BPC, suppose there were no SASO, suppose there were no organisations that spoke for Black people, and that their perception of the super structure continues to be as it is and there is no hope, there is just nothing, I think that kind of situation is more likely to produce an uncontrollable situation in the end, where there is nothing, but nothing, for Black people to allow for Black grievances to be aired.

I think you said what you wanted to become was an authoritative voice? --- That is right, an authoritative voice, a (30) spokesman/...

spokesman for Black people.

And would this have a bearing on the process of bargaining which we have heard about? --- Yes, it would have a bearing on this. Let's take a simple example which I should give with regard to SASO. Before the advent of SASO we were all roundly referred to as Non-Whites, sometimes as Bantu and all these other terms which Black people do not like. But after SASO came on the scene they expressed the desire to have Black people referred to as Black people, today barring a few exceptions we have been referred to as Black people. (10)

And I think even one of the parliamentary ministers said "well, if - I think they must be referred to as Black people if they want to be referred to as Black people," and Black people are being referred to as Black people, and not as non-entities as we used to be referred to. So already you can see there the process of bargaining in operation. It is a significant gain that we have made already, from this system, in so far as that question is concerned. And I think you can make your deductions from that kind of thing, as to how this process is going to work. (20)

Now it is not so much a matter of the - of deduction in this case, as a matter of precision? or fantasy of what you people thought. And while we are on that theme, you just said to His Lordship you want total change. --- Yes.

Now you have also said that in the reality situation it might not be so total? But can you express briefly the total change as it was envisaged by yourself and SASO/BPC if the two converge, coincide? And I think, doctor, in this context to consider the economic aspects, the cultural aspect, the attack on what is known as Whites values? --- What we (30)

really/...

really meant by total change I think spans a lot of areas, but I think we can take it right back to the Black man and the Black community. We want that Black man totally changed from a negative being to a positive being. We want him totally with a positive perspective.

Yes? --- In so far as Black/White relations are concerned, we want a total change in the attitudes that have governed this country for three hundred years plus, that is the attitudes that decree that there is one race which is superior over the other, and we know, at least we think and we believe that this(10) country is governed by those attitudes via the Black and White people. We want a total change in those attitudes. In so far as the political set-up is concerned, political defined in the narrow sense, really all we want is democracy, all we want is democracy. We want to normalise the sick society that is South Africa, so when we say we want a revolutionary change for instance, it is not as if we want something that is unknown in this world, some new fancy idea of how to govern society. We want a principle that has been accepted by the world over the last two, three hundred years, since the French(20) revolution, we want simple democracy, a government for the people by the people, and of the people. And in so far as the economics is concerned, well, we put forward the idea of Black Communalism, because we think that therein lies the solution to the economic problems of this country which can get the wealth of the country to be distributed equally amongst the people. That is the thing that we put forward. But you know, we are not economists, My Lord, we have not finalised what we - how we see Black Communalism functioning, but it is the principles of Communalism which we embrace, that is the (30) idea of/...

idea of sharing.

Yes? --- The placing of the humanbeing as a - in his rightful place. That is the primacy of the individual in society, the humanism that is contained in Communalism. That you can think of your fellow man, you want to share. You don't look at him as an object only to be exploited. That is in so far as our economic system is concerned as we see it.

Yes? --- In so far as White values are concerned, really what we say here when we say we reject White values, what we are rejecting primarily is racism, the attitude of superiority. (10) I think one of our documents does say we reject those values that seek to make us foreigners in our country of birth. So in a nutshell what we seek to remove are those attitudes held by White people which tend to regard Black people as inferior. We do not say for instance that if White people say it is good to talk truth, because that is a White value we don't want it. Because in the first place it is not a White value, it is a universal value. We do not reject for instance that we may not kill, if White people say you may not kill, because they say so we must reject that. (20) No, we do not do that. When we talk of rejecting White values we are talking of rejecting those things which are tied up with race superiority.

