

ACCUSED

PREME COURT OF SOUTH AFRICA

AL PROVINCIAL DIVISION)

CASE NO. 18/75/254.

THE STATE

VS.

OPER AND EIGHT OTHERS

NB . P3402

VOLUME 61

PAGES 3385 - 3443

RECORDINGS (PRETORIA)

THE COURT RESUMES ON THE 2nd APRIL, 1976.

MR. REES: My Lord, before the Defence start, I think it is time that they clarified what the representation position is now. Because they have had three counsel and now we have one only. Perhaps my learned friend would clarify the position for us?

MR. SOGGOT: My Lord, I am happy to do that. I appear on behalf of all the accused at this stage.

MR. SOGGOT CALLS:

DR. MANAS BUTHELEZI d.s.s. (10)

EXAMINATION BY MR. SOGGOT: Dr. Buthelezi, would you tell His Lordship what your professional status is? --- I am a Minister of Religion of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

I would be grateful if when you give your evidence you would look at His Lordship and try and speak up because the accoustics are very difficult in this court. --- Yes.

Now would you indicate briefly to His Lordship what your educational experience has been? Where were you born? You were born in Zululand? --- Yes.

In 1935, is that right? --- Yes, that is correct. (20)

And you matriculated at? --- At St. Francis College in Marian Hill near Pinetown.

And when was that? --- That was in 1954.

And then what did you do? --- After that I did Teachers Training and completed in 1956.

Where did you do your Teachers Training? --- The same institution at Marian Hill.

And now perhaps even at this stage you could start indicating to His Lordship your experience with various aspects and members of the Black community, and any particular interest(30) which you might have developed? --- From my early youth I was very/...

very much interested in young people and relating to their problems. At Marian Hill there were many young boys whom I tried to help in order that they might cope with some of the problems attendant to such an institution like Marian Hill.

BY THE COURT: Well, what sort of institution is Marian Hill? --- There was a high school together with a Teachers Training College.

MR. SOGGOT: And what sort of problems were you thinking of? --- I was thinking of problems of mischief which many young people are subject to, as well as moral problems in general. (10)

Moral problems in general? --- Yes.

BY THE COURT: When you say mischief, do you mean juvenile delinquency? --- Yes, My Lord.

MR. SOGGOT: And then after you had done your teachers training you then enrolled where? --- After doing my teachers training I went to teach at Khleva(?), which is in the district Mahlabathini.

And at what school did you teach? --- It was a secondary school.

And when was that approximately? --- It was in 1957.

And while you were teaching there, did you have any contact(20) with youth?--- I was responsible for a youth group in the local parish which enabled me to get in very close contact with the problems of young people in general.

And were these Blacks or Whites or what colour? --- They were Blacks.

And would you tell us after you had taught at this particular school, what did you do? --- After I had - while I was still teaching in this particular school I got so interested in helping young people that I decided to resign from teaching and go to train as a minister so that I might relate to people's(30) problems full time.

And so/...

And so what did you do, doctor? --- I went to do theological training at the Lutheran Theological Seminary near Dundee at Rorke's Drift.

And you studied there for how long? --- I studied for four years.

Now during this period, did you do any other study? ---- Well, while I was at Marian Hill I already did get some courses from Unisa which I completed while I was doing the Lutheran Theological studies at Rorke's Drift.

And did you achieve any degree at Unisa? --- I graduated (10) for a Bachelors Degree.

A Bachelors Degree? ---- Yes.

When would that have been about? ---- That was in 1960.

Now at Rorke's Drift you studied for the ministry, is that correct? --- That is correct.

Now would you tell His Lordship in broad outline again the sort of experiences you had with members of the Black community and if at this stage you had experience or contact with SASO people or BPC people. Would you tell His Lordship about that? --- I think there was no SASO or BPC at this stage. But (20) concerning young people, while I was doing my theological studies I was again made in charge of the young people in the local congregation which again related to some of my basic interests. At the same time our institution used to coöperate with a local high school. Sometimes we used to have common conferences with the ordinary students in the particular institution.

BY THE COURT: What subject did you major for your B.A.? ---- I majored in Systematic Theology and Systematic Philosophy.

MR. SOGGOT: And thereafter doctor, what was the next chapter(30) in your career? --- After I was through with my theological studies/...

BUTHELEZI

studies I was made in charge of a congregation first at Arples ..? and later at Lamontville in Durban.

And your work as a minister in this community brought you into what sort of contacts and what sort of problems of your people? --- This kind of work enabled me to relate to problems of all levels of Black people. For instance young people, I used to help some who had financial problems and tried to help them secure some financial assistance. And there were people who were unemployed, and I used to try to help them as well.

And then after your ministry in that part of the world (10) what then happened? --- I got a scholarship to go and study in the United States.

When was that approximately? --- That was in 1963.

And where did you study and what did you study? --- I studied first at ? University for a Masters Degree and then went to ? University for a Doctors Degree.

And did you achieve both of those degrees? --- I did.

And having achieved that degree in the United States, what did you then do? --- I returned to South Africa.

And would you tell us what you did at that stage? ---- (20) When I returned to South Africa I was put in charge of a congregation near Melmoth, and while I was there I used to get all sorts of invitations to come and address groups.

I am not sure whether I covered this point, you became a minister in which church? ---- Of the Lutheran church.

And are you still a minister in that church? ---- I am still a minister of the Lutheran Church solely in the capacity of general secretary of that church.

Now I am sorry I interrupted you, you said during that period of your ministry you received a number of invitations? (30)

To speak?/...

To speak? --- Yes.

Would you tell His Lordship what that was about? --- Most of my invitations I used to get at this stage after my return were from the Lockou University, that is the University of Zululand. I think I gave addresses there quite a number of times between 1968 and roughly 1970. Besides these I also got other invitations to address groups.

And during the course of these addresses which you gave, did you meet people from SASO or BPC? --- Again at that stage I think SASO had not existed. It was still 1968, 1969, yes.(10)

And were you - when you visited these places, did you speak to the students? --- I did speak to students on topics which they had assigned me to lecture on. And after speaking always there used to be questions and discussions times, which exposed me to some of the basic concerns of the students.

And what would you say some of those basic concerns were? --- I think some of the concerns of the students at that time were related to the whole question of the meaning of life in relation to the general experience in our country.

And how would you describe that? --- You mean the (20)
experience?

MR. REES: My Lord, how could this be relevant to this case?

BY THE COURT: Well, he is still qualifying the witness.

MR. REES: Well, he is a mighty long time doing so, My Lord.

BY THE COURT: Yes, he has probably quite a lot of experience.

MR. SOGGOT: My Lord, we are anxious to show this witness's experience in relation to his people, so that he can describe what their feelings are. Doctor, would you develop that please? That is the experience of the people and their problems? --- (Court intervenes). (30)

BY THE COURT: You were still discussing the concerns of the
young/...

young students? --- Yes. I got acquainted with the concerns of young students and against this related to my earlier concerns which provided my motivation for going to take up the ministry.

Now we have passed that already, we are busy with the invitations to address students. ---- Yes.

Now I think we actually got from you that you were put in the position to know their concerns, related to their Black experiences. I think that is what you are saying? --- Yes, that is right. (10)

Yes well, now carry on?

MR. SOGGOT: Could you indicate to His Lordship at this stage doctor, what you understood to be their concerns or their problems in relation to their Black experience? ---- The concerns of the students as I understood them, had something to do with the fact that in this country the Black man experiences life from a position of disadvantage. He has no vote in this country which means that he has no power to participate in the decision-making courses in the country and the majority of the poor people in this country happened to be Black and (20) Black students were very much concerned about these issues. Especially at that point where these problems of Black people relate to the Christian faith itself.

Well, can you perhaps tell us that as well at this stage, or would you like to develop that at a later stage? ---- I am at your ... (Court intervenes).

BY THE COURT: Well, I think you are on the point, you have mentioned it now. How do you mean, how does the faith come into it? Would you just elaborate on that please? --- Very often when I address these groups I would get a question like (30) "what is the responsibility of the church as a church to the problems/...

problems of the Black man, because I discovered that many educated young people had lost faith in the church simply because they thought the church was not interested in the existential problems of young people. I used to hear a statement, statements like "while the Black man prays the White men took the land", and of course this moved me, because I tried to make the Christian faith relevant, and already while I was concerned with young people, I could hear from these **kinds** of songs they sang that they were concerned about what one might call political problems. (10)

MR. SOGGOT: What type of songs did they sing? ---- I remember for instance in the early '50s there was a song which in Zulu sounded like - "the witness speaks in Zulu" (the laws of Malan are heavy upon us). At that time I could hear all these things and was very much concerned because I regarded this as part of my responsibility to help people to cope with life, not only in a narrow sense but in a broad sense.

Doctor, we know that eventually you became concerned with Black theology (Mr. Rees intervenes).

MR. REES: My Lord, was this the laws of Milan or the laws of Malan, it can make a vast difference. (20)

BY THE COURT: Malan. Yes well, if it is all relevant. What laws did you say makes life difficult? ---- I was quoting the song.

Yes, well now, just repeat the translation? ---- The laws of Malan are heavy upon us.

Malan, was that a person, or has that any particular meaning in the Zulu? ---- I think it referred to the Prime Minister at that time, and I thought that it personified in the minds of many people the political institutions of the land. (30)

The law maker? ---- The law maker. If I can continue something/...

something also related to this which I used to hear as I went around amongst the people. I could see groups of labourers whenever they lift something heavy, they would chant something like, if I translate - "White people are swines, they call us dim(?)" and even now they

They what, they are swines, they call us ..? ---- Dim. They call us dim. And this used to touch me, even now one very often hears the same thing. This still continues.