Apart from the elements of racism, is there anything else foreshadowed by the rejection of White values? --- No, not really

I just want to see what is in your mind? --- Well, we talk of capitalism, I think I have made mention to that already, that we embrace Communalism because we think Capitalism breeds exploitation, especially the laissez-faire kind of Capitalism. (30)

In what/...

In what way do you link this idea of exploitation to White values? --- Well, we link it in so far as Communalism we see as the original life philosophy of the Black people of South Africa and the aborigines of Africa, and (Court intervenes).

BY THE COURT: You relate it to western society? --- It came with the western people. It was not here before, so in that way we relate it to White people, but we are not rejecting clothes, we are not rejecting all those things which came with White people. (10)

MR. SOGGOT: Doctor, now I think we can return to SASO. Did you participate in any sub-organisation or did you fill any particular post in SASO? --- No, no, I did not. My primary concern in SASO was always community projects because I felt this is really a very important area in which we can make a contribution, and I never took up any leadership position in SASO. Not at a local level, not at a national level.

Was it offered you? --- I can't remember if ever it was. I never attended the SASO conferences for instance.

I just want to place on record, the reference to Mokoape (20) in relation to the various resolutions at some GSC's, that refers to whom? --- That refers to my brother Keith.

By the way, where is your brother? --- My brother left this country in 1972. He was a medical student at Wentworth together with me and he went into exile. Presently, at least before I was arrested, he was studying at the Copenhagen University in Denmark.

As far as the SRC is concerned, I think you can go onto that? --- Yes, I was a member of the SRC.

When was that? --- I think I served on the SRC for two (30) terms/...

terms, probably 1969/70 and 1971/72. I am not too sure here. I was on a number of councils on our campus. I was on the Medical Students Council, I was on the SRC, so I would not remember exactly when I was on the SRC.

Now you are I take it familiar with the SASO programme as set out for example basically in SASO A.1, is that right? The policy manifesto? --- Yes, I am familiar with that.

Now I don't propose to go into that. You heard for example the evidence of Mr. Biko in relation to that? --- Yes, I heard. (10)

And his understanding of it? --- Yes, that is correct.

Do you agree with him or differ from him? --- No, I think I agree with him to a large extent generally.

Is there anything which you want to qualify? --- No.

On the question of Sharpeville, if I may use that expression, Sharpeville Day, when was the first Sharpeville Day that you went to? --- I can't remember exactly, but I think it - I might have attended a Sharpeville commemoration probably in 1967/1968. You see at Wentworth, that is the University of Natal, Black Section, we used to have these Sharpeville (20) commemoration on a very small scale, but this was before the advent of SASO.

Whose idea was it? --- It was the students idea really, and the SRC

What happened at those Sharpevilles, and the Sharpevilles -- and to what extent did it differ, if at all, from the SASO - the Sharpevilles during the SASO epoch? --- Nothing fundamentally different, it was always a question of having to ask one of the Black ministers around Durban to come and lead a sermon and they have one or two of the student leaders speaking (30) because/...

because we usually held these days on a weekend, the SRC would issue a notice saying on Thursday, and saying to the students, please this weekend is the weekend of commemorating Sharpeville, see to it that your extra-mural activities are cut down to a minimum, don't behave in any fashion that it can be interpreted as regarding the ceremony as frivolous, and for the particular occasion come to the SRC office, there are black armbands, wear them around your arms, put on your jackets, generally look presentable.

What was the mood and/or atmosphere which you found at (10) these meetings? --- The mood was usually very serene. In fact even outside these meetings, say beginning on the Friday evening, you would definitely detect a different kind of behaviour amongst the students. As I said the SRC would put out notices that students should behave in a proper fashion, so they would not be like normal, they would not be the normal student weekend behaviour of parties and noise and ...