Doctor, you have mentioned as part of the Black experience and some of the concerns of the Blacks, the fact (10) that they haven't got the vote. Can you indicate briefly some others, if there are any others, essential problems which touch your people and the students? ---- Some of the problems My Lord, which touch the people is the fact that the Black man has lost confidence in himself. He for many years has only seen himself as a victim of circumstances, which has therefore meant that he has been dead spiritually for many years and has not been able to develop some self-confidence so as to be able to help himself.

Are there any of the - any other problems of the community(20) which you would like to touch on now? ---- Some of the problems of the Black community is the whole question of poverty, the lack of educational facilities. I met many parents for instance who wanted to send their children to school. I remember one as I speak who was crying just in front of me simply because she had a daughter whom she wanted to send to school but had no money and was asking whether I could be of any help to her.

Now doctor, you have said that you had this contact with the students. Would you tell us when you first made con- (30) tact, if at all, with SASO or EPC people? ---- It was while I was a/...

was a lecturer at the Lutheran Theological College at Mapumulo?, that was the first time I heard of an organisation known as SASO.

Now doctor, I think I might be taking you out of your chronology, when did you become a lecturer at this college? ----
I became a lecturer in 1969.

And just to get your curriculum vitae straight, what did you do before that? ---- I was a minister in a congregation near Melmoth in Zululand.

Is that an area which you would describe as a reserve (10)
area? ---- At that time it was a mission farm.

A mission farm in the rural area? ---- In the rural area.

Then you became a lecturer at Mapumulo, is that correct?
---- Yes, that is correct.

And there you say you had first contact, who did you have contact with? ---- In one meeting students at the college had invited what I now think were officers, officials of some sort, amongst those was Steve Biko who gave an address on the historical background of SASO, how it broke away from Nusas, and he also made an analysis of Black Consciousness, so I (20)
would say that was my first encounter, with SASO.

And what did you understand from him Black Consciousness was about? ---- I understood Black Consciousness as an attempt on the part of man to become aware in the first place of who he is and try to shed the image of being a mere victim in relation to unpleasant circumstances. An attempt which would try to help the Black man to be conscious of his God given potentials. (Mr. Rees intervenes).

MR. REES: Is the witness now telling us what he understood from Steve Biko, or what his own understanding of the matter is?(30)
I would like to get this clear.

MR. SOGGOT:/...

MR. SOGGOT: My Lord, I thought it was clear. The question put to you doctor, was what did you understand from Biko ... (Mr. Rees intervenes).

MR. REES: My Lord, perhaps the witness can tell us whether he is giving us what he understood from Biko, or whether he is giving us what his own understanding of the matter is.

MR. SOGGOT: Doctor, would you indicate, would you please tell His Lordship what you understood from Biko? ---- It was a definition of what is meant by Black Consciousness, and to^{my}/mind this was the impression that was created as far as what it (10) is about.

Now would you carry on as to what it was about? ---- It was about an attempt to help a Black man to become aware of who he is and be conscious of the fact that he is not a mere victim but he can help himself at some stage even before the outward circumstances had changed.

BY THE COURT: To discover his identity? ---- Yes, discover his identity, My Lord.

MR. SOGGOT: Yes? ---- And this impressed me very much because I had become aware of the fact that many Black people were (20) simply dead, they were always waiting for help to come from outside, even in those moments of life where they could do something about it, where they stand even before the circumstances had been changed.

Now doctor, apart from Steve Biko, who else did you meet? I am now interested in your telling His Lordship in brief terms what are the SASO people you met and what contact you had with the members or with the organisation from that point? ---- You mean in that particular meeting or later on?

Well, if there were other contacts in that meeting would (30) you tell us, and then proceed as far as your memory assists you?/...

you? ---- I did not know the names of other members in that particular meeting, but later on I had contact with some of the members. I remember for instance after I had been invited to give a lecture in a Black theology seminar in 1971, I met some of the members whom I discovered later to be related to SASO. Among them was Stanley Mdwasa? and Justice Moloto. Others I don't remember the names.

Yes, and did you speak to them about SASO? ---- Not about SASO as such, because the seminar was on Black Theology, but after my presentation there was question time which (10) enables me to become aware of some of their basic concerns.

And could you tell us what those basic concerns were? ---- Those basic concerns revolved around the question of what the Christian Gospel has to offer to the Black man in relation to his circumstances, so if we say that ... (Mr. Rees intervenes).

MR. REES: My Lord, I must object to his. This is hearsay evidence, this witness is telling us what other people told him about their concept of matters. Surely those people can be called to come and tell us that themselves. Here we (20) are having it secondhand. It is no good what this witness's impression is, it is what they say what their philosophy is. I can't cross-examine the members of the organisation through this witness. He says - oh, my understanding was this, my understanding was that. He is an outsider. He is not an expert witness, nor can he come and tell us - these people told me this, these people told me that. He can comment on evidence before the court.

MR. SOGGOT: My Lord, my submission is that so far as his evidence about his own people and their responses are concerned, he is an expert. As far as his contact with SASO (30) is/...

is concerned my submission is that the concerns of members and in particular leading members of the organisation are of basic materiality in this matter.

BY THE COURT: How do you want to use the witness?

MR. SOGGOT: My Lord, in effect that he was introductory to the problem of Black Theology and the resolution on Christ and the significance of the Biblical thinking, of their logical thinking

BY THE COURT: How would this be relevant, the evidence of which he is - the evidence on which he is giving evidence at (10) the moment? It is not on Black Theology.

MR. SOGGOT: My Lord, it would be relevant as showing that this is a problem which was generally entertained by members in a Christian context, giving sufficient - giving a different slant to the suggestion that in fact Christ is being used in order to undermine support in a ..?.. political way, and the purpose ultimately is to show that SASO and BPC in their writings and in their expressions in fact are drawing all the time from the feelings and thinking of the community, and that they are not some extraneous exogenous group which (20) must be viewed as developing a particular revolutionary or unpalatable ideology of their own. And it is this setting which we trust will be of assistance to Your Lordship.

BY THE COURT: I think Mr. Roes is right, you can't lead evidence as to what people said. You can perhaps lead evidence of what was generally accepted.

MR. SOGGOT: Well, My Lord, my submission is - I am not sure that we might not be at cross-purposes, but the statements of members are admissible because we are dealing with what the State alleges to be a conspiracy. And if it is (30) in the course of the activities of the organisation then my submission/...

submission is it is relevant and what Biko says to him about what SASO is about is clearly relevant. It is relevant as a (Intervention).

MR. REES: My Lord, may I take my objection further, if my learned friend says this is evidence, because he is a Black man he can give evidence about his own people, My Lord, that only has to be looked at to see that it is not admissible. It is as well if I say I am going to call Mr. Soggot to give evidence about the Whites, or that I am going to call somebody else here to give evidence about the Whites. How can he? (10) He is not an expert on the subject and - unless he is properly qualified. Secondly he says he wants to show that SASO is, what the concerns of SASO's leading members are. Now these SASO members can come here and tell the court this is what our philosophy is, this is what we have been doing, this is what we are going to have. And then this witness can tell us these are the principles you apply or these are the Christian principles or or whatever they are. But he can't come and tell us, this is what SASO's policy is, and this is what SASO people tell me, etc. My Lord, he is (20) confusing that about which he must give an expert opinion, if he should be qualified as an expert, and the facts on which he bases it. My learned friend is not entitled to do that. He must lay these facts before Your Lordship by means of the best available evidence. And from this witness's own say-so this is secondary evidence.

BY THE COURT: I think Mr. Soggot's point is that this man is in very close contact with the Black community, and he is not trying to prove the testimonial value of the statements of those SASO people. He is only trying to put the (30) evidential facts before the court that these - that that was the type/...

the type of discussions the people were involved in. Your case is that there was a conspiracy.

MR. REES: That is so, My Lord.

BY THE COURT: And we will have to have regard to this type of evidence to see whether there was a conspiracy.

MR. REES: Either he was part of the conspiracy or he was not.

BY THE COURT: No, he need not be part (LAUGHTER)... of the conspiracy. The question is whether SASO was part of the conspiracy. He wants to know what the executive acts were of these particular officials. (10)

MR. REES: My Lord, whether the executives -- where he is here leading secondary evidence of the matter, he has got the officials. It is no good saying the officials did this, that or the other. He can bring those officials to come and tell us. If he wants this

BY THE COURT: Yes well, that is if he wants to prove the facts of their -- the truth of their statements, that is if he is interested in the testimonial value of their statements. But he is not interested in the testimonial value of the statements, he is only interested in evidential value of the (20) statements. The fact that that statement, that type of statement to have been made, not to establish the truth of the statements that were being made. Is that your ...?

MR. SOGGOT: My Lord, in effect their conduct.

BY THE COURT: Yes, I see it, it is really conduct as opposed to the truth of what they are saying.

MR. REES: My Lord, it seems to me that what he is busy trying to do is trying to say this was SASO's policy, this is what SASO was doing and therefore (Speaking simultaneously).

BY THE COURT: ... No, no, he was introducing the thinking of (30) these people which you accuse of being part of a conspiracy.

MR. REES: /...

MR. REES: My Lord, the best people to tell Your Lordship who or what their thinking was is they themselves, then he can come and comment as to how it must be

BY THE COURT: I think you can go on.

MR. SOGGOT: As Your Lordship pleases. Doctor, would you just deal with that, the question of SASO members and Black Theology, and then I would like you to go on to the question of Black theology at this stage. --- In these meetings they very often raised the question of the relevance of the Christian faith to Black experience, and I felt very much (10) challenged by this because I felt there is a group of young people for the first time are trying to look at the Christian church to find an answer to problems, because in the past educated people used to write off the church as being of no relevance whatsoever, but for the first time in my ministry I found a group of Black people who atleast tried to give the church a chance.

You made reference to educated people who had written off the church. What sort of educated people are you referring to, in what community? ---- I am speaking of Black people(20) in this particular context.

Yes, and then would you tell us about Black Theology? ---- It was in the context of this encounter that I personally got interested in trying to define the Christian Gospel in relation to Black experience, for the sake of convenience this attempt at doing theology was known as doing Black Theology.

And would you tell us how Christianity then relates to the Black experience in terms of this? ---- In terms of this it simply means that when I preach the Gospel to a Black listener I shall try to wrestle with some of the questions (30) he raises, so that the Gospel may then provide an answer to
existential/...

existential questions and made-up questions. For instance if I say that Christ is the Saviour or Redeemer or Liberator, somebody who sets me free, I should take seriously some of the concepts of the Black man when he sees other chains intruding on his life and then wrestle with the question of making Christ relevant in whatever situation the Black man finds himself in.

I want to read to you in this context a SASO resolution. I think that is EXHIBIT G.1, My Lord. It is Resolution 41 of 1973, Exhibit G.1. Perhaps I can pass up a copy to you, (10) doctor. It is on page 304. --- (Court intervenes).

BY THE COURT: Is Black Theology something new or did you find it in America as well? --- Not at the time while I was present, in the United States, it developed after I had returned to South Africa, but it is so that in the United States as well as in South Africa there is Black Theology.

MR. SOGGOT: Now doctor, would you perhaps read it to yourself to familiarise yourself with it. Have you read it, doctor? --- I have.

Doctor, would you give us your comments on what is (20) expressed here, to what extent it relates shall we say to Black Theology, and thinking of Black theologians? --- What is here portrayed is a very colourful language, some of which I have not used myself, but when I begin to think deeply, for instance where it speaks of : "Christ as having been a revolutionary who had pledged his life for the liberation of his subject race from Roman imperialism and oppression", I looked back in the history of the church and asked myself does this reflect any element of Christian tradition. Apart from the particular words used, I come (30) to the conclusion that some of the - apart from the words, some/...

some of the things which are here fall within the limits of what I would call a legitimate theological expression. If I am allowed to elaborate on this?

If you would do so briefly, doctor? --- For instance in the Apostles Creed we always recite in the second article that Christ descended to the realm of the dead, or descended into hell, many theologians in the history of the church have reflected on this question against the background of the basic questions, in what way does Christ save us. There were two main theories. Some said Christ saved us by providing (10) a balance on the day of justice after man had committed sin, and the other theory which is especially elaborated in a book by a Swedish theologian, Gustav Oulin?- it is Christus Victor and the author is Gustav Oulin?. He after having enumerated all the theories with regard to the question in what way did Christ save us, he also said that there has been another theory which he called the 'classic' or the 'dramatic' theory, in which God is said as having paid a ransom to the devil, he gave Christ and the devil ... (Mr. Rees intervenes). (20)

MR. REES: Shouldn't this book be produced if the witness is quoting from it, My Lord, when we can have a look at it too. --- I was just using it as a background, but I was using my own words, my understanding of it.

BY THE COURT: Have you got the book? --- Not ...

I mean you don't have it available here, the book? --- Not on the premises of the court.

MR. SOGGOT: Have you other books available which support ... (Court intervenes).

BY THE COURT: Perhaps it is just thoughts now, you can come (30) back to all that. I mean it is his subject.

MR. SOGGOT: /...

MR. SOGGOT: I am sorry, it was my learned friend's objection.

--- I do have another book but which is secondary in which the ideas of our land and this book are summarised. Perhaps I may just finish summarising - it is my own words, and then try to relate back to what is in this particular document.

BY THE COURT: Yes? --- I got to this ransom theory, when the devil grabbed Christ with all his demons around him and the captives who were held there in hell by him, he was surprised to discover that in this Christ there was divinity, so Christ was able to overpower him and crush the demons and then (10)

liberate the captives who were there. So in this sense we can also speak of - legitimately speak of Christ as being a liberator, one who fought for the freedom of those who were held captives. And concerning the word "revolutionary", of course it depends on what is meant by revolutionary, but as I look at it here, when Christ started his ministry, he set in motion a revolution, not only in the religious institutions of his time, but also in socio-economic and political life. As a matter of fact it was because of this that he

was crucified. He was accused of encouraging people not (20) to pay allegiance to Caesar, and he was accused of saying he was the son of God. So in the eyes of his contemporaries he was a revolutionary.

Yes? --- I may also add My Lord, that in theology we say that theology is relevant to the extent that it is able to communicate its message in the words which are understandable by people who listen, and people during our time are familiar with phrases like revolutionary, that conveys a meaning to them, and therefore in the context of trying to communicate in words which are understandable the word "revolutionary" I would (30) say is within the meaning of what I would call a legitimate theological/...

theological expression.

Doctor, it does go on to talk about the association of Christ with the Essenions. Could you deal briefly with that please? --- That is a subject of speculation in as far as the new Testament does not provide us data in that context, but the historian, the Jewish historian Josephus? who has written on matters which provide a social and historical setting to the documents of the New Testament, does speak about certain groups which were there, like the Pharisees and the Sadducees, and the Essenes, the group were character- (10) ised by a number of things, one of which was their sense of community. Some of them did not marry and those who married did not have any ^{sex} relations except for the purpose of begetting children, but there was another element which is perhaps related to what is in this document. It was their Messianic expectation, they were expecting the coming of the Messiah who would liberate them, and as we know from some of the texts in the New Testament, many people understand this, not only in the religious context, but also in a political context, and My Lord, I believe that this reference to Christ as having (20) had some association with the Essenes, although it belongs to the realm of speculation, has some legitimacy in as far as many scholars believe that this group of Essenes did influence the formation of the Christian church, and therefore I am not surprised if some of them add and say that even Christ himself was somehow related to this group, because all the material is not available in the documents of the New Testament. There are documents here and there which give such an indication.

And finally, the last question I will ask you on this resolution, the suggestion that Zealots were an Israeli (30) guerilla warfare group? And that there was - that Christ who/...

who joined the Essenes and this movement, worked in close collaboration with the Zealots, an Israeli guerilla warfare unit, against the Romans. Have you any comments on that?

--- If I (Mr. Rees intervenes).

MR. REES: My Lord, before the witness answers could he just be requested to speak a little more slowly, it is far too fast for us to grasp what he is saying.

BY THE COURT: Doctor, will you ... --- I will oblige, Your Worship. With regard to the question of the Zealots I have a book here in my possession written by Stewart Perone?. The(10) title of the book is The Political Background of the New Testament. In this book among other things he speaks about these groups, some of the things I have said about the Essenes are - I collect it from this, there is a portion which relates to the Zealots, if I may ...

MR. SOGGOT: Yes? --- If I may just read on page 39 : "And ..?.. as the Pharisees who sprang oddly enough not from Judea itself but from the town of Gamala to the east of the sea of Galilee, decided that only by implacable ... (inaudible) ... could the national spirit be pre- (20) served inviolate. His name was Judas and he is generally called Judas the Galilean. He found an ally in a certain Saddoc, a Pharisee of the extreme rigorous school of Shamai ...(inaudible)... These two founded the party of the Zealots."

Then further on he describes the characteristics of these groups of the Zealots. Among other things he told what one of the early writers said about this. He said :

"They proclaimed that" - meaning the Zealots" - they proclaimed that captivation was no better than an (30) introduction to slavery and exhorted the nation to assert, ...

assert their liberty. Men received what they said with pleasure and ...(inaudible) ... proceeded to a great height. All such organisations all sprang from these men."

What I am trying to illustrate here is that there was at this time a group known as Zealots who had nationalistic spirits, and therefore when I read this reference to the Zealots, I again say that what is stated here falls within the realm of speculation in relation to the New Testament, because we do not find it there, but one can gather from other sources (10) as to how one can legitimately speak of them as having been a guerilla group.

BY THE COURT: So from your authority the Zealots are the people who refused to pay the taxes? --- That is what one of the writers said about them. All I am saying is that they were a significant group, and there are many things and many associations which they had and therefore what is said here about them belongs to the acceptable speculation that - when you don't have sufficient data - one can either disagree with this or agree with it. (20)

MR. SOGGOT: Doctor, as far as Black theology goes you yourself have written an article called An African Theology or a Black Theology in EXHIBIT III I think it is, My Lord, that is Essays on Black Theology. That is correct, it is III. Doctor, you haven't got a copy so perhaps I can hand you my copy. I just want you to refer to it and confirm that that is your article? ---- It is.

And is there anything that you would like to add to it, or alter at all? --- There is nothing to alter there, perhaps to add. (30)

Doctor, as/...

Doctor, as far as Black Theology is concerned, is this a belief or body of thinking which is confined to Black men? Or Black theologians? --- I shall answer the question by saying that for many years Black people have looked up to the Whites to define for them what the gospel is about . What is happening in Black Theology is that the Black man himself is trying to ask some of the fundamental theological questions and beginning his own reflections as a contribution to the whole church of Christ, so it is a theological contribution to the body of theological material. (10)

And what has the response of White ministers been? --- Some of the White ministers who have taken time to seriously understand what it is all about have had a very positive reaction to it, whereas others have taken some - have taken exception to it.

Yes, now doctor, I wonder whether you would just elaborate a little bit more about your contact with the SASO people and Black Theology. Was a Black theological agency at any stage in existence? --- Among the programmes of UCM was a Black Theology Project.