?
And gumbas? --- And gumbas. And football matches would be cancelled, all such things would be cancelled, and the students generally behaved in a very very serene fashion. (20)

Now doctor, you were eventually restricted, weren't you? --- I was restricted in 1973 I think, around November. J

Now when did your association with SASO terminate, if at all? --- Well, as I said, I had never really taken up any position in SASO. I had never gone to the General Student Councils. I had a relationship with the SASO leadership, the successive SASO leaderships, but especially with Trini, Barney Pityane, Steve Biko, Tim Basono(?). So when this layer of leadership was removed from SASO by the banning orders in 1973 early, my intimate contact with SASO sort of ceased, but (30)
I remained/...

I remained an active supporter of SASO. I am still an active supporter of SASO.

People like Basono? and Pityane, where did your relationship with them start? --- Well, it started all in the context of SASO really. You see, I had known Steve Biko and Steve Biko was an important man in SASO, so

You were on the same campus together? --- He had been on the same campus.

Was that where you had met? --- Yes, we were very friendly.

And you were friends? --- Yes. And so these people were (10 in SASO with him, in the SASO leadership with him, and I developed a relationship with them.

And did that relationship persist? --- That relationship persisted until they were all banned. They all got banned just before me.

BY THE COURT: Why did they ban you? --- Well, I don't know, presumably because I was not in the leadership and Major Stadler told me during ^{giving} my banning orders that the ministers were ... (inaudible) .. (witness laughing). I don't know what he meant by that. (20

Now what do you think why were you banned? --- Well, I think I was banned because of my association with these

What did you do? --- With the SASO leadership.

I mean association is not - itself could not cause the banning? --- Well, there is a well-known addictedness about the South African Police special branch

No, I am asking you what you think the reason was why you were banned? --- Well, I thought they picked on me because they thought they had banned others, and this one may just start again.

Prevention is better than cure? --- Precisely, My Lord. (30

MR. SOGGOT:/...

MR. SOGGOT: Dr. Mokape, you see these questions by His Lordship, with respect, are fundamental because the suggestion by Harry Singh is that you were something of a grey eminence in BPC. Now is there any of this dealing with SASO? --- With SASO?

Yes? --- No, there wasn't. I think that is not a correct representation there of the truth. It is not as if I was a backroom manipulator of SASO's. I think it is just a question of when I embraced Black Consciousness I began to understand it quite well and perhaps I became an exponent of it. Of (10) the philosophy of Black Consciousness. And to that extent I think I was quite au fait with Black Consciousness and I spoke to people here and there, but I wasn't at all - I was a student leader of my campus definitely, that I was.

BY THE COURT: Well, you made a speech at the Sharpeville commemoration? --- Yes, but there I was trying to sell BPC.

Yes, but you made a speech? --- Yes. In fact - well, I used to speak, as a student leader I spoke on lots of platforms.

MR. SOGGOT: At the time of your banning in 1973, had you been making speeches? Public speeches? --- By the time of my (20) banning? I had been making public speeches for a long time.

BY THE COURT: What were you saying? Here at the speeches, what were you saying at the speeches? --- Well, I can't remember that, it would depend on the ...

You were not selling BPC all the time, were you? --- Well, there was not BPC then, BPC is a late phenomenon and I think it comes only in 1971.

When did you start making speeches? --- As a student leader.

You made student speeches on the campus? --- Yes, I made student speeches, sometimes we would have parents' evenings, (30) meetings, /...

meetings, at Wentworth.

Anyway, it was not related to BPC or SASO ...--- Well, SASO was already a phenomenon and I had already embraced the philosophy of Black Consciousness. But I didn't make any speeches for instance on behalf of BPC that I can remember now.

So the only speech you eally made in connection with BPC was the speech at the Sharpeville commemoration? --- Well, I may be wrong here, My Lord. I spoke at that Allan Taylor Residence Meeting where I was a member of the ad hoc committee for BPC. (10)

MR. SOGGOT: In March 1972? --- That would be in March, 1972. I might have spoken again on behalf of BPC - no, I don't think so, My Lord, but I can't be definite now.

COURT ADJOURNS.

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