UCM being the University Christian Movement? --- The University Christian Movement yes. For instance when I was (20) asked to give a lecture on Black Theology, the invitation came from Dr. Basil Moore whom at that time I understand was the general secretary.

Dr. Basil Moore? --- Yes. Moore. And when UCM was dissolved a conference was called in Pietermaritzburg in order to make Black Theology something independent, something that is not dependent on any organisation and in that conference, to which many people had been invited, at that the Theology Agency was created and an interim committee was appointed.

I would like you to have a look at SASO B.I. --- (30)

BY THE COURT: Doctor, is it correct to say that Black Theology was related to the struggle of the Black man? To put it this way, Black/...

Black Theology does not come out of the Bible itself, it is an attempt to relate religion to the Black experience? ---- My Lord, you cannot relate - make a separation between the Bible and the struggle of the people. Theology tries to mediate the Bible with life as people experience it, so I would not say that Black Theology originated outside the Bible from the struggle of the people, but Black Theology originated at the point of interaction between the Gospel and Black man's experience, which is a legitimate setting for any relevant theology.

(10)

But is it a matter of coincidence that an attempt was made to relate it to Christianity and not to Mohammedanism for instance, by way of an example? ---- No, I believe that Mohammedanism is their own way of doing theology, but it so happens that here Christians were content, and naturally for Christians the Bible is a setting, it is a point of reference for any question one may /^{ask.}

But according to the Black man's culture, well, isn't that devoid of Christianity? The Black man believes in his - well, in the God and in the fore-fathers who are really the go-between between the Black man and his God, isn't that so?--- That is true.

That is the Black man's culture? ---- Yes. (20)

And so Christianity does not come into it at all? -- Yes, it doesn't come - but what is important to remember here is that this is - some people call this a Christian country, and therefore it is legitimate to raise questions, to raise points which call in questions, the legitimacy of that assertion, and apart from that we preachers, including myself, claim that we have answers for all people, for all kinds of questions, you can cure all ills, and therefore we present Christ as a Saviour of you, not only a part of you, but of the whole of you, and now these young students are saying (30)
that/...

that - if you preachers say that Christ saves the whole of me, please try to explain in a way that I can understand, and this is what Black Theology is trying to do. My Lord, I may also add that I hope even in other communities the same thing might come about, because Black people have brought in something very healthy to this country. It is my wish and prayers that a similar thing happens in the White communities, that White people begin to ask how the Gospel relates to them in relation to problems which they have as White people, so it is - the White person only seems himself (10) in the position of dominance in relation to the Black man, and therefore the Gospel may help the White man to rediscover his identity, and therefore My Lord, this is a very healthy event that has ever happened in the history of this country.

Well, I am not a minister but isn't there a difficulty, it is that the White man - well, the Bible tells him to be a humble man, and that is Christianity, he must be humble, it is really always the - he must always be lesser than the other man. But that man uses Christianity to show no, he is as good as the other man. That brings him out to make him (20) proud of himself and stand on his hind legs? --- Yes.

That is a bit of a - if you carry out your preaching, will you have that conflict? --- My Lord, it is not

That Christianity must be used by the White man just to bring him down a peg or two to make him feel humble? --- Well, that is for him to decide My Lord, but here I may say that concerning the question of humility as a virtue, it is one virtue among many others. For instance Christians are called upon to be prophetic. A prophet assumes a difference - a different stance from that which would be assumed by a (30) pastor who tries to oil the wounds, so a prophet does say -
he is/...

he is arrogant in a sense, and I believe that through Black Theology the Black man is trying to preach the same gospel in the South African setting which the White man brought here. I sometimes think that/perhaps the White man preached all he had and was left with nothing and now the Black man is trying to return that to the White man. So by these words I am trying to say that this is something very healthy. Unfortunately very few people understand that this is a greant event which is happening during our time.

MR. SOGGOT: Doctor, may I just hand you SASO E.1. Would you just read to His Lordship the first paragraph, the background? ---- (Mr. Rees intervenes). (10)

MR. REES: What page is it?

MR. SOGGOT: It is E.1. Are you missing it? It is page 241.

MR. REES: There seems to be some misunderstanding, It is probably page 243, that is Focus - Black Theology Conference?

MR. SOGGOT: That is correct. ---- Now it reads :

"At the YMCA in Edendale, Pietermaritzburg, was held from the 13th to the 16th February, 1973, a Black Theology Conference which had been called by the now defunct Black Theology Project of the University Christian Movement, several people, ministers of religion, and delegates from a number of organisations were present at this conference. It was charged with the function of setting up a viable machinery to run Black Theology in this country, a machinery which was envisaged would function independently of the many organisations that had shown interest in and those that had been active in the promotion and propagation of Black Theology." (20) (30)

Doctor, was this Theology Project then set up? ----

That is/...

That is correct.

And I think on the next page there is reference in the second column to an interim committee which was established and it refers to you, Dr. Manas Buthelezi, and regional director and then other names? ---- That is correct.

And would you tell His Lordship does this project still exist? --- As far as I know although Black Theology still exists, the agency itself as was originally organised is not there. What happened, when this beautiful thing was being set in motion is that some of the members of the committee (10) were banned and therefore that tended to sabotage the functioning of this.

Now while we are talking about banning, by which I imagine you are referring to restriction orders, you yourself were restricted at one stage in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act? ---- That is correct.

When was that, doctor? ---- That was in 1973.

And what was the restriction then imposed on you? --- I was prohibited from attending social, political and students gatherings. (20)

Was there any other restriction apart from that? ---- No, that was all.

And what happened to that restriction, is it still in existence? ---- It was lifted in 1974.

What month? ---- May.

Now just to round off this element on Black Theology, do you know Professor Bosch of Unisa, do you know of him? ---- I know Professor Bosch.

Of Unisa? ---- Yes.

You know him? ---- Yes. (30)

Has he written on Black Theology? --- Professor Bosch has/...

has written some essays on Black Theology, some of which he has shown me. In one of those essays he tries to compare the Black Theology phenomenon in this country and that in the United States.

Yes. ---- And I found him very perceptive.

BY THE COURT: Can one compare the two? Is there a comparison or not? ---- Yes, My Lord, one can - in a sense in which they have something in common. There are Black people in South Africa and there are Black people in the United States. They have common problems in relation to the rest of society.(10) That is the point of agreement, but at the same time I believe that one should say that Black Theology in South Africa has its own uniqueness in so far as the South African society is different to that of the United States.

MR. SOGGOT: Now doctor, one of the precepts of SASO we have is to break down what they call the psychological oppression, that is not the exact phrasing but that is one of their principles, not so? ---- Yes.

How do you understand this from your contact with SASO and its writings? ---- By psychological oppression I understand that there comes a moment in life when one becomes a victim of oppression, not an oppression from outside, but an oppression which has been made to be automatic within because of circumstances, and in my ministry I have seen lots of this. I remember at one time when a Black man wanted to sell his beasts to a White farmer, well, the White man said - "I cannot buy it, it is very expensive, why don't you go and sell it to your people". The Black man said -- "I would rather slaughter it" because he was saying in Zulu "Black people are devils" (repeats in Zulu), and this touched me that (30) now this man is not being oppressed by people outside, but
now the/...

now the thing is happening in himself, and therefore in the context of the evolution of SASO I would say that SASO did try to provide a correcting to this psychological oppression of the Black man by himself.

BY THE COURT: You used the word oppression, isn't it more correct to say inferiority? A feeling of inferiority, an inferiority complex? --- Yes, if one is feeling inferior there is something that is pressing him down. He feels oppressed even by that feeling of inferiority, it becomes a burden to him even though he may not be aware of it. And therefore (10) the word oppression is justifiable.

Yes, but now it is not a feeling that you have by yourself, it is a feeling which you have in relation to others, isn't that so? --- It is in relation to others, but what I was trying to say My Lord, that there comes a time when you entertain it even within yourself, when once you do something you feel inferior

You are despondent? --- Yes, you feel despondent, so that the oppression has become domesticated in your own life. It is not as if somebody comes from outside, it is just that the (20) person outside may even forget you and leave you alone and you continue oppressing yourself. And this is the dilemma Black people find themselves in.

MR. SOGGOT: Doctor, from your experience of SASO statements and publications how is this psychological liberation related to a physical liberation? --- It is I believe related to a physical liberation in that as soon as you overcome this psychological oppression you then discover within you something which can equip you with something to help yourself ... (Court intervenes). (30)

BY THE COURT: Confidence? --- Confidence, so that you don't have to/...

have to rely on the help that comes from outside, you can help yourself even before other people decide to help you, this is one stage of it.

MR. SOGGOT: Yes, is there any other phase of it which you understand from this? --- The other phase of it is that of what I will call self-articulation. When the Black man is able to define himself. We know that we have been defined a lot. People have written resitations about our thinking and about our life, but what I see SASO as well as related groups doing is that by relating - by referring to this (10) psychological oppression they point to a need for the Black man to become his own interpreter to the rest of society and in this way therefore enrich even other people who are not Black, when I explain myself who I am in relation to others.

Doctor, as far as SASO and BPC are concerned, you have met some of the leaders and members, what experience did you have of their Newsletter? --- Apart from the contact I had with individuals from SASO they relate - I used to get a Newsletter of SASO and I used to read this and I found it very stimulating in that it provoked me into taking seriously (20) about some of the problems of the Black man.

And have you also for the purposes of giving evidence in this trial been given a set of documents of BPC and SASO nature? --- I have.

And have you got it there in front of you? ----- Yes, I do.

My Lord, merely for the sake of ascertaining what they are about, these documents appear to be the documents relied upon by Mr. Van der Merwe. I think at that stage a separate selection was made by the Defence and Dr. Buthelezi was given such - whatever it is, you have got the documents (30) there in the witness box with you? --- Yes, I have.

Now doctor,/...

Now doctor, let us talk about your further contact with SASO/BPC. Have you ever been a member of SASO or BPC? --- No.

Did you attend any of their meetings or go to any of their meetings? ---- I never attended any meetings of SASO as such but I only was sometimes invited to meetings in which there were SASO representatives and in this way I got in contact with them.

Now can you tell us about those meetings? ---- These were some of the meetings I referred to earlier at Mapumulo and there was one at Roodepoort in Johannesburg. (10)

What meeting was that? ---- It was a Black Theology Seminar in which Bishop Zulu? was arrested, and there was another meeting of a similar nature also at the same venue where they were

I am sorry to interrupt you, that meeting where Bishop Zulu was, what SASO people were there? --- Those whom I happened to know by name were Justice Moloto and Stanley Ndwasana.

Did Stanley Ndwasana ever play a role in any of the theological projects? --- After the first national meeting, national seminar of Black Theology, Ndwasana became the (20) director of Black Theology and I used to also meet him in that capacity when he invited me to speak in his meetings, yes.

And then what other meetings did you attend? --- I attended one in Pietermaritzburg where the Black Theology Agency was inaugurated.

That is the one which you have already referred to? ---- Yes. (Court intervenes).

BY THE COURT: What was the purpose of this agency, was it to try and work out Black Theology for South Africa, or was it merely to investigate Black Theology or was Black Theology (30) not off the ground yet at that stage? ---- As far as I can see what/...

what was behind this conference was that after it had been discovered that Black Theology is a healthy thing, something which should not be left to collapse, it was found important to set up an operational machinery which would involve all the organisations, all the organisations which work in the Black community, to participate in. We have a very few forums and very few organisations where our aspirations can be implemented. For this was an attempt of creating something where the Black man could bring his input.

In which - in other words that was to spread Black Theology? To bring it home to the people? ---- Well, spread sometimes has a bad connotation, but it was to help people to become aware of the Black Theology dominance, and to help ministers, so that when they preach they relate to the Black man and enables Christ to reach them where they are in their poverty, in their suffering, and so that Christ may stand shoulder to shoulder with them, and I believe that was the aim of equipping our ministry so that we may be relevant. (10)

But then how would you do that, would you try and get the literature on it and spread that around amongst the people, or would you merely work out the principles of Black Theology and spread that? What did you envisage, how did you want to set about it? ---- The aim was to encourage Black theologians to try to relate the gospel to - the Black experience, because in the past we had only tried to think theology in the context of the American and the European traditions, and never related to the questions and to the lives of our people. (20)

This is a convenient stage, the court will take the adjournment. (30)

COURT ADJOURNS.

COURT RESUMES.

MANAS BUTHELEZI (Still under oath)

EXAMINATION BY MR. SOGGOT (Continued): Dr. Buthelezi, over the tea interval did you read through Exhibit E1. My Lord, that is the document which we have already referred to. --- I did.

And the document describes a paper presented by you, is the description accurate? --- It is accurate within the limits of a secondhand report.

Yes, and on the second page there is reference to several(10) strong recommendations tabled for consideration of the committee namely that the interim committee must interview possible candidates to start the Black Theological Agency, is that right? --- That is correct.

This is really in answer to His Lordship's question, what was intended, is that right? "Approach and consult possible organisations and/or individuals who could sponsor the agency"? --- That is correct.

"Organise regional seminars with a view to calling a national seminar"? ---- That is correct. (20)

"Look seriously into the problem of finding funds to pay out salaries and to maintain an office"? "Then draw up an operational budget for the coming year"? --- That is correct.

"Arrange for the final national conference where the Agency would be launched and the office-bearers elected"? ---- That is correct.

Now doctor, I think we got to the point where we had asked you to deal with your contacts with SASO or BPC people. Would you tell His Lordship about this, as also any meetings (30) which you attended for the purpose of addressing a gathering?

--- In 1974/...

---- In 1974 if I remember correctly, I was invited by the local branch of SASO at the University of Turfloop and after my address there was a very wide discussion, again reflecting some of the concerns of young people. I remember during question time somebody standing up and saying - "if you say God is Almighty, why is it that it seems God has not demonstrated his might in relation to the Black man, because the Black man seems to me powerless. Does it mean that God has sided only with the White man.

Yes, now where do you say that took place? ---- It was at (10) Turfloop.

Did you reply to that question? ---- It was a difficult question because it was pointing to the fundamental task that still lies ahead of us. I did try to answer it.

Yes, what did you speak to the students about on that occasion? ---- The topic I had selected in consultation with them was The Role of the Black Student in the formation of ideas in South Africa, I don't remember precisely the topic, but it was along those lines. I tried to speak about what Black students had contributed in the dissemination of ideas (20) in South Africa.

Yes, doctor, while we are on that, what do you say about SASO, have they made any contributions? ---- I believe that they have made a tremendous contribution, especially if you remember that this is an organisation of students and not of people -- but just students, they have made a contribution.

And what would you say that contribution is? ---- One of the most important contributions is that they have tried to articulate in concise and clear terms what many Black people have tried to articulate themselves, and secondly, SASO in (30) my judgment has been able to communicate to White people, the main/...

the main things which Black people say in trains, in buses, which are never heard. But here is a sophisticated group of Black intellectuals who can handle the instrument of communication, and I believe that they have created an impact, not only in the Black community but also in the White community.

From your reading of SASO/BPC literature, you were talking about SASO, from your reading of SASO literature, what are the things which they articulate and which are said mainly in the trains and buses so to speak? ---- The points of articulation ranged from political, social and religious, and economic(10) issues. I can start with religious issues

Just enumerate a few for the benefit of His Lordship? ---- That the Black people are not paid adequate salaries; that Black people are subjected to laws which do not promote their interest, laws like for instance the influx control regulations for instance, and laws which require a Black man always to carry a reference book which is not accepted of other people.

Yes? ---- Besides that Black people cannot play a role in the creation of laws in this country. They do not even have a forum of opposing some of the laws as the opposition parties(20) are able to do in Cape Town, and there is simply no way in which the Black man can say - "wait a minute, the law you are trying to enact there is not good for me, there is no opportunity whatsoever". And these young people have elevated all those points to the surface, in terms of which White people can understand.

Yes, when you say - let me put it this way, you say that SASO as an organisation articulates the Black feelings. Now what I want to ask you is this. From your knowledge of the documents which you have seen here in this case, those in (30) front of you now, and also the - from your knowledge of SASO newsletters/...

newsletters for example and any other publications, do you think that there is perhaps a tendency on the part of SASO to affect the law-abiding state of mind of Black people? -----
(Mr. Rees intervenes).

MR. REES: My Lord, isn't this opinion evidence? I object on the ground of opinion evidence, that is being submitted now. With respect, doesn't this witness expect that this is a possibility?

MR. SOGGOT: My Lord, it does involve a state of fact, in effect what we are trying to do is lead evidence as cogent (10) and as relevant as possible relating to Black thinking, because that is the likelihood of Black reaction, certain documentation is of potential considerable concern to Your Lordship in this matter and the question is whether Dr. Buthelezi having read this documentation speaking for himself and for Black people, can be of any assistance to Your Lordship.

BY THE COURT: Well, it is relevant, but it depends on the weight of course that the court really attaches to it.

MR. SOGGOT: Doctor, what do you say about that? ----- Could you just repeat? (20)

Whether it can be suggested that the SASO documentation is of such a kind that it would tend to make people disobey the laws or be less law-abiding? --- As a matter of fact there is nothing new in what SASO is saying concerning some of the problems I enumerated earlier. Black people who through their daily experience have an intimate familiarity with these points which SASO and other related groups are trying to shape into words, and seen against that background, these documents in my opinion cannot affect a law abiding citizen to disobey law. If a law-abiding citizen can be affected by anything at all it is on the level of his daily experience. Life experiences(30) itself how the laws of the country relate to the Black man.

That is/...

That is something which may antagonize the Black man much more than any of the documents from SASO.

You yourself when you read these documents have^{they}/aroused or encouraged any feelings of racial hostility in you? ---- They have not at all, because I am familiar with what they are saying. It does not add a dimension to my experience, it simply puts in a communicatable language - communicable manner to anyone who is interested in knowing how the Black man feels in this country.

Well, you know how the Black man feels, how do you think (10) he would react to the type of ... ---- (Court intervenes).

BY THE COURT: It is very ambiguous what you are saying. It can also mean that you feel so hostile to the Black man that whatever they say can't make you feel more hostile? ----

MR. SOGGOT: My Lord, Your Lordship said hostile to the Black man?

BY THE COURT: I am sorry, to the White man? ---- What I am trying to say is that these documents do not affect me because they are speaking about something with which I am already familiar, that is what I am trying to say. (20)

MR. SOGGOT:
And the question which I put to you is are the - what would you consider the effect these documents would have? On a Black man as far as his feelings of racial hostility are concerned? ---- I can see a positive interest if I take the overall statements and isolated statements, I can see something positive in that when a group of Black people see that there is someone who is able shape into words, but that they know, they feel encouraged because here is somebody speaking for us, perhaps white people will listen and do something about it. Perhaps will this help the Black community to have hope and (30) as I would say they have an impact of hope.

When you/...

When you read these documents have they - have you, have they made you feel that you would like to use violence or ..? --- When I spoke (both voices speaking simultaneously).

..... underground? --- When I spoke of the impact I was thinking of the totality of the main thrust of what they are saying, the isolated phrases here and there and

BY THE COURT: I am not following what you are saying? What about isolated phrases? --- Some of the isolated phrases, My Lord, are a matter of rhetoric which many students throw around. They do not in any way relate to the truth of the matter, that(10) is what I was trying to say. I find some of the statements as being not so important and I believe that is how an ordinary Black person would see them.

Now from the Black man's experience, how would you say he perceives the White man and the White man's laws? --- From what I have gathered from what Black people have written and from what I have heard them saying in buses and trains and in beer parties, they think of the White man as somebody who has made very harsh laws and somebody who pays them unjust wages, as somebody whom it is very difficult to communicate (20) with because it is always on a master level basis. Whenever there are points of contact it is always on a teacher/student, master/servant basis, so that what the servant thinks there is no way of communicating^{it}/to the master.

Now doctor, you mentioned that you addressed a group of servants at Turfloop. Are there any other meetings of BPC or SASO that you can remember addressing or going to? --- While in the past I never had any opportunity to be in a BPC organised meeting I had the opportunity I think in 1974, I was invited to speak at a BPC gathering on Black Theology as(30) a liberating factor.

Where/...

Where was that meeting? ---- It was in Durban.

And what month was this, can you remember? ---- I don't remember but it was the second half of the year.

Was this the BPC Symposium you are talking about? ---- Most probably.

Now at that meeting did you address the gathering? ---- Yes, I did.

What did you address them about? ---- I addressed them on Black Theology as a liberating factor.

Now do you know accused no.5 in this case, Nkomo? ---- (10)
I do.

Did you see him that day? ---- Yes, I did.

Where did you see him? ---- He spoke before I spoke. I was seeing him for the first time.

And what did he speak about? ---- I cannot remember the exact topic of his speech but only the main directions of his talk.

Now would you tell His Lordship what it was about? ---- I remember him encouraging the audiende to be aware of what he called Black values, what is good in the heritage of the Black man. He used the phrase if I remember correctly that you (20) must inflate your value, which I understood as meaning that you have to be proud of what God has given you, even though you underestimate it, try to think that it is bigger than what you have always thought it is. I cannot remember all the statements in his speech, but this is what stuck to my mind.

Yes, now can you remember whether anything was said about snakes in that meeting? ---- During question time I raised a question myself, he had said something to the effect that
(?)
you should not say anything towards somebody who is opposing you or somebody who is against you, and then my question was (30)
if theology in the gospel can liberate the Black man, can't it
liberate/...

liberate the White man so that you can speak of White people who have been liberated with whom you can speak on an equal basis.

Yes? And then? ---- He did not answer the question directly, he said something like -- that is very difficult for a Black man to answer. I was not satisfied with his answer. I pursued the point and then somebody from the audience stood up and said -- "If you have snakes in a box and you start sorting out poisonous from non-poisonous ones, you may not survive the process". (10)

And what was the response to that piece of wisdom? ---- There was a general laughter in the house.

Did accused no.5 himself say anything about snakes? ---- I don't remember, I arrived just at the time when I was about to deliver the speech. I was not -- I did not attend the rest of the programme.

Yes, did you hear of anything said about time now for action, or something like that? ---- I saw somebody from the back of the room stood up and said -- "we should not just spend time talking and talking, we need action", something to (20) that effect.

And what was the response to that gentleman? ---- I think the effect of the response which can be expressed in various ways there was a shouting down.

Who shouted him down? ---- Well, there was nobody -- well, shout down is a strong word, but the response and the memory to me in the house was to me to be expressing the feeling that what you are saying is not -- does not belong here, that was my impression.

Did accused no.5, that is Mr. Wkomo, reply to that person(30) at all? ---- I don't remember, he might have.

Now at/...

Now at that particular meeting the phrases expressed by a person like Mr. Nkomo, how did they compare with the sort of phrasing and statements made in BPC and SASO documentation? --- They were similar.

They were similar, and what was the response of the audience to that? --- It was of the usual kind, applause and if the court can allow me, I personally was very much impressed with this young man. He was not even speaking from notes. I always use notes myself and I wanted to invite him to address a White group, because I felt that here is somebody (10) who can articulate, who can help perhaps in promoting dialogue on a local level. Unfortunately a few months after that he was detained.

Yes, doctor, any other meeting? --- I beg your pardon?

Are there any other meetings that you can remember, or that you can report about on SASO/BPC? --- I addressed, as I said earlier in my evidence, a group of students at the University of Zululand, where I believe there are SASO members. I also addressed students at Federal Theological Seminary at Alice, as well as at the Lutheran Theological College at (20) Mapumulo. Here I believe in all these institutions are representatives of SASO.

Yes, now doctor, if we may cross on to a few specific documents. You have been asked to read certain annexures to the indictment, namely Annexure 2(i) headed The Black People's Convention, have you got that? Can you perhaps find that in your file? If Your Lordship will bear with me. I refer you to Annexure 2(i), headed BPC Black People's Convention and starting -- "Black brothers and sisters of Chatsworth. Now you have read that through doctor, is that(30) correct? --- Yes.

Dealing/...

Dealing with the Chatsworth paper as a whole, would you look at Annexure 2(ii), that is the next page I believe. And Annexure 2(iii), which again is the next page. Now when you read these documents did they arouse any feelings of racial hostility in you or inflame any Christian? race feelings of racial hostility if there were such? ---- Well, when I read these documents I simply became reminded of what I have always heard Black people say, even though here there is a specific reference to a specific situation, but overall its impression was simply that of reminding me of what I (10) already know.

And then Annexure 3, that is BPC Black Peoples Convention, I don't think it is a terribly legible document but have you got that in front of you? Annexure 3, BPC Black Peoples Convention, Information brochure? ---- Yes, I have.

You've got that? ---- Yes, I have.

Now you have read that, have you? ---- Yes.

And did that make any different impression on you? ---- No.

And then Annexure 4, that is Nkululekwe Sizwe. Did that document arouse in your or encourage in you feelings (20) of hostility in relation to the White race? ---- No, none.

And from your knowledge of Black people and their experience, would you say that these documents are likely to arouse in the Black man this sort of feeling? ---- (Mr. Rees intervenes).

MR. REES: My Lord, I object to this. How can this man say what - it is as good as asking him what it would arouse in the White man. Surely this man is not capable of saying what it will arouse in the average Black man, however much he claims to have spoken to people in buses and it is a very strange man who keeps speaking about politics to people in buses and (30) trains and at beer parties. That is not the type of thing you/...

you discuss there even. He is not capable of saying how an average Black man - he can say how he reacts. What does he know how the average Black man reacts. As little as I do how the average White man reacts.

MR. SOGGOT: I don't know about my learned friend's knowledge but this point has been taken, My Lord, and I have already made the submission that in so far as evidence can be led with a view to the - a person of the authority and the experience of the doctor can be of assistance to Your Lordship. The question My Lord is one of fact, what is he thinking and (10) emotional or reflexive life of a Black man and what was his response if I may use the SASO expression, in an existential situation to a document of this kind. My submission is that if anyone can be of assistance Dr. Buthelezi can be that. Again My Lord the question of

BY THE COURT: In a ^{very} limited way, if one has to construe these documents in the light of the circumstances in which they were

MR. SOGGOT: No, that is perfectly so, but the circumstances would involve the Black man as one finds him and to an extent (20) Dr. Buthelezi can be of assistance.

BY THE COURT: Yes well, that is not binding on the court.

MR. SOGGOT: No, obviously not. Doctor, have you got my question? That is whether in your view this document is likely to arouse or encourage feelings of racial hostility in the Black man? --- I believe that it is not possible to generalise on the feelings of the people in relation to something which is presented to them, because it depends on all sorts of circumstances, like the psychological make-up of (30) that person, the (Court intervenes).

BY THE COURT: At that particular time? --- At that particular time/...

time, one cannot generalise and say this particular document would create this and that.

MR. SOGGOT:

As far as the attitudes of Blacks, would those attitudes be affected or changed by this sort of document? --- I believe that they would not be changed in as far as what we have here is a reduction into verbal form of what is already there, but the attitudes are already there and these are merely put on paper.

Doctor, I think (Court intervenes).

BY THE COURT: Now when you talk about the Black man, are (10)
you talking about the Black man of Zulu origin, or are you talking about Indians and Coloureds and different people? --- I refer to all these groups which have been labelled Non-White in as far as there are points of common experience.

Now would you know that as a minister of religion, of - I take it is your community mostly Zulu? --- Yes, it is, but in my work I have had the opportunity of relating to almost all the racial groups in South Africa, White people included.

Doctor, to round off, what are you doing at the moment, (20)
what is your work? --- I am general secretary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa, and my work involves coördinating the work of the various diocese of this church, as well as communicating with outside mission bodies which have helped in the establishment of this church.

And one final question, were you ever associated with or worked for the Christian Institute? --- I was.

When was that? --- That was between 1972 and 1975.

BY THE COURT: When you worked for the Christian Institute, what was the nature of the work that you did there? --- I was (30)
regional director of the Christian Institute in Natal, and I
saw my/...

saw my work as mainly consisting of trying to create bridges of communication and dialogue amongst the various groups in South Africa, so I would organise meetings of this kind of Christian fellowship, to promote Christian fellowship.

MR. SOGGOT: I have no further questions, My Lord.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. ATTWELL: Dr. Buthelezi, you have apparently attested to the court that you were a teacher once at a high school, is that correct? ---- That is correct.

What subjects did you teach at school? ---- I taught biology, Agriculture, Health and English. (10)

Was there a subject Religious Instruction at the school? ---- According to their syllabus there was no subject of that nature as such.

Did you conduct any extra curricular courses at this school? ---- I did.

And they involved what subjects? ---- They involved youth work and Sunday school work, I was promoting this in relation to the local parish.

So at that stage you were involved in the religious sphere? Is that correct? ---- In the religious sphere understood as (20) encompassing the totality of life of those particular people I was ministering to.

Doctor, what do you consider the function of religion in the society? ---- I consider the function of religion, and in this case I can only limit myself to the Christian religion, I consider the function of the Christian religion to communicate the good news of God to man wherever he is and in whatever life circumstances he finds himself in, if I put it in just brief words.

One of the motivating forces which persuaded you to take (30) up the cloth was in fact your concern with youth? Is that correct?/...

correct? ---- That was the immediate reason.

Did you not consider that as a teacher at a school you could work amongst the youth? ---- I agonised on this point, because it was a serious decision. I reached a point when I realised I could not at the same time help these young people to go through their syllabus and pass their exams and at the same time relate to their everyday life problems in the religious context. And therefore I decided to resign from teaching and join the ministry.

And since you have become a reverend in the church, have (10) you been concerned primarily with youth? Or with the community in general? ---- I have been concerned with -- I have been involved with the community in general because it depends on where the church assigns me. I have been pulled this way and that way.

Now we have heard about the trip to the United States in 1963 I think you said, is that correct? ---- Yes.

Did you have any views on Black Theology before you left this country for the United States? ---- I did not.

Did you have certain political views when you left this country for the United States? ---- I certainly did in as far (20) as experience shapes political views.

And on your return to South Africa from the United States, how long did you stay in the United States? ---- It was about five years.

When did you return to South Africa? ---- In 1968.

Did you come into contact with a lot of Negro students in the United States? ---- That is one thing I missed while I was there, apart from the fact that I was involved in my studies I think I had more contact with the White groups than with the Black groups. That is something I always regretted. (30)

Were there Black students at the universities which you attended/...

attended? --- There were more African students on scholarship programmes than Negroes at that time, but things have changed now. There were very few Negroes.

Did you have discussions with the students there, especially the Black students, on religious matters? --- Not very much with Black students as such, with students as a whole I did.

On religious matters? --- Yes, on religious matters.

And on political matters? --- Not much excepting in as far as the theological discipline have interlocked political and social implications. That came in, but not just political matters per se. (10)

Would you say that you were influenced by things you heard in the United States on your return here? In other words did you have a change of attitude in any way when you returned to South Africa? --- One credit I can give to the United States, is that when I was there I used to get invitations and Christian groups would say - "please come dressed in your traditional garb", and I had never worn the Zulu dress and I used to feel very embarrassed that here are people who expect me to come to them as myself so as to enrich the dimensions of their experience and that is the only thing I learnt, to be proud of my own things. (20)

You say you did learn to be proud of your African heritage if I can call it that? --- Yes.

Did you in fact attend these meetings then in traditional garb? --- I did not have the traditional garb, I wore suits and jackets.

What is the traditional garb? --- In Zulu it is what you call "ipechu"(?) it is - I don't know what I would call it in English, it is the traditional Zulu dress. (30)

It is in fact an article of clothing. Can you describe it to the/...

to the court? --- (Court intervenes).

BY THE COURT: It is an 'ipechu', don't you know what an 'ipechu' is?

MR. ATTWELL: No, My Lord, I am afraid not. ----- (Laughter). It is two pieces, a smaller piece in front and a bigger piece behind. There are the two main pieces and then a string joins the pieces.

MR. REES: It is very similar to a Scotchman.

MR. ATTWELL: Did you say these were religious bodies which wanted you to speak to them? --- It was religious bodies and (10) very few accepted, but it was always congregational groups here, and they were either young people or women's societies.

And the phenomena of Black Theology you say you never really met in the United States? --- No, it had not erupted. It developed while I was already back in South Africa. It was then when I read about what happened from the Black ministers in the United States, when this was initiated.

Doctor, you are in fact of Master of Languages too obviously in the course of your work. I find it interesting that you use the word "erupt" in that context? It had not (20) erupted? Would you tell the court why you used that word? --- Oh, there was not a specific reason. What I meant, what I tried to communicate was simply that it arose spontaneously, there was no long historical background behind it, but simply came to the surface, that is what I meant.

Then in 1968/1968, from your -- on your return to South Africa, you received a number of invitations from various bodies in this country? One of which I think you said was from the local University of Zululand? --- Yes.

Which body from that University in fact invited you to (30) speak? --- There was - that invitation I received was from
what was/...

what was called Lutheran Fraternity, it was a group of Lutheran students in that University, and I received a number of such invitations from them.

Did you meet SASO at all at this stage? --- Not at that stage, not before 1969, it was just students.

Do you know when SASO was in fact formed and inaugurated, the date? --- I cannot quote the date, what I can refer to is merely my personal contact and my being aware of the phenomenon of SASO.

Now you said that you spoke to students on topics which (10) they assigned to you, is that correct? --- Not always, we would negotiate the talk. I might say I cannot handle the topic as it is formulated and then negotiate how to formulate the topic.

Did you ever find that topics assigned to you were beyond you, that you thought you could not handle? --- Not beyond me in the sense of that I was not aware to handle the subject matter, but just the formulation of it, I would negotiate on that and change it in a way that I could

They would invite you to speak and then you would agree (20) as to the subject matter? --- Yes, that always happens, that we negotiate the topic.

Were these always on religious matters or matters relating to religion? --- Not always, but I mean I could not escape my own skin, there would always be my concerns in whatever topic that was assigned to me, whether it was on a student educational topic, I would always bring in the religious dimensions to it.

You say you would always bring in the religious dimensions? --- Yes, in most cases I would do it. (30)

Have you ever addressed meetings where the religious side
of it/...

of it - where the religious dimension has been a purely side issue or not related at all to anything you said? ---- I don't remember addressing a topic in which I did not inject religious dimensions. I am saying I don't remember, I cannot recollect all the numerous topics I have lectured on and therefore I cannot really answer the question in an absolute manner.

You referred the court in the course of your evidence-in-chief, doctor, to a book which I think - the paper that they put to you produced before court, The Political Side of the New Testament, is that correct? ---- Yes, the Political Background of the New Testament. (10)

Would I be correct in saying that Black Theology is in fact a parallel to that in the sense that it gives a relation of religion to the political sphere? ---- I would put it differently, it is not on the level of relationship, because religion in itself encompasses all life aspects. It is not as if you can have religion and then have life over there and then try to relate the two.

What is the significance of that book's title doctor, for you? ---- I consulted this book after these documents had been submitted to me just to check and verify certain things. (20)

You had not looked at the book before the documents were given to you by the Defence? ----- Oh, I had heard about the subject in the course of my theological subjects, but there comes points when you have to refer to books and papers and this one happened to be in my library, but as far as the general subject matter is concerned, that I have acquired the course of my studies.

Christianity as it existed before the phenomena of Black Theology, would you say that the political dimension was in fact a very minor - if it at all arose - in the belief as it was/... (30)

was understood before the development of Black Theology? ---
I cannot generalise on Christianity in South Africa, because
Black Theology only relates to Christianity in its relation
to the Black man, so in that narrow context I can answer by
saying that before the phenomenon of Black Theology became --
came about, there was really very little, even in my own
ministry I did not relate to the problems of the Black man
as much as I do when I became aware of this.

And when did you become aware of this, doctor? ---- I became
aware of this in the course of my ministry to the young people(10)
and students, because they would always raise questions
which forced me to relate the gospel to living issues.

Could you give us the date then doctor, at which this
became apparent to you, when you became aware of this? ----
I cannot give a date, I can only give the stage in my ministry
when this happened, and not - it was on the 5th of November, I
can't do that.

The 5th of November is a significant date, doctor, isn't it?
---- I do not follow you?

The 5th of November is a significant date to you? ---- (20)
No, I was just using that as an illustration, I cannot single
out a particular date, and that from this date onwards I
became aware of this.

It was purely fortuitous that you named the 5th of November?
---- Yes, it was.

You know of course that that is Guy Fawkes? ---- Well, not
right now, I know about Guy Fawkes, but the date I was not

Do you know now that I reminded you, that the 5th of
November is Guy Fawkes? --- I didn't say that.

Do you know that? ---- From what you have said. (30)

Do you know what Guy Fawkes is? ---- I do.

What is/...

What is it? --- It has something to do with an event in British history when there was some explosion.

Explosion, would you call it an eruption? --- Well, I would call it an explosion.

An explosion where, in what circumstances? --- In the circumstances of this British history.

Do you know what people tried to explode? --- Well, I don't remember all the facts of British history, I have not brushed my memory on that.

Where did the explosion take place, if it took place? ----(10) I have not brushed up my memory on that, on this specific details of the matter.

Did it happen in church, was it in the middle of the river, did somebody blow up someone else's home, or what? --- I have not brushed up my memory. I would need to brush up my memory so as to give very clear and exact answers to the questions on those historical facts.

Have you addressed students other than Black students? ---- Yes, I have.

When and where, can you tell us, and which ethnic groups (20) did you address? --- I have addressed - (inaudible) ... Blacks, Africans, Indians and Coloureds.

Perhaps I can be more specific, you have obviously dealt largely I should imagine with African students, is that correct? --- Yes.

Now within your understanding Blacks include Coloureds and Indians as well, is that correct? --- Yes.

Now I am asking directly on my questions now to the Indians and Coloured sections of this community. Have you had dealings with the Indian section of the community? Firstly? (30) --- In my ministry as a pastor of the church I have had the opportunity/...

opportunity of reaching all racial groups in South Africa and with regard to Indians for instance I was invited once to give a lecture on the Ghandi Memorial Day.

The religious beliefs of the Indians, does that coincide with Christianity? ---- Yes, it does coincide with Christianity, especially in the mystical dimension, the Christian faith also has that retribution, so there are points in fact, similarity.

In your opinion is an Indian a Christian? ---- If he is baptised and has particularly acknowledged as such, by a Christian in church terminology we mean somebody who has been (10) baptised and is counted as a member of the church. So I would not say an Indian -- any Indian is a Christian.

A member of the Christian church, is that correct? ---- Yes.

Are Indians members of a Christian church? Generally? ---- Not generally, there are Indians who are Christians. But not all Indians are Christians.

The majority of Indians? ---- There is a very small minority, I cannot quote the percentage.

A very small minority of what, doctor? ---- Of Christians.

Are Christians? ---- Yes. (20)

Now you said that your aim has been to make the Christian faith relevant? ---- Yes.

Could you perhaps expand on that? How? How does one make the Christian faith relevant? ---- It has many times disturbed me when I see people relating the Christian faith only to death, that is somehow the faith is a passport to going to heaven, and not something which enables you to know the art of living here and now. By relevant I mean an understanding of the gospel in its fullest, and by in its fullest I mean encompassing the whole of life. That is my definition of relevance. (30)

Would you say that that is the way SASO has attempted to

use Black Theology too? ---- No, I wouldn't say that, SASO is a student's organisation so I cannot say anything about their official policy in relating to certain matters, but only how I have understood some of what they have been saying.

You have been referred to SASO documents, particularly on the religious issues? ---- Yes, the relevant points in their particular instance is that in meetings where there were SASO people, there were questions which were pointing along the direction of making religion relevant.

In the sense that you have outlined to the court? ---- (10)
Yes.

SASO is engaged in the struggle for liberation, is that correct? Is that your understanding too? ---- Yes, that is correct.

And it is a liberation, according to the documents, in a psychological sphere and in a physical sphere, is that correct? ---- As far as I have been able to follow.

Now you have said that Black Theology is an attempt, and you use it as such, to liberate the Blacks, is that correct? ---- Yes, it is. (20)

From what sort of liberation do you - what sort of liberation do you have in mind? ---- Total liberation, liberation that involves the whole of life.

Would that be the same with SASO's concept of liberation? ---- I don't know the official SASO concept of liberation, but I can only speak about SASO's concept in as far as I had the opportunity of meeting them. I cannot speak for them.

And you understand it to be in the psychological sense and in the physical sense? ---- As far as some of the documents indicate. (30)

And that is how you use Black Theology too? ---- Theology has its/...

has its own integrity and therefore I cannot define the function of theology in relation to what is outside it, but I believe that theology must relate to the whole of life and my encounter with SASO gave me the opportunity of even understanding this need deeper.

Now you have already outlined to the court how Black Theology can liberate psychologically? ---- That is correct.

I would like you to deal with the liberation through Black Theology in a physical sense, if you would? How does Black Theology assist in physical liberation of Blacks? ---- (10)
Yes, I think there is something which needs to be clarified. Theology is assigned - it is an attempt to understand the meaning of the gospel, theology does not liberate, does not save, but it is the gospel which saves. The point of connection between the Black Theology and salvation is in the definition of the gospel. So I would say it is the gospel which saves, and not theology.

Well, perhaps you could tell the court how the gospel physically saves? ---- Maybe it is because I am an African. In our religion the traditional - not only religion, but (20)
culture as a whole, we never made - we never split man into various parts, the physical part, the psychological part, and the spiritual part. Man was a whole, he was a totality. And therefore to address myself to portions of - to sections of man is impossible. I relate to man as a whole. Therefore I have to preach the gospel which relates to the whole of life. I find it difficult to address them physical only.

But you do sense a physical sphere in Black Theology? ---- Not only - not to Black Theology as if it was something apart, some strange creature, it is theology. In Romans 8 (30)
Paul speaks of the groaning of the whole of creation awaiting redemption/...

redemption and that passage tells us that salvation involves the whole of creation in as far as the becoming saved as an impact in the whole of life, according to the Bible.

You have been a lecturer at Mapumulo, is that correct? ----
That is correct.

When would that have been? ---- That was in 1969, 1970.

Are you familiar with any other figures in the SASO/BPC movement who are particularly involved in the Black Theology sphere? ---- I have referred to Stanley Ndwasa among those whom I remember, there is Mogetsisi? who is now in the United States.(10)
I have no time to think of all the figures who are theologians.

Are you aware of a certain Reverend Myatula? ---- I am.

Can you tell us where you met that person? ---- I met him first when I was invited to give an address to students at Mapumulo. I had already left Mapumulo. I met him there for the first time.

When was this, doctor? ---- It might have been in 1972 or -
I don't - I am not positive.

How many dealings have you had with the Reverend Myatula?
---- I would not count the number of times, but I would (20)
imagine occasionally.

In what sphere? ---- Just individually, maybe meeting him somewhere and

Would this be confined to religious matters? ---- I am in the religious sphere, therefore in most cases I meet people in the context of my ministry in most cases.

I am trying to find out though whether your connections with Reverend Myatula has been in fact with seminars on Black Theology for instance, or in spheres other than purely religious matters? ---- He is not one person I have had the opportunity (30)
of working with, if I compare him with other people. I have
only met/...

only met him, in most cases just casually, but we are not working together with him on some common project.

What do you know about the Reverend Myatula? Do you know if he holds any positions in the Black community? ---- He is a minister in his church, that is the position he holds.

Do you know anything else about the Reverend Myatula? ---- He was present in BPC meeting which was held in Durban.

Is this the symposium which you told us about? ---- Yes, that is the symposium.

Did he address the meeting there? ---- He was chairman of (10) the meeting if I recollect, whatever he said was related to his position as chairman.

Have you ever met him in connection with BPC affairs in any other meeting, apart from that symposium? ---- No.

Do you know whether he was connected in any other way? ----

Or attended any other meetings? ---- As a matter of fact it was the first time that I met him at the BPC conference in Durban, I did not know him before.

Did you know before then that he was involved with BPC? --No.

Do you know when BPC was formed, Dr. Buthelezi? ---- When (20) I first heard of the Black Peoples Convention I was in Germany at the time, I read in a paper cutting of the formation of an organisation known as Black Peoples Convention. I think that was in 1972 if I recollect.

What was your reaction to the formation of the BPC? Did it make any special impression on your? ---- It was just the news, and an interesting news ^{item} / because I did not know the background out - I was out of the country.

Was this in a German newspaper? ---- It was a friend of mine gave me a newspaper cutting of it. (30)

Which friend of yours, can you tell the court? ---- I was in Germany/...

in Germany as a visiting - as a guest lecturer and there were students, I have forgotten if it was a student or a minister, I don't know.

Was it a South African, or not? ---- No, it certainly was not - well, I cannot answer that question really as to who it was.

Could it have been a South African? ---- There were no South Africans with whom I -- among my students.

Were there other South African lecturers there? ---- Not in the theological faculty, there were no other ... (10)

At the university, doctor? ---- I could not be sure of that because the Heidelberg University is very large, I did not know all the staff members.

This newspaper cutting that you said was shown to you, was it a whole page of a newspaper, or just a little clipping with the information of the BPC? ---- What used to happen was that my friends used to give me newspaper cuttings on anything that relates to my home country, so this was not an isolated instance. It just so happened that in this particular cutting there was something about an organisation which had been formed. (20)

Doctor, what I want to know is was a newspaper given to you in which this article was contained, or was it a page that was cut out on which it appeared, or was it just a little cutting which reported this information on the BPC? ---- I cannot answer that because sometimes I could get hold of British newspapers, I could buy one myself, but I cannot answer that.

Anyway, a certain person brought this specific thing to your attention, is that correct? ---- It was part of the ordinary routine that people --my friends used to give me on anything/... (30)

on anything about my country, so there was nothing special about it.

Yes, but the question was this person whoever he was, drew your attention specifically to this particular information of BPC? --- Not specifically to the news item, but a cutting, it was nothing special about this one, this is what I am trying to emphasise, there was nothing special. I used to get newspapers and sometimes newspaper cuttings if I did not lay hold of a newspaper myself.

The point is this, you did not come across this on your (10) own, somebody came along to you and drew your attention specifically to a certain news item, and it was on the formation of BPC? --- No. Not to any item, as I have repeatedly said, friends used to make newspaper cuttings on anything that had South Africa, regardless of the subject matter, so the attention was not drawn to the particular news item. It was simply a newspaper cutting.

Very well, they drew your attention repeatedly on various occasions specifically to things in the newspaper? --- You know how it is in a strange country, that you get isolated from the (20) developments there, and that the people tend to help you to know what is happening in your country. That was simply part of that same process.

It didn't strike you as anything particularly significant? The formation of BPC? --- The formation of organisations are always significant, because the assumption is always that we have something to compete with, the significance was in that context. It was significant.

Did the newspaper cutting reflect what significance this organisation would have? --- I don't (Intervention). (30)

Did it set out any of the aims or objects of the organisation?
--- I don't/...

--- I don't remember the specific beyond the simple statement of fact that on such and such a day and such and such a place there was an organisation known as BPC which was formed.

My Lord, I don't know whether this is a convenient stage to adjourn?

BY THE COURT:

The court will adjourn until a quarter

past two.

YC.

Collection Number: AD1719

State v S Cooper and 8 others.

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand

Location:- Johannesburg

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DOCUMENT DETAILS:

Document ID:- AD1719-Vol61

Document Title:- Volume 61, Pages 3385 - 3443.